

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911.

VOLUME V.

**BENGAL, BIHAR AND
ORISSA AND SIKKIM.**

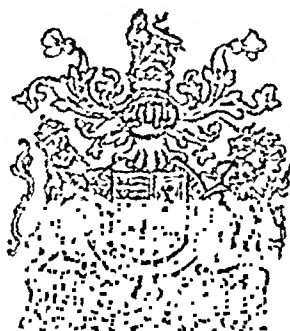
PART I.

R E P O R T

BY

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SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BENGAL.



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PREFACE.

THE report to which this is a preface deals with the results of the census of 1911 in the Presidency of Bengal, the Province of Bihar and Orissa and the State of Sikkim, which have an aggregate area of nearly 200,000 square miles and a population of 85 millions, or over one-fourth of the total population of India.

The late appearance of the report is due to causes beyond my control. Since the census of 1901 Bengal has undergone two partitions, and Sikkim has been detached from it—changes which have involved the preparation of fresh statistics for the census of 1911 and also for each preceding census. It is perhaps almost superfluous to explain that if the census figures of any given area are to be of value for comparative purposes, those of previous censuses must be accessible. Accordingly, before the census of 1911 took place, figures were compiled for Bengal as constituted after the partition of 1905, for the only available figures related to the province as it stood in 1901. After the census of 1911 was concluded, tables showing its results were prepared for the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam as then existing. While this work was in progress, the repartition was announced, and the figures both of the census of 1911 and of each census since 1872 had to be worked out afresh for the Presidency of Bengal and the new Province of Bihar and Orissa. All this involved additional labour and delayed the preparation of the tables and report. On this account also I have not been able to take up all the subjects prescribed for the report, and have had to curtail the discussion of some of those with which I could deal.

The arrangements for the census followed the lines laid down in 1901, and a brief summary of them is all that is required. The first step was to obtain an accurate and up-to-date record of all inhabited areas, *i.e.*, to prepare a register in which every occupied village or collection of houses was entered. This is not altogether an easy task in some areas, where the villages are small clusters of houses scattered through the jungle, which are commonly deserted by their primitive inhabitants when anything untoward happens. In such cases it is believed that the village has incurred the anger of some evil spirit, and the people abandon the site and build their houses elsewhere. The village register having been compiled, each district was parcelled out into census divisions. The smallest unit was the block, which consisted of 40 to 50 houses, for which one enumerator was responsible. The blocks were grouped together by circles, each of which was under a supervisor: ordinarily about 10 to 15 circles, *i.e.*, 400 to 600 houses, were assigned to each supervisor. The circles again were grouped together by charges, which, as a rule, corresponded to police-stations. The Charge Superintendents, who were responsible for the operations throughout each charge, were themselves subordinate to the Subdivisional Officers and, to the District Census Officers, who were appointed for each district.

The actual enumeration was conducted by an improved agency of
 CHIEF OFFICERS. superintendents and enumerators, who were drawn
 from the ordinary population. In Bengal as
 constituted at the time of the census 25,000 of these and 220,000
 enumerators were employed. In many localities it was necessary either
 to obtain a sufficient supply of men who could read and write, and
 a long training was necessary before they could do the duties
 required of them. Even where suitable men were available, their natural
 reluctance to serve without pay had to be overcome, and the lesson
 brought home to them that the census was conducted for the benefit
 for the people, and that, perhaps for the first time in their lives, they
 would be actively discharging a public duty.

When they had been appointed their first duty was to make a
 HOUSEHOLD LIST. every house, and to be regarded as such, the
 residence of a family, and not the hut. The application
 of this definition gave rise to some curious questions, which
 illustrate very forcibly the difference in habits of the various and
 heterogeneous provinces. How, for instance, were the different huts,
 in which aboriginal boys and girls cluster together, to be treated? Was a
 separate number to be given to each boy or girl? The Palas, who live on
 the summits of the Rajmahal Hill, who each live in a separate hut,
 a separate hut, but the whole family live together in one hut,
 another hut. Again, how were the people of the Palas huts,
 huts, for instance, are more than one hut, but the whole family
 in the ground, and no number could be put on them. The
 numbers had to be put on the walls of each hut, or on the
 the walls or hung from the eaves. The Palas did not live there,
 there, but carefully wrapped them up in reeds and carried them in the
 bamboo baskets which form their cradle.

In February 1911, after they had finished their preliminary
 THE SECOND CENSUS. duties, the enumerators conducted the preliminary
 primary enumeration, i.e., they entered all the
 necessary particulars in the schedule for every person living in each
 in each house. The record thus prepared was carefully checked
 by superior officers in order to ensure its accuracy and absolute
 completeness. The final census was held on the night of the 10th
 March 1911, the enumerators going round to each house and revising
 the preliminary record so as to make it correspond to the state of affairs
 as then existing. In other words, they struck out the entries for
 for all persons who had died or gone away since the preliminary enumeration,
 and added fresh entries for newcomers and for infants who had
 been born in the interval. Too high praise cannot be given to them for
 the thorough manner in which they fulfilled their duties, and for their
 assiduity in making sure that there were no omissions. As an instance
 in point, I may quote the experience of a small aboriginal tribe, who
 feared that some mysterious evil might befall them if they were counted,
 and fled from forest to forest, but failed to escape the enumerators.
 Mistakes were of course made, some of which show how single-minded
 a few of the enumerators are. One man solemnly entered an idol in
 his schedule, and gave particulars of age, viz., 200 years, and of
 language, viz., Hindi. Another recorded the language of a deaf-mute as

atpat (an onomatopœic word describing the sounds he emitted). A globe-trotter described his occupation or means of livelihood as that of a tourist.

In many cases the enumerators had to face great difficulties, not the least of which was the danger of work in plague-infected areas, where they felt that they were fulfilling their duties at the risk of their lives. Many died of plague while engaged in the preliminary enumeration, and others on the day of the census itself. The local officers had the greatest difficulty in finding successors, often 'at a moment's notice'; and as those who were appointed could scarcely be expected to take over the dead men's papers, the work in some cases had to be done over again. Elsewhere enumerators were exposed to attacks from wild animals in the jungles. One man who had left his home on account of the ravages of a man-eating tiger, but volunteered to show the enumerator the way to his old village, was carried off by the tiger just as he reached its outskirts.

The day after the census the preparation of the provisional totals was taken in hand, *i.e.*, the entries on the schedules were totalled up to ascertain the number of males and females and the aggregate population. This may seem a simple matter, but in Bengal (as constituted at the time of the census) it involved the collection of over a third of a million men at various centres and the compilation of figures for each census division. It is by no means easy to do this quickly where distances are great and the means of communication few. Nor is it easy to ensure accuracy when, as among the Santals, the enumerators are ignorant of the elementary principles of calculation, many not being able to post figures above 100. Lastly, there is the danger of loss or destruction of papers. In one district the provisional totals were delayed by one enumerator not having compiled his totals. The Subdivisional Officer went to the spot and found that the enumerator's house had been burnt on the night of the census, and with it the census papers and two of his wives. His block had of course to be censused again.

In spite of these and other difficulties, the provisional totals for the whole of Bengal were despatched within a week after the census. Their speedy collection and despatch are due to the excellent organization effected by the District Officers, the employment of all available means of transport (one of the most useful being the bicycle), and the indomitable energy of the census staff. In the Patna State the figures had to be despatched by couriers to the nearest telegraph station, a distance of 76 miles, and in Kalahandi they had to be sent 114 miles: in the latter State the authorities had, in the words of the Political Agent, "to deal with 1,200 square miles of the most awful country inhabited by the wildest of Khonds." The totals of these two States were wired on the 13th and 15th March, respectively. In the Darjeeling district the figures for the people living on a mountain 12,000 feet high and 50 miles distant from head-quarters reached Darjeeling within 36 hours of the census. In Singhbhum again many of the census staff had to march at night through forests infested by man-eating tigers carrying torches to scare them away, and completed in 10 hours marches which, as a rule, take two days. Bad weather had to be faced

in some places. The District Census Officer of one Bengal district reports that the men had to travel through a violent hail-storm and came in late at night, "all with hurts and bruises, but with the circle summaries and enumeration books dry. I had to give up the idea of sending any special messenger to head-quarters on such a fearful night, and early next morning I acted as special messenger myself and plied my bike on a muddy road of 32 miles and carried in the provisional totals safe." In this and other cases the reports are reminiscent of "How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix."

The final results were obtained by compilation and tabulation, of which there are three stages, viz., slip-copying, sorting and compilation.

COMPILATION AND TABULATION.

Slip-copying is the process of copying the entries in the schedules on to slips. A separate slip is used for each of the persons enumerated, so that 85 million slips had to be used for the population dealt with in this report; but much labour is saved by the use of slips of different colours to indicate religion, of symbols to indicate sex and of abbreviations for the actual entries in the schedules. As in 1901, the greater part of the slip-copying was carried out in district offices. The slips when ready were sent to the central offices, where the sorting and subsequent operations required for the preparation of the final tables were carried out. In the central offices arrangements were made for copying the slips of the districts in which they were situated, together with some or all of the slips for other districts where there were difficulties in the way of getting the work done locally. For instance, the slips of Angul and the Orissa Feudatory States were copied at the Cuttack central office besides those for Cuttack: at this office no less than 6 million slips were copied. At one time the copying staff in the Bengal offices (excluding those in Eastern Bengal) numbered over 3,000, the total outturn in the week being nearly 10 million slips, and the daily average per man 590. The average is remarkably high, considering that the work had to be done in the height of the hot weather, and in some cases, where buildings could not be secured, in tents or verandahs.

Sorting is the process of arranging the slips under the heads required for the various final tables, counting the slips as thus arranged and entering the number on forms provided for the purpose, which are called sorters' tickets. This operation was performed in the central offices, of which there were seven for the area dealt with by me. They were situated at the following places and sorted for the population noted against each, viz., Berhampore (9 millions), Bhagalpur ($7\frac{3}{4}$ millions), Cuttack (9 millions), Gaya ($6\frac{1}{2}$ millions), Hazaribagh ($5\frac{3}{4}$ millions), Hooghly (10 millions) and Patna ($9\frac{1}{4}$ millions). While sorting was in progress, inquiry was made into doubtful entries, which often raise questions which it is difficult to solve. One tribe, for instance, was entered as Jhar Manjhi, i.e., men of the woods, or Makarkhia, i.e., monkey-eaters. On inquiry it was ascertained that they went by no other name, and that they did not know their original habitat and could only give an account of their recent wanderings. Specimens of their language were then obtained, and it was ascertained that they were Birhors, which also means men of the woods.

Sorting was followed by compilation, or the process of combining the figures in the sorters' tickets, so as to obtain the totals for the district. The compilation registers, in which the figures were entered, were despatched as soon as they were ready to my office, where a detailed examination of the statistics was carried out, doubtful entries checked and discrepancies inquired into. This is an operation of the greatest importance, as errors in compilation affect not merely units, but hundreds and thousands. After this the tables were prepared and the report was written. The statistics are numerous enough, but some desired to utilize the census record still further. One Bengali gentleman wanted copies of all the entries—1½ million in number—that were made in the schedules for members of his caste. Another Bengali gentleman calmly asked for the names and addresses of all literate persons in the province, in order that advertising circulars might be sent to them. He naively pointed out that this would swell the postal revenue besides developing trade.

The accounts of census expenditure were maintained separately for the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam during the two years 1910-12. and jointly for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa in 1912-13. Divided proportionately according to the population of the two provinces as now constituted, the aggregate cost is Rs. 2,67,322-10-8 for Bengal and Rs. 2,05,550-10-11 for Bihar and Orissa, representing an incidence of Rs. 5-12-4 and Rs. 5-5-7 respectively per head of the population. The average cost is higher than in 1901 owing mainly to the fact that wages have risen in the interval, so that the staff engaged in compilation and tabulation had to be paid more. Additional expenditure, moreover, had to be incurred in consequence of the repartition of Bengal, which necessitated the compilation of revised statistics for the two provinces.

I cannot acknowledge too fully the services of the large body of private individuals and Government officers who conducted the census and brought it to a successful conclusion. The census laid a heavy burden on the District Officers and their subordinate staff, which they loyally bore without increase of establishment. Their self-sacrifice materially helped to keep down the cost of the operations. My grateful acknowledgments are further due to a large number of official and non-official gentlemen for interesting reports on ethnological and sociological questions, which have been freely drawn upon in this report. I also desire to mention the good work done by the Presidency Jail Press, under the supervision of Mr. J. Gray, in printing and despatching the forms which were used at various stages of the operations. Their aggregate number exceeded 70 millions, and they had to be printed in six different characters, viz., English, Bengali, Kaithi, Devanagari, Oriya and Nepali Hindi: some Tibetan forms were also printed by the Secretariat Press at Darjeeling.

My special thanks are due to the following Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors for the services which they rendered as Deputy Superintendents of Census in charge of the central census offices mentioned against their names:—Babu Brajendra Nath Ray (Hooghly), Babu Nilmani Dey (Bhagalpur), Babu Manmatha Nath Sen (Cuttack), Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan (Patna), Babu Anadi Ranjan Bose (Gaya) and

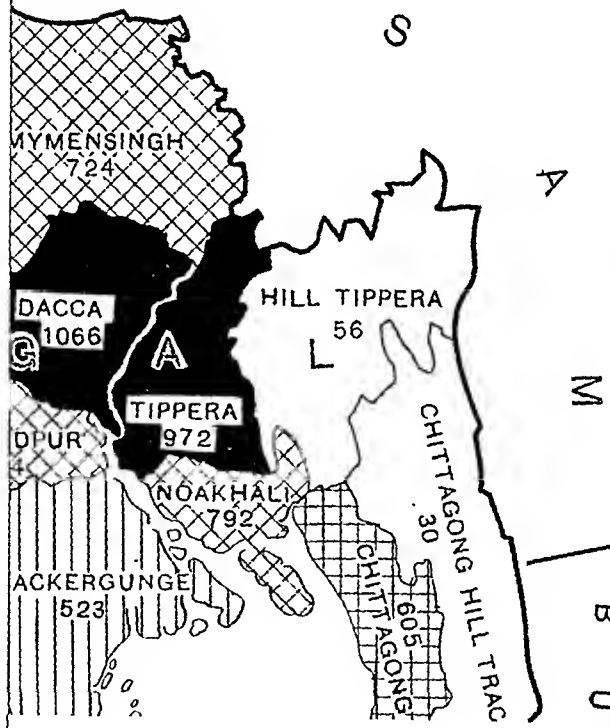
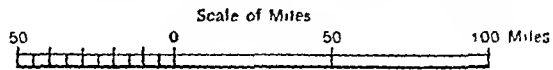
Babu Krishna Gopal Ghosh (Berhumpore). Much useful work was also done by my Head Clerk, Babu Harendra Krishna Mitra, whose previous experience was a valuable asset. Lastly, I am greatly indebted to Babu Naba Gauranga Basak, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, who, as my Personal Assistant, was closely associated with me in the preparation of the tables and of the report. Two of the chapters and part of a third were written in collaboration with him, and all the diagrams, maps and subsidiary tables were prepared under his supervision.

BENGAL BIHAR & ORISSA AND SIKKIM

REFEREN

Under 250 persons per S
250 and under 400 „ „ „
400 „ „ „ 500 „ „ „
500 „ „ „ 600 „ „ „
600 „ „ „ 700 „ „ „
700 „ „ „ 900 „ „ „
900 „ „ „ OVER „ „ „

Showing density of population by Districts and States.



REPORT

ON THE CENSUS OF

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA,

AND

SIKKIM, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

At the census of 1901 the Presidency of Bengal and the Province of Bihar and Orissa (except Sambalpur and five Feudatory States) were included in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, a Province extending over 196,408 square miles and containing a population of 78,493,410 persons. The government of such a large and populous territory had long been a task of increasing difficulty owing to the growth of population—in 30 years it had increased by over 26 millions—the commercial, industrial and educational development of the country, and the increase in the number and complexity of its administrative problems. It had been realized for some years that the Province was too large for a single administration, and eventually in 1905 a partition, accompanied by transfers of territory between it and the adjoining Provinces, was carried into effect. A new Province, called Eastern Bengal and Assam, was constituted, which included Assam and a considerable portion of the old Province of Bengal, viz., the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi (except Darjeeling), the district of Malda and the State of Hill Tippera. The five Feudatory States of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar were at the same time transferred to the Central Provinces, while the district of Sambalpur (with the exception of two zamindaris) and the Feudatory States of Patna, Sonpur, Kalahandi, Bamra and Rairakhol were transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal. The Province of Bengal, as constituted after these changes, extended over 148,592 square miles, and contained a population, according to the census of 1911, of 57,206,430 persons. The results anticipated from the partition not having been altogether realized, another scheme of reconstruction, accompanied by organic changes in the system of government, was determined upon. By this second partition which took effect on 1st April 1912, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa (*i.e.*, the whole Province of Bengal as constituted after 1905 with the exception of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar) were formed into a separate Province under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, Assam was restored to its former position as a Chief Commissionership, and the remainder of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar were created a Presidency under a Governor in Council.

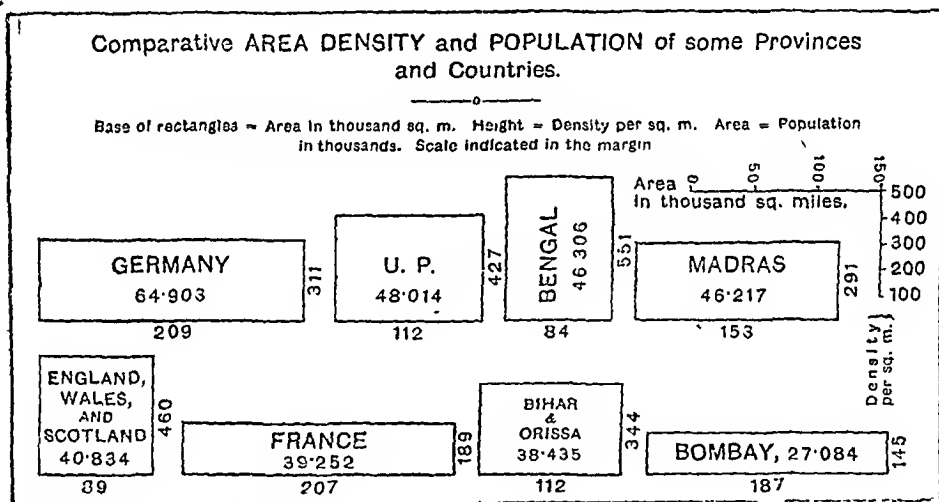
Sikkim was under the Government of Bengal until 1906, when the control of its affairs was taken over by the Government of India. The figures for this State are therefore given separately and not included in those for Bengal, as in 1901.

AREA AND POPULATION.

2. The Presidency of Bengal contains a population of 46,305,642 persons, and extends over 84,092 square miles.

BENGAL.

of which 5,393 square miles are in the States of Cooh Behar and Hill Tippera, and the remainder constitute the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Commissionerships or administrative Divisions. Though somewhat smaller than Great Britain, it contains nearly a million more inhabitants than the whole of the British Isles. Compared with other Provinces in India, it is a little larger than the Central Provinces excluding Berar, and it has the greatest population next to the United Provinces (48,014,080), being closely followed by Madras with 46,217,245 inhabitants. Throughout almost its whole extent it is a low-lying alluvial plain, the southern portion of which is formed by the united deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, while the northern portion consists of the valleys of these great rivers and their tributaries. Whether physical conditions, the character of the people and their language are considered, the Presidency is, with a few exceptions, remarkably homogeneous, but for practical purposes it may be treated as consisting of four natural Divisions, viz., Western, Central, East and North Bengal, of which a brief account will be found later in this chapter.



3. The Province of Bihar and Orissa has an area of 111,829 square miles and a population of 38,435,293 persons. Its area is slightly smaller than that of Austria

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

(115,903 square miles), and a little greater than that of Italy (110,550 square miles), while its population is very little less than that of France (39,252,245). The largest Province in India next to Burma, Madras and Bombay, its population is only exceeded by that of Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces. It consists of the Divisions or Commissionerships of Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, and of the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Feudatory States. The five Divisions, which have an area of 83,181 square miles and a population of 34,490,084, are the same as in 1901, with the following exceptions. The Orissa Division had the district of Sambalpur added to it in 1905, when the first partition of Bengal was effected. The district of Malda was at the same time transferred from the Bhagalpur Division to the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, whence it has been retransferred to Bengal. In 1908 the Patna Division was reconstituted, the North-Gangetic districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga being formed into a new Division known as Tirhut, while the districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad on the south of the Ganges were formed into another Commissionership, which retained the name of the Patna Division. Owing to the transfers which took place in 1905, the Orissa Feudatory States, which in 1901 contained 17 States, now contain 24 States, the five States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol being added from the Central Provinces, and two other States, Gangpur and Bonai.

from the Chota Nagpur States. Owing to this loss and to the transfer to the Central Provinces of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Korca and Changbhakar, the Chota Nagpur States now consist only of the two small States of Kharsawan and Saraikela. The effect of these changes is shown in the marginal table.

	Area in square miles.		Population.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Orissa Feudatory States ...	14,387	28,016	1,847,802	3,796,563
Chota Nagpur States ...	16,014	602	1,001,429	148,646

Unlike Bengal, the Province of Bihar and Orissa is wanting in homogeneity. It consists of three sub-provinces, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, which have different languages and land systems, while their physical configuration and the character of their peoples are entirely distinct.

4. Bihar, which for administrative purposes is divided between the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, extends over 42,361 square miles, and has a population of 23,752,968 persons, or nearly 10 millions more than the Central Provinces and Berar. Physically it consists of the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, which is bounded on the north by the lower spurs of the Himalayas and on the south by the Chota Nagpur plateau. It is an alluvial plain watered and drained by the Ganges and its tributaries, such as the Gandak, Son, Gogri and Kosi, which sometimes sweep down in disastrous floods. The climate is drier than in Bengal, and the rainfall is not only lighter, but more capricious, its vicissitudes exposing the country, especially to the north of the Ganges, to periods of scarcity, which occasionally culminate in famine. Rice is the main harvest, but heavy crops of maize, wheat and barley are also raised. The people are sturdy cultivators, clinging to their lands with grim tenacity; their industries and manufactures are of little economic importance. A little over 30 years ago they were described by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as "poor helpless discontented men, bound down to a state of extreme depression and misery, tenants of the richest Province in Bengal, yet the poorest and most wretched class we find in the country." The monopoly of agriculture, the excessive dependence of the cultivators on the winter rice crop, the precariousness of that crop, rack-renting and the oppression of landlords, made it difficult for the people to accumulate reserves on which they could fall back in a year of crop failure. Since then, the security of tenure, and the protection against arbitrary enhancement of rents, afforded by the Bengal Tenancy Act and the preparation of a record-of-rights, together with the extension of railways, have worked what may almost be described as an agrarian and economic revolution. Bihar has now passed from a condition of recurring famines to one in which, though the pinch of high prices is felt, widespread famine due to the actual absence of food is only a grim memory. In times of scarcity both cultivators and labourers display staying powers which were previously unknown, while the pressure of high prices is relieved by the annual migration of landless labourers to centres of industry, and by the remittances made by them to their families.

5. Chota Nagpur, which includes the Division of that name and the petty States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, extends over 27,679 square miles, and has 5,754,008 inhabitants, or nearly half as many as Burma. It is an upland plateau which forms the north-eastern portion of the table-land of Central India. The surface is undulating and hilly, and a large part is still covered by jungle, in which the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*) predominates. Cultivation is mainly confined to the valleys and the depressions between the ridges, which are enriched by the detritus washed down from above: laborious terracing is necessary to make rice cultivation possible on the slopes. The rainfall is about the same as in Bihar, but owing to the broken undulating surface the rain runs off rapidly, and artificial irrigation is necessary to bring the rice crop to maturity. Failures of the harvest occur periodically, but scarcity does not press severely on the people, as they are mostly hardy aboriginals, who, even in times of prosperity, have recourse to edible jungle products, such as the fruit of the *mahua* tree, and can manage to subsist under conditions which would result in famine among the cultivators of the plains. For centuries this hilly tract remained almost a *terra incognita*, outside the sphere of administration of the Mughal Government, which saw little hope of revenue from its barren

forest-clad hills. It was part of the *Jharkhand* or jungle land, a name given to the whole country stretching from Birbhum and Manbhum to Central India, and from the fort of Rohtasgarh in Shahabad to the borders of Orissa. The Mughals exercised only a nominal suzerainty over the native chiefs and, except for a few punitive expeditions, rarely penetrated its recesses, remaining content with a tribute of a few diamonds from the Chief of Kokrah (Ranchi).^{*} It is still the home of non-Aryan tribes, who were never completely subjugated till the advent of the British, and, as stated in the last Census Report, "have preserved an individuality in respect of tribal organization, religion and language, which their congeners in the plain have long since lost."

6. Orissa, with an area of 41,789 square miles and a population of 8,928,316 persons, is by far the largest but most sparsely populated sub-province. It corresponds to the Orissa Division and the Orissa Feudatory States, and consists of two distinct portions, viz., a low-land tract along the sea board and a hilly interior. The former tract, which comprises the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri, is a delta formed by the Mahanadi, Baitarani, Brahmani and other rivers debouching into the Bay of Bengal. The greater part of this alluvial delta was under the direct control of the Mughals, and formed the Mughalbandi or crown lands, from which the Mughals obtained a regular revenue. On the collapse of their power, it passed under the domination of the Marathas, and did not come under British rule until 1803. It has been throughout its history a tract difficult of access, having little communication with the rest of north-eastern India; it is only within recent years that it has been connected by rail with Madras on the south and Bengal on the north. Owing largely to this isolation, the people have social characteristics and a caste system different both from that of Bengal and that of Madras, while their language (Oriya) has but few foreign elements. The interior of Orissa forms an elevated plateau with occasional higher hills, some of which reach sub-temperate altitudes. In this hinterland there are two British districts, viz. Sambalpur, the suzerainty of which was ceded by the Marathas in 1826, but which only came under direct British rule in 1849, and Angul, part of which was annexed in 1847, and the remainder, known as the Khondmals, in 1855. The rest of the country is under the rule of Feudatory Chiefs, who, protected from invasion by the nature of the country, were nominally subject to the Mughals and Marathas, but otherwise remained independent. Their subjects are mainly forest and hill tribes, or semi-Hinduized aborigines, who have been but little affected by outside influences.

7. Sikkim, with an area of 2,818 square miles is smaller than an average district in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, while its population is less than that of any district in the two Provinces. Within its narrow limits it presents almost every conceivable condition of climate, tropical, temperate and alpine, the mountains running up beyond the snow line, the valleys sinking to 1,000 feet above sea level. At the higher altitudes arctic cold prevails; the valleys have a moist, hot and enervating climate. The rainfall in the south is very heavy: at the capital, Gangtok, it averages 133 inches in the year, but in the drier valleys to the north it falls to 20 inches or less. From about 7,000 up to 14,000 feet which is the limit of tree growth, the country is under virgin forest and uninhabited, except for occasional settlements of graziers. The population is almost exclusively confined to the valleys, slopes, and ridges below 7,000 feet, that being the highest level at which maize, the staple food of the people, comes to maturity. This and other crops, such as millets and pulses, are generally raised by means of *jhuming*. The forest is cut or burnt down, and a crop raised from the denuded surface for two years in succession, the land lying fallow for the succeeding eight years. When all the forest on his holding has been destroyed, the peasant resumes cultivation on the patch he first cleared, cutting and burning down any forest growth and scrub that may have sprung up in the meantime. At the lower levels, i. e., below 4,000 feet, rice is grown by means of wet-terracing. The hill side is carved out into terraces, the outer edge of which is banked up to a height of about one foot; a channel is led from the nearest stream to the topmost terrace, from which it runs down to the terraces below, each of which is irrigated

in turn. The population is a mixed one, consisting of Bhotias, Lepchas and Nepalese. The Bhotias, who are mainly graziers, live at the higher elevations. The Lepchas are a timid peaceful race of cultivators found in the lower part of the Tista valley and its affluents. Unable to face the cold, they favour the warmth of the valleys, where they lead a somewhat lazy life. The Nepalese, who are found mainly in the south and west of Sikkim, are the most thrifty and enterprising cultivators in the State, and are far more energetic and virile than the Lepchas, who give way to them whenever they come into contact.

8. In the Imperial Tables the districts have been grouped together by the administrative divisions known as Commissionerships, but this arrangement is not altogether convenient for discussing the main results of the census, the limits of Divisions having been fixed for administrative purposes and without regard to physical and ethnological considerations. In the Orissa Division, for instance, the Angul district is entirely different from the seaboard districts. The former is a hilly district with a non-Aryan population largely composed of Kandhs (Khonds) who till about 60 years ago practised human sacrifice. The latter are deltaic districts long under the domination of Brahmans, with an Aryan population, an old civilization and a peculiar caste system. The Bhagalpur Division again contains the Sonthal Parganas, which physically is a part of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, while its people are mainly Animistic Santals and Sauria Paharias, the latter of whom cling to the hill tops and are one of the most primitive races in the Province. In this report, therefore, and in the subsidiary tables attached to it, the districts are grouped together by natural divisions with physical and ethnical affinities. These divisions are the same as those adopted in 1901, except that Sikkim, being no longer under the Government of Bengal, is not included in North Bengal, and that the Chota Nagpur Plateau now comprises the district of Sambalpur and the States transferred from the Central Provinces, while it excludes the States which, as mentioned in paragraph 3, have been detached from Bengal.

9. The following statement shows the districts and States included in each natural division :—

NATURAL DIVISION.		Districts and States.	Division and State.
BENGAL.	West Bengal	Burdwan	Burdwan.
		Birbhum	
		Bankura	
		Midnapore	
		Hooghly	
		Howrah	
	Central Bengal	24 Parganas	Presidency.
		Calcutta	
		Nadia	
		Murshidabad	
	North Bengal	Jessore	Rajshahi.
		Rajshahi	
		Dinajpur	
		Jalpaiguri	
		Darjeeling	
		Rangpur	
		Bohara	
		Pabna	
		Malda	
		Cooch Behar	
	East Bengal	Dacca	Dacca.
		Mymensingh	
		Faridpur	
		Barisal	
		Tripura	
		Nokhali	
		Chittagong	
		Chittagong Hill Tracts	
		Nalbari	
		Assam	

NATURAL DIVISION.		Districts and States.	Districts and States.
Bihar AND ORISSA.	North Bihar	...	...
		{ Saran ...	...
		{ Champaran ...	...
		{ Muzaffarpur ...	...
		{ Darbhanga ...	...
	South Bihar	{ Bhagalpur ...	...
		{ Purnea ...	...
	
		{ Patna ...	...
		{ Gaya ...	...
	Orissa	{ Shahabad ...	...
		{ Moughyr ...	...
	
		{ Cuttack ...	...
		{ Balasore ...	...
	Chota Nagpur Plateau	{ Puri ...	...
	
		{ Hazaribagh ...	...
		{ Ranchi ...	...
		{ Palamau ...	...
		{ Manbhum ...	...
		{ Singhbhum ...	...
		Southal Parganas	...
		Angul ...	...
		Sambalpur ...	...
		Athgarh ...	...
		Athmalik ...	...
		Baunra ...	...
		Baramba ...	...
		Baud ...	...
		Bonai ...	...
		Daspalla ...	...
		Dhenkanal ...	...
		Gangpur ...	...
		Hindol ...	...
		Kalahandi ...	...
		Keonjhar ...	...
Khondpara ...		...
Mayurbhanj ...		...
Narsinghpur ...		...
Nayagarh ...		...
Nilgiri ...		...
Pal Lahara ...		...
Patna ...		...
Rairakhol ...		...
Raipur ...		...
Soupur ...		...
Talcher ...		...
Tigiria ...		...
Saraikela ...		...
Kharsawan ...		...
			Chota Nagpur States.
		Fendatory States.	

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

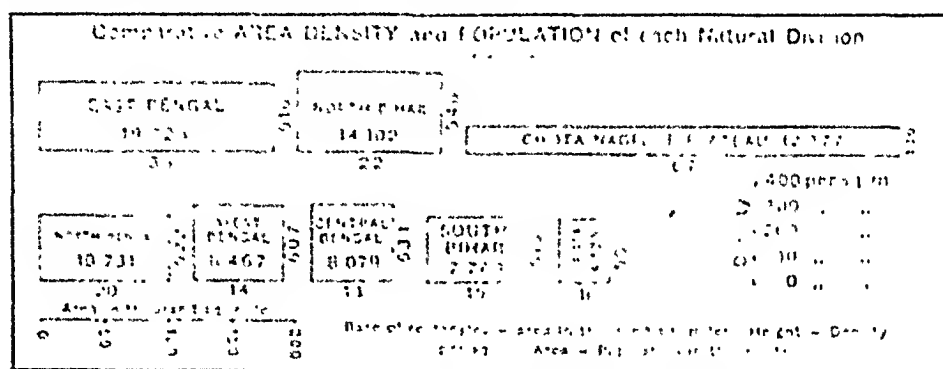
10. Statistics of the area, population, towns, villages and occupied houses of each district are given in Imperial Table I. Provincial Table I, which will be found at the end of the volume of Imperial Tables, gives similar figures for thanas, together with percentages of variation since 1891 and the density per square mile in 1911. Attached to this chapter are seven subsidiary tables showing—(i) statistics of density, water-supply and crops, (ii) the distribution of the population classified according to density, (iii) the distribution of the population between towns and villages, (iv) the number per mille

of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns, (v) towns

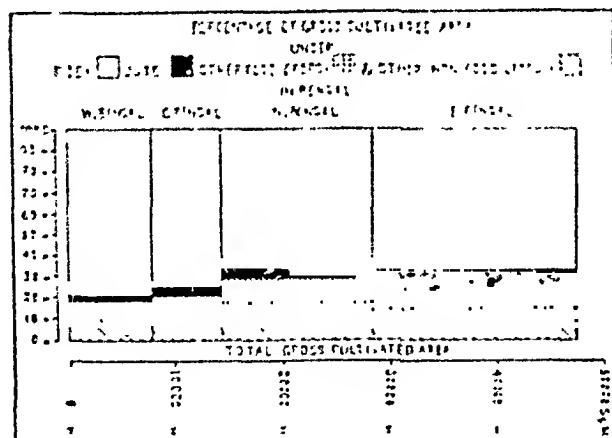
	IN SQAUE MILE.	Area in square miles.	Population.
Bengal		84,092	46,305,642
North Bengal		17,340	8,077,314
Central Bengal		17,324	8,077,317
South Bengal		7,248	1,320,254
East Bengal		27,458	12,027,319
Bihar and Orissa		111,829	38,435,293
North Bihar		21,427	11,177,314
South Bihar		15,777	7,330,007
Orissa		5,224	4,144,177
Chhota Nagpur		49,001	12,383,895

classified by population, (vi) density and variations in the population of cities, and (vii) the number of persons per house and of houses per square mile. As indicated in paragraph 6, these subsidiary tables show the districts by natural divisions, the area and

population of which are given in the margin.



11. Bengal, with an average density of 551 persons to the square mile is far more thickly populated than any European country, except Belgium and England. Its density would be even greater were it not for the large area occupied by hills, rivers, swamps and estuaries, which cause the most extraordinary variations within comparatively narrow limits. One district in the same natural division may be densely populated, and another support less than half the number: even in the same district one thana may contain a teeming population, and another have a few inhabitants scattered over its surface. For instance, the 24-Parganas supports 502 persons per square mile, but the adjoining district of Khulna only 287; if we exclude the uninhabited



forest area in the Sundarbans, a labyrinth of tidal rivers, swampy forests and half-submerged islands, their density is 776 and 515 respectively. In Eastern Bengal the district of Dacca has 1,066 persons per square mile, but in the Chittagong Hill Tracts each square mile supports only 30 people. In Western Bengal, again, 1,850 persons per square mile are found in Howrah, and 434 in Bankura. Owing to these variations the conditions

of each natural division and district will be discussed in some detail.

12. In the Presidency as a whole the pressure on the soil is less in North Bengal and East Bengal, where there are few big cities or large industries, than in Central Bengal and West Bengal, which contain the populous cities of Calcutta and Howrah and the metropolitan districts of Hooghly and the 24-Parganas. Central Bengal, with 634 persons per square mile, has the greatest density of population, and is closely followed by West Bengal with

607 to the square mile. In North Bengal the ratio is 522, and in East Bengal 516 per square mile. No less than one-fourth, however, of the area included in the latter division is accounted for by Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, whose jungle-covered hills contribute only one-fiftieth of its population. If these two tracts are left out of account, the ratio in East Bengal rises to 674 to the square mile and is higher than in any other division.

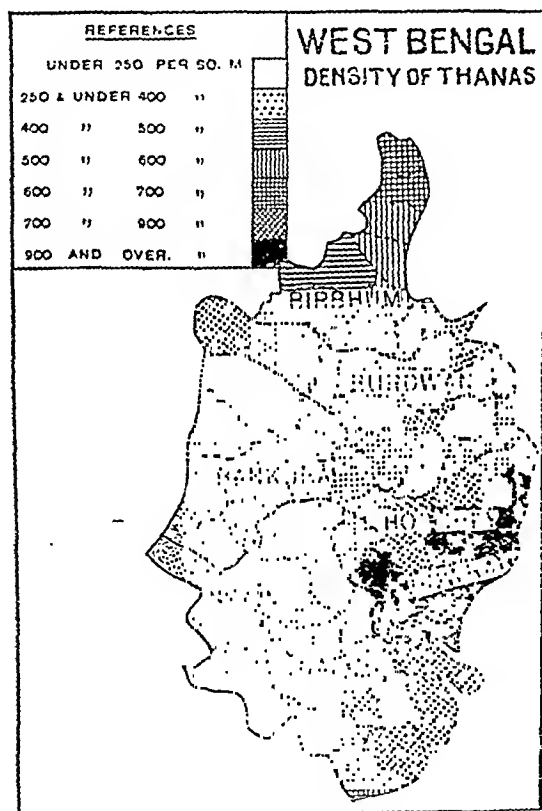
The most congested district is Howrah, in which, as already stated, each square mile supports 1,850 persons. The only other district with a density of over 1,000 is Dacca, but two more districts (Hooghly and Tippera) have over 900 persons per square mile. Five districts, and the two States of Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera, support less than 500 persons per square mile. The scantiest population is found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where, density does not exceed 30 per square mile.

13. West Bengal extends along the right bank of the Bhagirathi (or Hooghly, as the river is called in its lower reaches),

WEST BENGAL.

and approaches the Chota Nagpur Plateau on the west, while on the south it is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. It consists of two distinct zones, one a semi-aquatic rice plain, the other a rolling upland country. The portion included in the Hooghly and Howrah districts, and in the east of Burdwan, Midnapore and Bankura, is an alluvial plain formed

by the Bhagirathi, Damodar, Ajay and Rupnarayan rivers. The soil is fertile and bears heavy crops of rice, but the climate is damp and enervating, jungle grows thick and fever is rife. The country is but little raised above sea level, and is intersected by rivers, many of which are now silted up, while the beds of others are being gradually raised by the annual deposition of silt. Between the rivers are swampy depressions, and a large area is waterlogged. Urban or semi-urban conditions prevail along the bank of the Hooghly from Chinsura on the north to Howrah on the south. In this riparian strip of land town follows town with scarcely a break, and the development of manufactures in the last half century has converted it into a busy industrial centre. The remainder of the tract is higher in elevation and consists of rolling country with a laterite soil, which in the west includes the



eastern fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. A poor ferruginous soil and hard beds of laterite here take the place of the fertile deltaic detritus, and wide expanses of scrub-jungle are found instead of the closely-tilled village lands of the east. Instead of containing a well-educated population of Hindus and Muhammadans, this western tract is comparatively thinly inhabited by races or castes of a less advanced type, into whose constitution an aboriginal or semi-Hinduized element enters. Rural conditions generally prevail, there being few towns or industries of any importance except in the Asansol subdivision of the Burdwan district, where the coal-fields have attracted a large immigrant population.

14. The most populous districts are Howrah and Hooghly, which are entirely alluvial, and then follow, in order, Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum and Bankura, in all of which there are under 600 persons to the square mile. Howrah city alone contains nearly one-fifth of the total population of the Howrah district, but even if it is excluded, the average per square mile is

1,525 and exceeds that returned by any other district in the Presidency. This teeming population is due to the neighbourhood of Calcutta and the number of jute mills, cotton mills, engineering and other industrial works clustered along the bank of the Hooghly. Density is high even in rural tracts, no thana having less than 1,293 persons per square mile, while Dumjor has 2,212—an astonishingly high figure, for, though this thana adjoins Howrah city, part of the land is marshy and uncultivable. In the Sadar subdivision, which contains the city of Howrah and most of the manufacturing works, density is more than twice as great as in the Uluberia subdivision to the south, which is more purely agricultural. The density of the district has risen by nearly 50 per cent. since 1872, and even in the last decade there has been an increase of 182 persons per square mile. This growing pressure on the soil is due not only to industrial expansion, but also to the drainage of swampy areas, a large scheme affecting over half its area having been carried out since 1891. Dumjor and Jagatballabhpur thanas, which have especially benefited by it, show an increase of 268 and 198 per square mile in these twenty years, though the former was already densely populated. The population is most scanty in Amta, the drainage of which was proposed as long ago as 1873, but which still remains partially water-logged and liable to inundation.

In Hooghly the highest density is found in the Serampore subdivision, where conditions are similar to those in Howrah, and where part of the land has been rendered cultivable by the Dankuni drainage scheme. The Serampore thana, which is a riparian strip containing five municipal towns, has as many as 5,098 persons per square mile, and, of the remaining four thanas, two have over 1,000 and two over 900 to the square mile. In the Hooghly subdivision to the north the people congregate thickly along the Hooghly as far as Tribeni, but in the low-lying, unhealthy country inland the average falls below 550. In the Arambagh subdivision the density varies according to the nature of the soil, the alluvial tract having an average density of 838 and the laterite uplands of Goghat only 677.

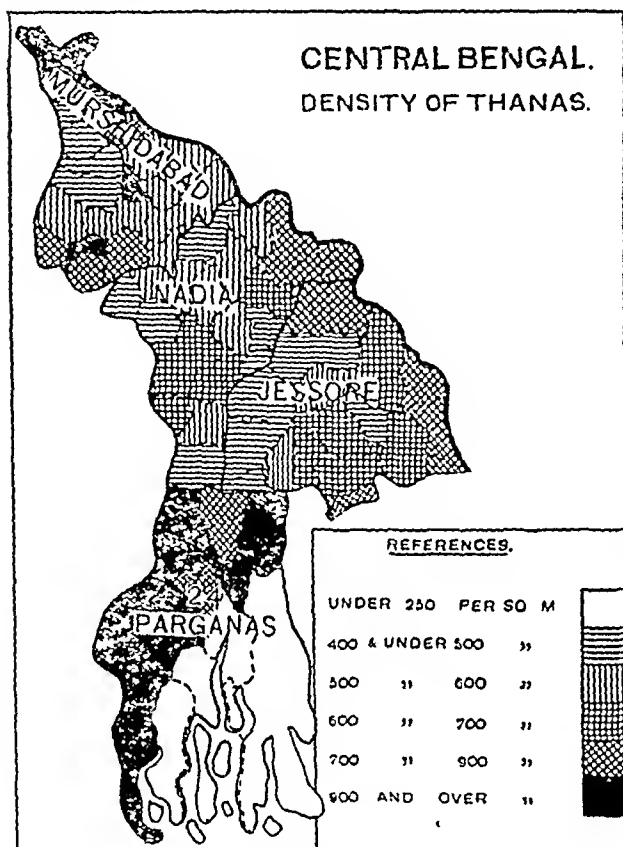
15. The relatively low density characteristic of lateritic soil is further exemplified in the Asansol subdivision of Burdwan, where the ratio is under 400 in Ausgram and Kaksa. In other lateritic areas the development of the coal-fields has led to a large influx of labour, and Asansol, with 887 persons to the square mile, is the most thickly populated thana in the district. In the alluvial portion the population is fairly evenly distributed, the pressure on the soil being greatest in the Katwa and then in the Kalna subdivision, both of which lie along the Bhagirathi.

There is a very uneven distribution of the people over the 5,186 square miles that make up the Midnapore district. The eastern half of the district, which is alluvial, is thickly populated, while the west of the district, which has a lateritic soil covered here and there with jungle, is sparsely inhabited. The most populous areas lie along the bank of the Rupnarayan and the estuary of the Hooghly, the maximum density being found in the Tamluk and Ghatal subdivisions (921 and 811 respectively), which lie along the Rupnarayan and consist of fertile rice plains. Contai, with 728 persons to the square mile, lies on the sea-coast to the west of Tamluk, and there are large tracts of sandy or salt-impregnated soil. Conditions in the Sadar subdivision are very different. Two-thirds of it form part of the lateritic plateau running down from Manbhum, which cannot support a large population, for considerable areas are covered by *sal* forest and jungle. In this subdivision there are only 397 persons per square mile, while five thanas, which still retain the old name of Jungle Mahals, and cover 1,827 square miles or more than half the total area, have a mean density of under 300 to the square mile.

In Birbhum the density of population decreases towards the west on the borders of the Sonthal Parganas, where the surface is barren and undulating, and increases towards the east, which is an alluvial flat. It rises to over 600 in the Rampur Hât subdivision, which is mainly a fertile rice plain, and it is less than 500 in the Sadar subdivision, the minimum (449) being reached in the Suri thana, which is an undulating tract with a sterile soil. The difference between the density of the alluvial flats to the east and the uplands to the west is equally marked in Bankura. The Bankura subdivision, which is hilly and undulating, with large jungle tracts, has a density of only 389.

whereas in the Vishnupur subdivision, which is part of the deltaic country and almost entirely under rice cultivation, there is an average of 560 to the square mile.

16. Central Bengal consists of a portion of the delta in which the process of land formation has ceased. It is an alluvial plain intersected by numerous rivers, which formerly received a supply of water from the Ganges, and in their turn supplied and enriched the land with annual deposits of silt. The



influx of fresh water from the Ganges has ceased except in the rains, the result being that for the greater part of the year they have no current, but merely contain long stagnant stretches of water covered with vegetation. The banks of the rivers having been raised above the surrounding country by the accumulation of silt, depressions are found between them, the fall from all directions being towards the centre. Many of these depressions are of small size, but others are practically inland lakes. Some are mere accumulations of water upon low-lying ground, while others are natural drainage basins, the level of which does not admit of drainage. In some places these basins are on a fairly high level, and the central depression is under regular cultivation. Other

depressions are water-logged, but can still be used for growing rice, while others again are always under water.

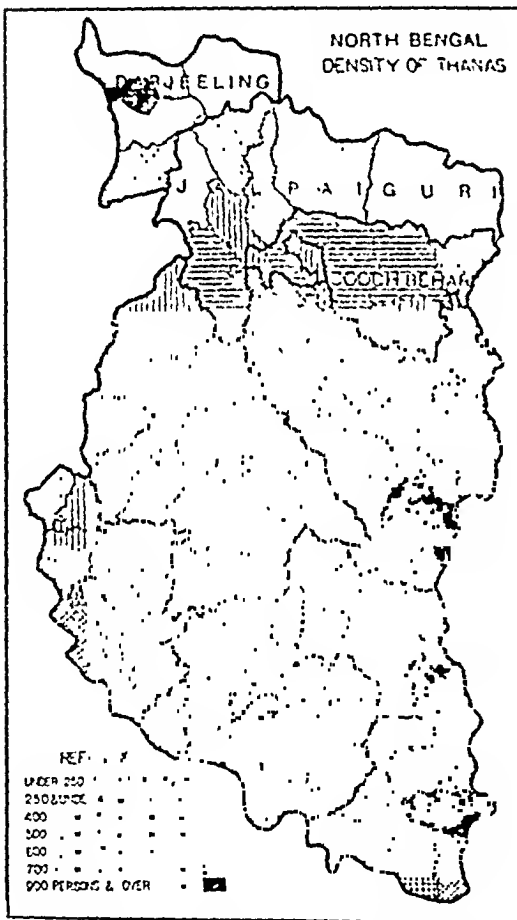
In the Division, as a whole, there are 634 persons to the square mile, but the density is increased by the large population of Calcutta; if the latter be excluded, there are 565 persons per square mile. This is a high figure, when it is remembered that in the 24-Parganas the uninhabited forest area in the Sundarbans extends over 1,711 square miles or more than one-third of the whole district. Excluding this area, the 24-Parganas has an average density of 777 per square mile. In the remaining districts the pressure on the soil does not vary very greatly, there being 640 persons to the square mile in Murshidabad, 601 in Jessore and 580 in Nadia.

17. In the 24-Parganas numerous towns with busy jute and cotton mills stretch along the whole length of the Hooghly from Garden Reach northwards. Away from its banks, however, the population is almost entirely rural and devoted to agriculture. Density in the different subdivisions varies accordingly, being as high as 1,540 in the Barrackpore subdivision, which is a narrow riparian strip crowded with municipal towns, factories and mills. In the Diamond Harbour subdivision the density is less than a third of this, and in the Basirhat subdivision there are only 223 persons per square mile. Both these subdivisions, however, lie to the south and merge in the Sundarbans. The difference between conditions in the north and south is even more plainly seen in the thana returns; no less than 19 thanas have more than 1,000 persons per square mile, while in two (Mathurapur and Husainabad), which extend into the Sundarbans, there are less than 100 per square mile.

In Murshidabad the people cluster more closely in the alluvial country to the east of the Bhagirathi than to the west, where the country is slightly undulating and the level is higher. The most densely populated thanas lie

along the banks of the Bhagirathi, four of them having a density of over 1,000, while four thanas to the west have under 500 persons per square mile. In Jessore the average density of population is least in the Bangaon subdivision to the south-west, where the silting up of rivers has deprived the country of the fertilising deposits it formerly received. It gradually increases as one proceeds from west to east, and reaches the maximum of 740 in the Narail subdivision in the south-east. Here the rivers still have a flowing current, and one thana contains no less than 897 persons per square mile. The Kushtia subdivision, a fertile tract lying between the Ganges and Mathabanga, is by far the most populous part of Nadia. The scantiest population in that district is found in the Ranaghat subdivision in the extreme south-east, in spite of the fact that it contains a larger urban population than any other subdivision. Elsewhere the inhabitants are fairly evenly distributed, varying only from 521 to 551 per square mile.

18. North Bengal, lying from east to west between Purua and the Brahmaputra, and from north to south between the lower spurs of the Himalayas and the Ganges, a remarkably homogeneous area, except for the hills portion of the



Darjeeling district, which forms part of the Himalayas and is inhabited by Mongolian races, mostly descendants of immigrants from Nepal. In the north there is an unhealthy submontane tract, the Tarai, from which the country gradually slopes southwards in a wide alluvial plain watered by the rivers flowing southwards from the Himalayas and broken only by the Barind. This is a comparatively high belt of laterite formation lying on the confines of Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Bogra, which grows only one crop, late rice, and which in consequence is subject to scarcity in years of deficient rainfall. The rest of the area has a rich soil of sandy loam, mainly under rice, which accounts for two-thirds of the cultivated area. Jute is also grown extensively and covers one-tenth of the cropped area; tea is raised in the submontane tract, known as the Dnars, in Jalpaiguri and the Tarai in Darjeeling, as well as on the hills in the latter district. Except in the south-east, communication is mainly by land, and the demand for speedy transport

has resulted in large railway extensions.

19. In most of the districts the distribution of the people is affected by the changes in the river system which have taken place since 1787. The Tista once flowed south through the centre of North Bengal to meet the Ganges, but in that year it changed its course and cut out a new channel by which it found its way to the Brahmaputra. Owing to the vagaries of this great river, North Bengal is full of silted river beds, which obstruct drainage and are largely responsible for the unhealthiness which prevails. Density is highest in the districts bordering on the Brahmaputra, viz., Pabna (772), Bogra (724) and Rangpur (686); the only other districts with over 500 per square mile are Rajshahi and Malda lying along the Ganges. In the case of both the Ganges and Brahmaputra the mean density of the districts rises according to their situation along the rivers' downward course, and it has been suggested that this is due to their fertilizing powers increasing with the fall of the level

of the land. The least populous tracts are Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling to the north, of which the two latter have large areas under forest.

20. Density in the Palna district is highest in the Sirajganj subdivision, a fertile jute-growing tract, in which the drainage has not been obstructed by deserted river beds to the same extent as in the headquarters subdivision. Its average density (867 per square mile) is one-third greater than that of the latter subdivision, but there are extraordinary variations, the Shahzadpur thana supporting 1,209, and the Raiganj thana only 490 persons to the square mile. The latter is an unhealthy tract over which malaria has a hold, and, moreover, the large lake known as Chalan Bil occupies a considerable portion of it. The only thana in the Sadar subdivision in which the district average is exceeded is Mathura, which, lying in the angle between the Padma and the Brahmaputra, is specially benefited by the deposit of silt brought down by the rivers.

In Bogra the scantiest population is found in the west of the district, which forms part of the elevated *quasi*-laterite tract known as the Barind. The minimum (457) is reached in the Sherpur thana to the extreme south-west, where a large area is still overgrown with jungle. The mean density is double as high as this in the adjoining thana of Dhunot, which is traversed by flowing rivers and is one of the most fertile tracts in the district. Generally speaking, the population is very dense in the east of the district between the Karatoya and Dakopa rivers, where there is a rich alluvial soil in which jute is the main crop.

21. Rangpur consists of a wide alluvial plain unbroken by natural elevations of any kind. In the north there are extensive sandy plains, admirably suited to the cultivation of tobacco: the density of the Nilphamari subdivision, which is comprised in this tract, is 758 per square mile. In the east the Kurigram and Gaibandha subdivisions are enriched by the deposits of silt brought down by the Brahmaputra: the density in the former is slightly below and in the latter considerably above the district average. The Gaibandha thana supports 1,188 persons per square mile, while less than half that number are found in the Shaghatta thana which adjoins it on the south. The least populous part of the district is the Sadar subdivision, which is at once more unhealthy and less fertile than the other subdivisions.

Rajshahi is composed of four tracts with distinct agricultural conditions, viz.—(1) the tract along the bank of the Padma, which is subject to its direct fluvial action, (2) the Barind, on the north-west, with a *quasi*-laterite soil and a high undulating surface (3), a swampy water-logged depression on the east, and (4) the remainder of the district, which has neither the special advantages nor the disadvantages of the other three areas. The Sadar subdivision, which includes the whole of the first tract and portions of the second and fourth tracts, has the highest density in the district. Next comes Noagaon, in which two thanas are comprised in the Barind and two in the fourth tract. In the Nator subdivision, which includes the whole of the swampy tract and very small portions of the first and second tracts, the effects of unfavourable agricultural conditions are accentuated by the prevalence of malaria. This is consequently the least populous part of the district.

22. Density varies greatly in the three tracts making up the Malda district, viz., (1) the area, locally known as the Diara, which is fertilized by the Padma, (2) the older alluvium, which is not so fertile as the Diara, and (3) the Barind, which is still less fertile. The thanas are not exactly

Tract.	Thana.	Density.
1 ...	{ Kaliachak ...	... 845
	{ Sibganj ...	... 808
2 ...	{ English Bazar ...	... 739
	{ Kharba ...	... 584
3 ...	{ Gumastapur ...	... 397
	{ Malda ...	... 357
	{ Gajol ...	... 356

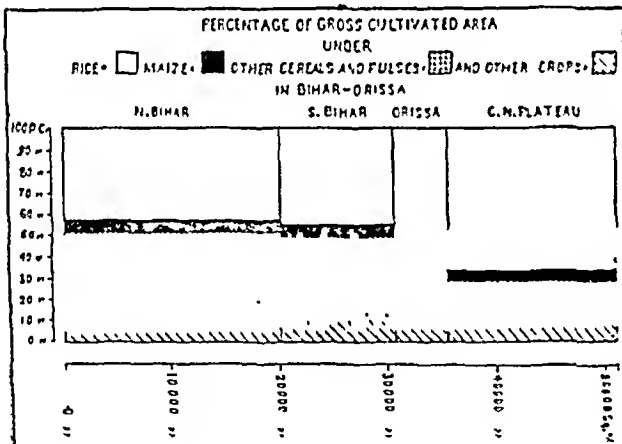
conterminous with these natural divisions, but the marginal statement clearly indicates the influence of the character of the soil on the distribution of population. The State of Cooch Behar is thinly populated, density nowhere rising above 552. Dinhata in the south and Haldibari in the extreme west support, on the average, 545 persons per

square mile, but the mean density is reduced to 421 in the remainder of the State, and tails off to 359 in Tufanganj to the north-east, which is as yet not fully developed. In Dinajpur conditions are not favourable to any great density of population. It is not watered by either the Ganges or the Brahmaputra: its climate is unhealthy, and the south is covered by the high

31. In Backergunge the distribution of the population is limited by the uncultivable area included in the Sundarbans. The tract bordering the Sundarbans, although fertile, is also backward in cultivation and sparsely populated, the people being exposed to the dangers of cyclones and storm-waves. As a result of these conditions, the density in thanas Matbaria, Amtali, Golachipa and Baranadi falls below 400, reaching the minimum of 232 in Amtali. The density gradually rises northward with variations due to local causes, till the highest figure is reached in the Sadar subdivision. Backergunge is one of the most important rice-producing tracts in Eastern Bengal and is capable of supporting a much larger population than it does at present. In Khulna the pressure on the soil gradually increases as one proceeds from east to west, Satkhira on the east being the most and Bagerhat on the west the least populous subdivision. A number of thanas merge in the Sundarbans, and four contain 500 persons or less per square mile.

32. Both the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Hill Tippera consist largely of hills, which are unsuitable for plough cultivation. In the former only 5 per cent. of the total area is actually under cultivation, the aboriginal inhabitants living chiefly by *jhuming*. Its population has increased during the past decade by 23 per cent., but in the three circles comprising the district the density varies only from 24 to 42 persons per square mile. In Hill Tippera cultivation is more advanced, and agricultural conditions in the narrow strip of low land along the north-western and southern boundaries are similar to those in the adjoining British territory. The density varies from 25 in Kaila Sahar to 126 in the Sadar subdivision, the average in the whole State being 56 per square mile.

33. The Province of Bihar and Orissa, with 344 persons per square mile, though not so thickly populated as the British Isles (where there are on the average 30 more persons per square mile), has a denser population than Germany. In British

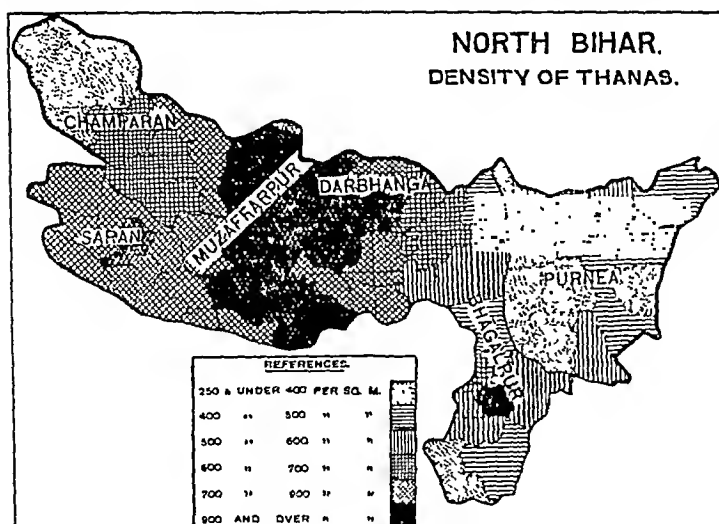


territory the mean density rises to 415 to the square mile, but the average for the Province is considerably reduced by the Orissa Feudatory States, which are as big as Ireland and as thinly peopled, the average density (135) being exactly the same. The most populous district is Muzaffarpur (937), which is closely followed by Darbhanga (875), while the scantiest population is found in Angul (119).

Density throughout the Province is determined by the physical nature of the country and, in particular, by hills, forest and water. Bihar is an alluvial tract, the northern portion of which is traversed by rivers debouching from the Himalayas: considerable areas are seamed by their old beds and flooded by their present channels. Immediately to the south the hilly plateau of Chota Nagpur rises above the plain. South of the latter are the highlands of Orissa, and to the extreme south-east the deltaic districts of the Orissa Division lie between them and the Bay of Bengal. Even the alluvial stretches of South Bihar and the Orissa delta have a hilly backbone, and in the whole Province there are only four districts (Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Purnea) in which hills are conspicuous by their absence. The hills generally are either bare rocky excrescences, or bear a thin sterile soil covered with forest.

34. North Bihar, with 646 persons to the square mile, is the most congested tract in the Province. To the extreme north there is, in some parts, a sub-montane strip, consisting mostly of prairie land and denuded forest, but

the remainder is a flat alluvial plain almost entirely under cultivation. It is watered by a number of great rivers which have gradually raised their beds



by the deposition of silt and flow on ridges slightly elevated above the general level of the country. Most of them are liable to overflow their banks after heavy rainfall in the Nepal hills, and such inundations have been of increasing frequency and severity in recent years. In the west cultivation is rendered precarious by the oscillations of the Kosi.

which, frequently changing its course, spreads over the land a layer of infertile sand that destroys its productive powers. The rainfall is ordinarily ample, the normal annual quantity being 53·36 inches, but it is capricious and its distribution frequently untimely, especially in the north of the Tirhut Division, which has been described as the "blackest of black spots on the famine map." Here the cultivators are practically dependent on one crop, viz., winter rice. The population is dense, wages are low and rents high; when the rains fail, distress ensues among the landless labourers, but is mitigated by their increasing readiness to leave their homes and obtain work and wages elsewhere.

35. The pressure on the soil, especially in Saran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, would be still greater were it not for the area occupied by rivers and marshes. Through the centre of Champaran extends a chain of 43 lakes, with an area of 139 square miles, which mark an old bed of the Gandak and never entirely dry up. In the other districts north of the Ganges there are numerous marshes (*chaurs*) and meres, which represent the deeper portions of old river beds or are formed by the troughlike depressions between the present river banks. They are generally full of water during the rains, when they are filled by the floods of the Ganges and its affluents, and most contain some water even in the cold weather. In those which dry soonest, the ground, which retains abundant moisture, is cultivated with winter rice; in others a precarious crop of early rice is raised before they are again flooded, or a long-stemmed variety is sown broadcast, which rises with the water and is reaped from boats. They are often of very large size, one in Saran having a length of 20 miles and attaining a breadth of 2 to 5 miles.

36. These marshes, which confine the limits of human habitation, are mostly a legacy of the rivers debouching from the Himalayas. The vagaries of the same rivers are to-day a barrier to the expansion of cultivation. The most destructive is the Kosi, which is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, the uncertain nature of its channel and the desolation caused by its floods. Between 1850 and 1875 this river, swinging to the west, cut into and overspread some 20 miles of country, turning fertile fields into wilderness of sand and swamp. Nathpur, a great grain mart in Bhagalpur, was swept away in 1875, and two fertile *naryanas* in the north-east of that district have lost a considerable portion of their cultivable area. Similar devastation has taken place along both banks of the river down to its confluence with the Ganges, and, even in tracts not affected by its inroads, the fear of its movements has driven back cultivation, the place of which has been taken by grass jungle.

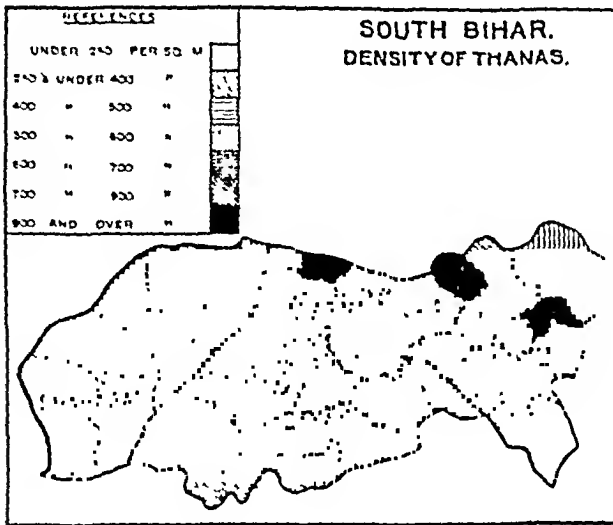
37. In Muzaffarpur the greatest density is found in the Sitamarhi subdivision to the north, where every thana contains over 1,000 persons per

40. In South Bihar the rivers do not affect the distribution of population to anything like the same extent as in North Bihar.

SOUTH BIHAR.

The great rivers to the north of the Ganges are fed by the Himalayas ; with the exception of the Son those south of the Ganges

have by no means so large a drainage area, for they drain only a portion of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. They often come down in freshets after heavy rain, and occasionally sweep over the country in their vicinity, but the area covered by the flood is comparatively small, and they subside as quickly as they rise. Large demands are made on them for irrigation, and within a short time after the rains they run dry. Away from the Ganges, marshes, lakes and water-logged areas are almost



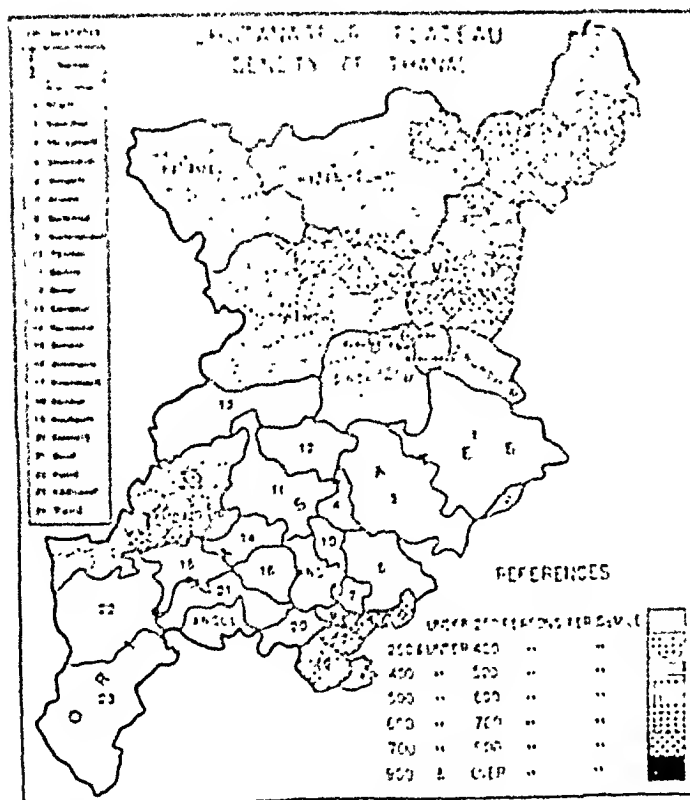
unknown. The deficiency rather than the excess of rainfall or river-borne water is the chief difficulty the people have to face. This difficulty is met partly by the Son canal system, from which the greater part of Sherpura and small portions of Patna and Gaya receive an assured supply. There is an extensive and ingenious system of indigenous irrigation, the farmers tapping the rivers so long as they have any flow, building artificial tanks (ahars) and channels, and taking every advantage of the slope of the land to ensure the conservation of water.

1,069, but it has been calculated that each square mile of unirrigated land would support 1,167 persons, and each square mile of irrigated land 1,515 persons.

16. Balasore at its greatest width is only 10 miles broad from east to west, and every thana contains either saline soil or uncultivated laterite. Density is as low as 288 persons to the square mile in Chandbadi, a large part of which is a prairie of high grass merging on the sea-coast in a mangrove forest like that found in the Sundarbans. It is as high as 638 in thana Bhadrakali, which contains only a little hilly country and marches with the fertile central plain of Cuttack. Though it contains the headquarters of the district, Balasore thana supports only 536 persons to the square mile, the explanation being that part of it is taken up by the maritime saline strip on the east and the undulating tract on the west. The average density 110 persons to the square mile in Puri is far less than in any other district of Orissa, owing to the area occupied by hills, forests and water. Reserved and protected forests extend over 185 square miles, while the area of the Chilka Lake is at 150 square miles during the rains and 350 square miles in the remainder of the year; along these 510 square miles of this lake lie in the district. Puri, including Nimapara, in the centre of the district, which is the only thana with a any hilly or maritime area, contains as many as 760 persons to the square mile; the average density 319 in the rest of the district is less than half this figure. There are under 300 persons to the square mile in the Puri and Bampur thanas, of which former contains the Chilka Lake, while the latter comprises a large hilly area.

17. The Chota Nagpur Plateau is an upland tract, with a general elevation of 2,000 feet and over, forming part of the great Indian plateau. It descends from the elevated high lands of Central India. It includes the minor highlands of Orissa, as well as Chota Nagpur proper, and consists of a series of plateaux, hills and valleys. Cultivation is comparatively sparse; where not under cultivation, the plateaux and their slopes are extensively covered with forests. The average density is 186 per square mile.

18. The most fertile district is Manbhum, which has changed places



with the Saurashtra Plateau during the last decade owing to the development of the Jheria coal-fields. In the two thanas of Jheria and Topchanchi, which lie in the coal-field area, the density is 667 and 611 respectively, but in the adjoining thana of Tundi, which is purely agricultural, it is only one-third as much. Further south, in Chas and Raghunathpur, where there is more level ground than elsewhere, the facilities for cultivation have attracted permanent settlers, and there are 498 and 442 persons respectively to the square mile. Nirsia,

which contains part of the Baniganj coal-field, and Para, in the centre of the

district, are the only other thanas with over 400 to the square mile. Generally speaking, density diminishes from north to south, if the northernmost thana (Tundi) is excluded.

49. The Sonthal Parganas, unlike Manbhum, sends out emigrants and has no large industries to attract labour. Only half the district is under cultivation; a remaining fourth is cultivable and awaits development, but the rate of reclamation is not commensurate with the growth of population, for year by year the Santhals pour out of the district in increasing numbers to do pioneer work elsewhere. The Rajmahal Hills and outlying ranges extend over nearly two-fifths of the district, and there is a long narrow strip of alluvial soil between them and the Ganges on the north and east. It is in this strip and in the portion of the Godda subdivision to the north-west, where the land below the hills is alluvial and fertile, that the population is most dense. In the Damin-i-Koh, which comprises almost the whole of the Rajmahal Hills and consists of hills, plateaux and fertile valleys between the

SUBDIVISION.			Damin.	Extra Damin.
Dumka ...	...	...	159	309
Godda ...	...	...	305	500
Deoghar ...	...	...	...	322
Jamtara ...	...	...	...	297
Pakaur ...	...	...	236	435
Rajmahal ...	...	...	332	631

ranges, there are only 284 persons to the square mile, the average for the rest of the district being 360: the marginal statement shows the density according to subdivisions. In the Rajmahal subdivision all the thanas outside the Damin lie in the alluvial belt, one containing the town of Sahebganj. In the

Pakaur subdivision the Pakaur and Maheshpur thanas lie partly in this belt and partly in the rolling uplands known as the Sonthali tract of Ambar and Sultanbad, which also contains the whole of Pakuria. In the Godda subdivision density is greatest in the Godda and Mahagama thanas, where the country is more open and mostly under cultivation. The latter thana, which is an alluvial tract, is the most populous in the district next to Sahebganj. Poreya is more hilly, and its density is only a little greater than that of the Godda Damin. In the south and south-west the hills give place to a series of ridges and undulating uplands, with a scanty population. This latter area contains the Deoghar subdivision, which consists chiefly of a high tableland, much of which is of little agricultural value, and the Jamtara subdivision, the least populous of all the subdivisions, in which there is still a good deal of uncleared jungle.

50. The average density in Ranchi and Sambalpur is exactly the same, viz., 195 to the square mile. In the former district it diminishes from the north-east to the south and south-west, the Ranchi subdivision having 256, the Khunti subdivision 226 and the Gumla subdivision only 146 persons to the square mile. In Sambalpur the unsurveyed area (i.e., the Government reserved forests, the zamindari forests and the Mahanadi river) account for about a fifth of the total area: if it is left out of account, the average density is 249 to the square mile. Population is most sparse in the Bargarh subdivision; the Barapahar hills extend over 300 square miles or more than one-eighth of the subdivision, and a considerable area is covered with jungle, whereas in the Sambalpur subdivision there are large expanses of open cultivated country along the Mahanadi. Excluding the unsurveyed tracts, the former subdivision supports 260 and the latter 235 persons per square mile, the difference being due to the fact that in the Bargarh plain the land is under closer tillage than in the Sambalpur subdivision.

51. The population is unevenly distributed in Hazaribagh, the density in the Giridih subdivision, where there are coal-fields, being nearly 50 per cent. greater than in the Sadar subdivision, which is purely agricultural. A slight decrease is found in Singhbhum, owing to the protected and reserved forests, which extend over more than one-fourth of the whole district. If they are left out of account, there are 241 persons to the square mile. In Palamau the population is fairly dense in the valleys and in the north of the district, but gradually decreases to the south, which is a region of hills and jungle. The extreme southern thana, with 64 persons per square mile, is the most thinly populated tract in the whole of the Chota Nagpur Division. Angul supports a smaller population than any other district in the province, being still an undeveloped tract with scattered villages, often in the midst of dense forest. There are 142 persons to the square mile in the Angul

subdivision, where reserved and protected forests extend over 613 square miles, or nearly three-fourths of its area. The average is only 93 in the Khondmals, where five-eighths of the area is under forest.

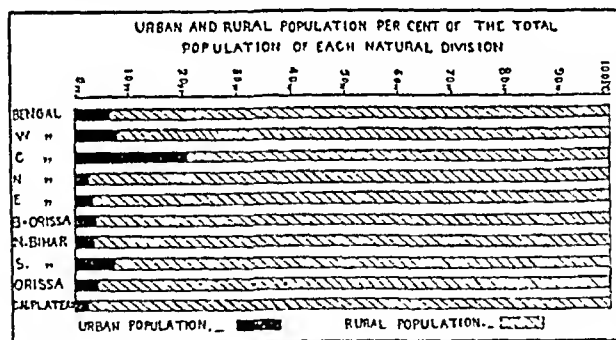
52. The Orissa Feudatory States, as a whole, have a denser population than any district in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, except Manbhum and the Sonthal Parganas. Extraordinary variations, however, are found, the maximum being 505 in Tigiria, which is a fertile tract with easy means of access to Cuttack, while a minimum of 38 is found in Rairakhol, which is still mostly covered with forest. Generally speaking, the States adjoining the sea-board districts have the greatest population, eight of them having over 200 persons to the square mile. The only other State exceeding that ratio is Sonpur, which is traversed by the Mahanadi and includes a large area of alluvial land on either side of its banks.

53. At the bottom of the list is Sikkim, with only 31 persons per square mile. This is not to be wondered at, considering the physical configuration of the country. From 15,000 feet and upwards there is a mass of snow-topped peaks and ridges, treeless and uninhabited. From 12,000 to 15,000 feet the ridges are clothed with rhododendron and coniferous forests: occasional grassy plateaux with small lakes are found, to which cattle are driven for pasturage in the summer. The hill slopes from 9,000 to 12,000 feet are very steep and usually covered with virgin forest, but scattered settlements of Bhutia graziers now begin to appear. It is only at the lower levels below 7,000 feet that cultivation is possible. Here the country has been largely denuded of forest, and the slopes utilized for the growth of the staple crops, viz., maize, millets and pulses, the people living in small homesteads surrounded by patches of cultivation.

CITIES AND TOWNS.

54. The places treated as towns consist of three classes, viz., municipalities, cantonments and other places which were treated as towns for census purposes. In deciding the places which were to be included in the last category, their importance as centres of trade, their historic associations,

the character of their population and the relative density of dwelling-houses were taken into consideration. Altogether, 22 places in Bihar and Orissa, other than municipalities or cantonments, were treated as towns, of which four had a population over 10,000, twelve contained 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and the remainder had



under 5,000 inhabitants. Eight, with an aggregate population of 45,031, were treated as towns for the first time. In Bengal six places were considered sufficiently urban to be treated as towns, one (Kharagpur) having a population of 18,957, another (Saidpur in Rangpur) of 8,287, and the remaining four (all in Rangpur) under 5,000 inhabitants. All but two of these were treated as towns in 1901; the two additions were Kharagpur and Dhulian, the aggregate population of which is 27,255.

55. In neither Province have the people shown any appreciable tendency to desert the villages for the towns. In Bengal the urban population has increased by 13.2 per cent. since 1901, its growth being more rapid than that of the general population, but only 6.4 out of every thousand persons live in towns. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, an increase in the general population has been accompanied by a decrease of 2.8 per cent. in the number of persons living in towns, who now constitute only 3.4 per mille of the total population. This decline is, as will be shown later, due mainly to the continued presence of plague in Bihar,

which has not only caused a grievous mortality, but disorganized the industries and trade of the towns it afflicted. *Prima facie* the Bengalis appear to have a greater predilection for town life than the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa. Bengal contains 124 towns, whereas Bihar and Orissa contains only 76, i.e., less than two-thirds of the number in Bengal, though its area is one-third greater. The average town population 23,937 of Bengal is more than one-third as great as the average in Bihar and Orissa, and the proportion of town-people to the total population is nearly double what it is in the latter Province. Calcutta, Howrah and three suburban municipalities, viz., Mauldellah, Tollymore, Clapton and Garden Reach, contain two-thirds of the urban population. If they are left out of account, the average population of the Bengal towns is reduced to 11,672, while the proportion of the urban population to the total population of the Province is only 38 per mille, or little more than in Bihar and Orissa.

56. In Bengal there are only three towns containing over 50,000 persons outside Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah, the 24 Parganas and Hooghly. The first two districts are the most distinctly urban, over one-fifth of their inhabitants being resident in towns, while the proportion is over one-tenth in Hooghly, where there are seven municipalities stretching along the bank of the Hooghly from Tidem southwards. Of the other districts in the Province, Dacca being with 94 per mille, has the largest urban population, and then *longa intervalle* comes Dooar, where two towns, Dacca and Narayangang, contain 10 per mille of the district population.

57. In Bihar and Orissa, 13 out of 21 districts have an urban population of over 25 per mille, whereas in North and East Bengal this ratio is reached in only five out of 17 districts. The most distinctly urban tract is South Bihar, where 67 per mille of the population are found in towns, then follows Orissa with 38 per mille, and North Bihar with 28 per mille. The average of the Chota Nagpur Plateau 20 per mille is largely reduced by the Uncha State, in the Chota Nagpur Division the proportion 26 per mille is very little less than in North Bihar, which contains an agricultural population and has few towns. Its towns are, however, of considerable size, their average population being 21,115, or very little less than in South Bihar. Even larger towns are found in Orissa, their average population amounting to 26,585, a figure higher than in any division of the two Provinces except Central Bengal.

58. The two Provinces dealt with in this report contain eight towns which have at one time or other been imperial or provincial capitals, viz., Bihar, Nadia, Patna, Rajmahal, Monghyr, Cuttack, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. The oldest of these is Bihar, which gave its name to the Province, and was so called from the great Buddhist monastery *Vihara* it contained. It was the headquarters of the Hindu Governors of the Pala Kings, but in 1198-99 the city was sacked, the monastery burnt and the Buddhist monks slain by Bakhtiyar Khilji. A sudden raid was made next year on Nadia (Navadwip), then the Bengal capital of the last of the Sena kings. After this, it is said, the Muslims, leaving Nadia in desolation, removed the seat of Government to Lakhanuti Gaur. Bihar appears to have been the headquarters of the Muslim Governors of Bihar until 1541, when Sher Shah rebuilt Patna, which, says the *Tarikh-i-Dauli*, "was then a small town dependent on Bihar, which was the seat of the local Government. From that time Patna became one of the largest cities of the Province." Thenceforward the Mughal Governors of Bihar usually resided at Patna, but the western portion of that Province was under the rule of the Nawabs of Bengal. The latter made Rajmahal their capital from 1592 to 1608, when the seat of Government was transferred to Dacca for strategic reasons, Dacca being a more central position for the defence of Bengal against the raids of the Assamese, Arakanese (Mags) and Portuguese. In 1639, Shah Shuja again made Rajmahal the capital, but this change did not last for more than 21 years, for in 1660 it was found necessary to re-establish the headquarters at Dacca owing to the continued danger of invasion and also because the Ganges had shifted its channel and receded from Rajmahal. Dacca remained the capital for less than half a century, Murshid Kuli Khan transferring his headquarters to Murshidabad

in 1701. The Arakanese had now ceased to be dangerous, and the city along the banks of the Bhagirathi, commanding the trade and military route up the Ganges, was far more central. There the Nawabs of Bengal remained till the downfall of the Mughal power, and the assumption of rule by the British, except for a short interval 1761-1763, when Kasim Ali Khan set up his court at Monghyr. In Orissa, Jaipur, now a small rural town, appears in early times to have been the capital of the north, and Bhambaneswar, now a village surrounded by temples or their ruins, the capital of the south. Cuttack, however, became the capital under the Eastern Ganga kings, and retained its position till the British conquest in 1803. The last capitals to be defunct are Dacca, the headquarters of the short-lived Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam 1905-1912, and Calcutta, which is no longer the official capital of India owing to the removal of the Government of India to Delhi.

59. With the exception of Cuttack, Dacca and Calcutta, all these towns are defunct. Bihar is now a quiet provincial town far from the main routes of commerce. The old town of Nadia has been swept away by the Bhagirathi, and its modern successor is an unimportant rural municipality. Patna has been destroyed by plague and lost much of its trade. Monghyr is a district headquarters, only the remains of its fort and palace now a jail attesting its former importance as a provincial capital. Rajmahal is a small country town with 5,000 inhabitants, mostly residing in mud huts, the ruins of the old city still lying buried in jungle. Murshidabad still retains the palace of the descendant of the Nawabs, but otherwise has few traces of its former grandeur, while its population is but a fraction of what it was. One or other of the causes which operate to bring about the decay of old towns in Bengal have, either singly or together, helped to bring about the downfall of these capitals. They are briefly the action of rivers, the removal of native courts, loss of trade, and the gradual or sudden diminution of population owing to disease.

60. Nearly all the old towns were built on the banks of rivers, a riparian site being naturally selected, both because it ensured the supply of drinking water and also because the rivers furnished the principal means of transport and communication; there were a few military routes, but otherwise roads were few and far between. Their situation has in many instances proved precarious to the old towns owing to the vagaries of the rivers. Pataliputra, the imperial capital of Assam, has been buried deep below the modern city of Patna; Tamralipta, the ancient port of Bengal, has been covered by the silt of the Rupnarayan, while Tamruk, which was built over it, is now a riparian village 60 miles from the sea. Satgaon, once the headquarters of a Governor and a city crowded with merchants, sank into insignificance owing to the diversion of the river, that fed its trade, and at the present day is only represented by a few huts scattered among jungle-covered mounds. Gaur, the capital of Bengal for over seven centuries, was ruined by the Ganges receding westwards, leaving long shallow marshes behind it. Fever followed and depopulated the city, the final epidemic of 1575 being so terrible that the dead could be neither buried nor burnt, after which the few survivors fled from the place. Within half a century the population of 200,000 described by Portuguese travellers* had disappeared. The country was almost a wilderness with few villages, but many buffaloes, swine and deer, and "very many" tigers.† Rajmahal was similarly deserted on account of the Ganges changing its course; in 1610 its current washed the walls of the city, but in 1666 the channel was, according to Tavernier, a good half league away.

61. The ruin of a riparian town may be either sudden or gradual, according as the river quickly or slowly changes its course or gradually dwindles away. The former is a somewhat rare occurrence, but two cases may be mentioned. Nadia, the old capital of the Sena Kings, was swept away by a sudden change in the course of the Bhagirathi in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its site is now partly *char* land and partly forms the bed of the stream, which passes to the north of the present town. In the

* De Barros, *Di Asia*.

† J. H. B. Esq., *Italy's Fitch* (1899).

north of the Bhagalpur district, again, the town of Nathpur was destroyed by a sudden inrush of the Kosi in 1875. More frequently a river gradually changes its course, and an attenuated stream flows down its old channel, the towns along its banks lingering on with a gradual loss of prosperity. Such has been the case with Purnea, which in the eighteenth century was the headquarters of a Military Governor who could put an army of 15,000 men into the field, and which only 100 years ago is said to have covered a space equal to more than half of London.* Formerly the main stream of the Kosi flowed by it, but that river has worked westward and its former channel contains only a small sluggish stream. The town still extends over a large area, but its population is gradually diminishing and is now only 14,784.

In the lower delta it is more common for a river to keep to its old channel, but the silting up of its intake deprives it of a supply of fresh water, and it consequently shrinks in volume and generally deteriorates. It ceases to have a flowing stream, and its bed being choked with vegetation, navigation is rendered impossible, while the drainage of the country is obstructed and malarial fever spreads over the neighbourhood. Such rivers are either dying or dead, and the towns along them have no vitality. Their inhabitants do not desert them, but their fecundity is sapped by sickness, their industries languish, and there is nothing to induce an influx of immigrants. Jessore and Krishnagar may be regarded as typical instances of such towns. Both are headquarters of districts and are situated on the railway, factors which should make for growth, but both stand on dead or dying rivers (the Bhairab and Anjana). Both suffer from persistent endemic fever, and the population of Jessore has been stationary for the last 40 years, while that of Krishnagar is steadily diminishing.

62. In other cases the decline of a town is due to the removal of the

INFLUENCE OF COURTS.

Court, to which it owed its prosperity. When the Court is removed, the entourage of nobles, their train of followers, and the industrial classes, which ministered to their luxuries, also leave the place. The traces of old industries may be found, but these industries serve only the demands of a few rich persons. Murshidabad is a type of such a town. On entering it after the victory of Plassey, Clive wrote :—"This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." After that battle the seat of Government was removed to Calcutta, and in 1799 the civil headquarters of the district were transferred to Berhampore. With the loss of its political importance, the size and population of Murshidabad also declined. At the first census of 1872 its population was 46,182 ; now the inhabitants of Murshidabad and its suburb Azimganj (which was formed into a separate municipality in 1896), taken together, number only 24,996.

63. A third cause tending to check the development of towns in the

LOSS OF TRADE.

two Provinces is loss of trade. This may be caused, as already stated, by the removal of a Court or by a river changing its course or silting up ; but in modern times it is generally due to trade being rail-borne instead of river-borne. The effect of such a diversion of trade is best illustrated by the case of Patna and Revelganj (in Saran). Patna is marked out by nature as the site of a riparian emporium, for it has a river frontage of 7 or 8 miles in the rains and of 4 miles in the dry season, while its central position near the junction of three great rivers, the Ganges, the Gandak and the Son, gives it natural advantages as a distributing centre. The trade of the city has now diminished owing to the opening out of new lines of railway in the districts north of the Ganges, and to the fact that it is cheaper to book goods direct to Calcutta than (as formerly) to rail them to Patna, and thence send them down by river. The natural advantages of Revelganj as a river-side emporium were equally marked. Commanding as it did the junction of the Gogra and Ganges, it was an important changing station, where boats from Bengal used to tranship their cargoes to boats from Fyzabad and Gorakhpur. Thirty years ago it was the second largest river mart with a Ganges-borne trade in

* Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*.

Bengal. The railway has now deprived it of most of its trade, and it has also suffered from the river setting towards the opposite bank and from the retreat eastwards of the point of junction of the Ganges and Gogra. Of late years moreover it has suffered from plague, and since 1891 it has lost over a third of its population. In Bengal the history of Kalua and Katwa (in the Burdwan district) is a similar record of decay due to the diversion of trade from the river to the railway.

64. The fourth factor is endemic and epidemic disease. In some parts, notably Central Bengal, the prevalence of malaria is responsible for decline or stagnation; in Bihar plague has been a more deadly scourge. An account of its ravages will be given in the next chapter, and here it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the marginal statement showing the deaths from plague and the total

District.	Number of towns.	Population, 1901.	Decrease of population, 1901-11.	Deaths from plague, 1901-10.
Patna ...	5	252,791	26,617	35,309
Gaya ...	3	87,169	9,093	2,033
Shahabad ...	6	118,017	13,634	15,664
Saran ...	3	71,422	12,234	8,243
Muzaffarpur ...	3	78,517	8,210	6,552
Darbhanga ...	4	103,392	6,336	6,873
Bhagalpur ...	2	81,498	4,249	2,852
Total ...	26	793,136	80,373	77,526

decrease of population during the last decade in 26 towns.* Not only is the number of deaths from plague considerable, but the disorganization of industry, commerce and social life has permanent effects on the prosperity of the towns. In Gaya, for instance, 30 per cent. of the population had left their work and fled from their homes when the census was held. Normal conditions were not re-established till three months later: the result of their absence on the trade of the town even for a short time may easily be imagined. It is scarcely necessary to add that, where plague persists year after year, as has been the case elsewhere, its effects are even more paralyzing.

65. If deaths from plague are left out of account, the death-rate in towns is smaller than in rural areas, though heavier mortality is caused by epidemics of cholera and small-pox, which spread more rapidly in congested areas. The relatively greater healthiness of towns (excluding epidemics) is due to the fact that it is only there that a proper agency and other facilities exist for carrying out sanitary reforms. These reforms, carried out as far as municipal finances allow, have resulted in a gradual improvement in hygienic conditions, especially in matters connected with surface drainage

AVERAGE DEATH-RATE PER MILE.

	Urban.	Rural.
All causes ...	37.26	33.41
Fever ...	12.70	22.35
Plague ...	6.06	1.32
Cholera ...	3.37	3.02
Small-pox ...	0.63	0.75
Dysentery and diarrhoea ...	2.03	0.70
Respiratory diseases ...	1.60	0.12
Injury ...	0.54	0.48
Other causes ...	9.26	6.33

owing to the operation of one or more of the following causes:—(1) The disproportion in the sexes of the inhabitants, males being in excess of females; (2) the presence of a large floating population; and (3) the custom of sending females to be confined in their parents' homes in the villages.

66. After the somewhat dreary sketch of urban decay, stagnation or decimation by disease given in the preceding paragraphs, it is refreshing to turn to the number of towns, some old, some young and some nascent, which are fast

* In this statement, when a second census was held in 1901 after a plague epidemic had subsided and the people had returned to their homes, the figures of the second census have been taken, as representing the normal population in that year.

† Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for 1908.

developing owing to the expansion of trade or industrial enterprise, often introduced and directed by Europeans. The cities will be separately dealt with later, and are therefore excluded from this review of the growth of railway towns, mill towns and commercial emporia. There are three towns in the two Provinces, to which the term railway town applies, and each shows rapid progress. Jamalpur in Monghyr, which contains the large workshops of the East Indian Railway, had an increase of 14 per cent. between 1891-1901, and at this census, in spite of losing 2,000 persons from plague, is almost the only town in Bihar with a substantial increase (8 per cent).^{*} Kharagpur in Midnapore, the headquarters of the Loco., Carriage and Waggon Departments of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, now has 18,957 inhabitants, whereas in 1901 there were only 3,526 persons resident in railway premises. The population of Saidpur in Rangpur, which is the headquarters of the northern section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway and is also a centre for the trade in jute, has risen by 42 per cent. within the last 10 years.

67. Even more phenomenal increases are recorded by the mill towns. In the 24-Parganas, for instance. Bhatpara, which was formerly famous as a centre of Sanskrit learning, where Brahman pundits studied the Sastras in quiet seclusion, is now the fifth largest town in Bengal and a busy industrial centre. Its population has increased five-fold since 1881, and has been more than doubled during the last decade, rising from 21,540 to 50,414. This increase, however, is merely commensurate with the increase of mill hands. The expansion of other mill towns along the Hooghly is equally remarkable, the aggregate population of seven in the 24-Parganas having risen by 87 per cent. since 1901. Titagarh has nearly trebled its population. Garulia has an addition of 57 per cent. and Bhadreswar on the other side of the Hooghly of 61 per cent. The whole riparian strip along the Hooghly is, in fact, becoming increasingly urban and increasingly populous, and the account given by Mr. Beverley in the Census Report of 1872 no longer holds good. He remarked—"Even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta the so-called townships are mere collections of villages—villages closely studded and densely populated, it is true, but still with small pretensions to be designated towns. The left bank of the Hooghly, like the right, is most thickly inhabited all the way up to Nadia. The villages are grouped together for municipal purposes, and are thus shown in the census tables as towns; but cattle graze, and rice is sown and reaped, in their very midst." Any one who has had occasion to pass through the mill towns will realize how conditions have changed since this account was written.

The latest addition to the list of industrial towns is Sakchi in the Singhbhum district. This is a town which has sprung up owing to its being the headquarters of the Tata Iron and Steel Company: though the latter has only recently started work, it already contains a population of 5,672 persons.

68. The third class of modern towns showing a noticeable development consists of trade centres. Their number is considerable, but two typical examples may be mentioned, viz.; Chittagong, which has an increase of 30 per cent. since 1901, and Narayanganj, the centre of the jute trade, which has been growing by leaps and bounds since 1872: its population had more than doubled in 1901, and since then has increased to 27,876, or by nearly 14 per cent. This is by no means its fullest population, for it is much more crowded during the jute season than at the time of the census (in March), when trade is slack.

69. In both Provinces there is an excess of males living in towns.

PROPORTION OF SEXES. The preponderance of men is much more marked in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa; in the former

Province there are only 631 females to every 1,000 males, whereas in the latter the proportion of females (932) is only slightly in defect. The reason for the relative excess of males in Bengal is partly that, in the Presidency as a whole, males outnumber females, there being 945 females to every 1,000 males. The reverse is the case in Bihar and Orissa, where there are 1,043 females to every 1,000 males. It is also partly accounted for by the fact

^{*} The area of this town has been very largely extended since 1901; the figure given above is for the town as now constituted.

that there are more industrial centres with a population largely composed of immigrants working in the mills and factories, who leave their wives at home. The larger the town, the greater is the excess of males over females, e.g., in the cities of Calcutta and Howrah there are only 475 and 562 females respectively to every 1,000 males. The proportion of women gradually rises as the towns diminish in size, the maximum (798) being found in towns with 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, which are mostly small municipal areas with few urban characteristics. Briefly, in the small towns of Bengal there are 5 males to every 4 females, whereas in the cities there are 2 males to every female.

The proportion in the mill and factory towns is much the same as in the cities. In the mill-towns of the 24-Parganas, such as Bhatpara, Garulia and Titagarh, the males outnumber females by two to one, whereas in non-manufacturing towns, such as Krishnagar, Nadia and Santipur, the sexes are equally represented, or the female element predominates. In the old city of Dacca, which contains a large permanent population—nine-tenths of the present inhabitants were born within the Dacca Division—there are 721 women to every 1,000 men, but 10 miles away in Narayanganj, a comparatively new centre of trade and industry, the proportion of females falls to 488, and in Barisal, the headquarters of the Backergunge district and an important junction of steamer routes, it is only 451.

In Bihar and Orissa the increase in the proportion of females as the towns decrease in size is even more noticeable, for, with the exception of Patna (where there are 922 females to every 1,000 males), the ratio gradually rises from 900 in towns with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants to 992 in towns containing under 5,000 inhabitants.

70. In Bengal 67 per cent. of the urban population consists of Hindus and 30 per cent. of Muhammadans, whereas in Bihar and Orissa the proportions are 75 and 22 per cent., respectively. Considering that in Bengal Musalmans account for over one-half of the total population, the percentage they contribute to the urban population is extremely small. In Bihar and Orissa on the other hand, Musalmans represent only one-tenth of the total population, but their ratio to the urban population is more than double that figure. The larger proportion of Hindus in Bengal may be accounted for by the fact that the population of towns is recruited very largely either from the educated classes, for whom a town opens up avenues of employment, or provides educational facilities not existing in the country, or from well-to-do people who desire the amenities of town-life, or from poor people who are drawn to the towns by the demand for labour. In the Presidency Hindus contribute to these three classes more largely than Muhammadans.

There are altogether 14 towns in Bengal in which Musalmans are in a majority, viz., Garden Reach, Murshidabad and Dhulia in Central Bengal, Pabna, Sirajganj and Nawabganj in North Bengal, and Sherpur (in Mymensingh), Kishoreganj, Netrakona, Jamalpur, Comilla, Patuakhali, Chittagong and Cox's Bazar in East Bengal. Even in Dacca city there are 55 Hindus to 44 followers of the Prophet. In Bihar and Orissa, the most distinctively Muhammadan towns are Sasaram, in which 42 per cent. of the population is Muhammadan, and Bihar, in which the percentage is 36. There are no towns in which Musalmans are in excess, and even in Patna, an old Muhammadan capital, and in modern times the nidus of Musalman religious movements, the Muhammadan inhabitants represent only 27 per cent. of the population.

71. If we consider the ratio of the members of each religion living in towns to the total number professing that religion, the preponderance of Musalmans over Hindus in Bihar and Orissa, and *vice versa* in Bengal, is equally striking. In Bengal, out of every 1,000 Hindus, 95 live in towns, but in Bihar and Orissa only 31. On the other hand, 80 out of every 1,000 Musalmans are denizens of towns in the latter Province as compared with 36 in Bengal. A similar disproportion is noticeable in the case of Christians, the ratio being 478 per mille in the Presidency and only 72 in Bihar and Orissa. In the latter most of the Christians are aboriginal villagers in Chota Nagpur who cling to their ancestral lands, whereas in Bengal a large proportion of the Christians are resident in Calcutta and other large

towns, where missionary enterprise has been active. Members of other religions are numerically insignificant, and it need merely be mentioned that, as might be expected, most of them Parsis, a foreign race of merchants and traders, are found in towns. The fact that a small proportion of them and a larger proportion of Jains, who are mainly Marwari immigrants engaged in trade, are resident outside towns, is due simply to the circumstance that both Provinces export raw materials, and a certain number have to go to the villages as brokers or set up small agencies there.

72. In Imperial Table V, and in subsidiary Table V to this Chapter, towns are grouped in six classes as shown in the margin. In Bengal there are three towns in class I, viz., Calcutta, Howrah, and Dacca, which contribute two-fifths of the total urban population. More than half the towns are of average size, 28 being in Class III and 40 in Class IV; they account for nearly half of the urban population. The small towns (34 in Class V and 17 in Class VI) contribute only one-tenth of the total number of persons living in towns. In Bihar and Orissa there are only one town in Class I and three in Class II, which between them account for less than one-fourth of the town population. Half the towns are of small size, there being 30 in Class V and 8 in Class VI, which contribute less than one-fifth of the urban population. The remainder are towns of average size (14 in Class III and 20 in Class IV), which contain more than half of the urban population.

Taking each class as a whole, we find that in Bengal all classes of towns have steadily developed during the last two decades. There has been a comparatively small increase in Class I during the last ten years, which is due to the tendency of the people of Calcutta to spread out to the suburban municipalities. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, all but the smaller towns have declined or stood still during the last 20 years, owing, to a large extent, to plague.

73. The population of places that were treated as towns in 1872 has

Class.	NUMBER OF TOWNS.			
	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.	
	1901	1872	1901	1872
Under 5,000 ...	17	4	8	7
5,000 to 10,000 ...	34	22	30	14
10,000 to 20,000 ...	40	22	25	17
20,000 to 50,000 ...	24	15	14	9
50,000 to 100,000 ...	2	3	3	4
100,000 and over ...	3	1	1	1
	121	71	76	52

increased by 32 per cent. in Bengal, but by only 8 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. Including the places subsequently treated as towns, the actual increase in the urban population is 61 per cent. in Bengal as against 21 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. In Bengal the increase is shared in more or less by all classes of towns except those in Class II, which have a decrease of nearly 50 per cent. This decrease is, however, more apparent than real, being mainly due to the transfer to Class I of Howrah and Dacca, which came under Class II in 1872.

CITIES.

74. There are nine cities in the two Provinces, the population of which is shown in the margin with the percentage of variation since 1901. In considering the recent growth of cities and towns, it will be most convenient to take the cities first and then to group the towns together according to natural divisions forming homogeneous areas.

Before proceeding to discuss the results of the census of cities, one characteristic feature may be referred to. There is a rise in the proportion of foreign-born (i.e., those born outside the district

CITY.	Population.	Percentage of variation.
<i>Bengal.</i>		
Calcutta ...	896,067	+ 57
Howrah ...	179,006	+ 13.6
Dacca ...	108,521	+ 21.0
Maniktolah ...	53,757	+ 66.0
Cossipur-Cultpur ...	48,178	+ 18.2
Garden Reach ...	45,295	+ 50.6
<i>Bihar and Orissa.</i>		
Patna ...	136,153	+ 1.0
Bhagalpur ...	74,310	- 1.0
Gaya ...	49,021	- 30.0

containing the city*), and a fall in the proportion of females to males, in every city but Maniektollah and Cossipur-Chitpur, where the proportion of females has slightly increased. As this is the case in cities which have a loss of population, as well as in those which have an increase, it is clear that the cities are tending more and more to attract immigrants from greater distances. It will also be observed that the proportion of foreign-born in all the Bengal cities except

CITY.	PROPORTION PER MILLA.			
	Females to males.		Foreign born.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Calcutta	507	475	657	714
Howrah	577	562	619	736
Cossipur-Chitpur	556	565	632	661
Maniektollah	692	694	640	750
Garden Reach ¹	607	637	423	452
Dacca	799	791	164	194
Patna	1,011	922	85	94
Gaya	910	897	79	98
Bhagapur	907	861	156	169

Dacca is very much greater than in the Bihar cities, which have as yet not become manufacturing centres.

75. The progress of Calcutta and the three suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur, Maniektollah and Garden

CALCUTTA.

Reach is dealt with in a separate report, and here it will be sufficient to state that though each of them is under separate municipal government, they form an integral part of the same city. Howrah may also reasonably be treated as part of the metropolis, for it is only separated from Calcutta by the Hooghly, and, as pointed out in the last Census Report, is really as much a part of that city as Southwark is of London. If this be conceded, the population of the metropolis (1,222,313) is greater than that of any city in the British Empire except London, and among European cities is only surpassed by London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg and Moscow.†

In Calcutta, the rate of increase which was 21·3 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has now fallen to 5·7 per cent. Its population shows a centrifugal tendency, spreading out to Howrah and to all the suburban municipalities except Cossipur-Chitpur. The number of persons born in Calcutta and resident in that city is now nearly 34,000 less than it was 10 years ago: had it remained the same, an increase of 9·8 per cent. would have been registered. Owing to this exodus from Calcutta and the relatively greater number of immigrants they receive, all four municipalities have grown much more rapidly since 1901 than Calcutta. In Maniektollah and Garden Reach (in the latter of which, however, the growth is partly due to the extension of the municipal boundary) the percentage of increase is over ten times, in Cossipur-Chitpur it is treble, and in Howrah it is double what it is in the area administered by the Calcutta Corporation.

76. Howrah is a city which owes its development entirely to modern commerce. Originally, it was a small collection

HOWRAH.

of villages, the names of which still survive in the quarters (*paras*) constituting the city. In the 18th century docks were opened along its banks for repairing the wooden vessels plying up the Hooghly, and it also became a kind of suburban retreat in which the wealthier citizens of Calcutta set up villas and laid out gardens. There cannot, however, have been much development in the first half of that century, for, as late as 1750, it is said to have been "a line of mud banks reeking with malaria, corpses in all stages of decomposition floating up and down the stream by the dozen, jungle lining the shore, the abode of the snake and alligator.‡" According to Bishop Heber, it was in 1823 a place "chiefly inhabited by ship-builders," while in 1848 it was referred to as "the Wapping of Calcutta inhabited chiefly by persons connected with the docks and shipping."

77. Howrah began to expand rapidly in the middle of the 19th century, especially after 1850 when it became the terminus of the East Indian Railway. Not only did the docks increase in size and number, but other large industrial concerns were started, such as engineering works, sugar factories, flour mills, cotton mills, jute mills and jute presses. The construction of the bridge over the Hooghly gave a further impetus to its

* It being impossible to distinguish between persons born in Calcutta and Garden Reach, the term district-born in the case of the latter town is taken to include persons in Calcutta.

† A slightly larger population is estimated for Constantinople.

‡ Howrah Past and Present, pp. 18-19.

growth, which in recent years has been stimulated by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway obtaining access to it, by the opening of two light railways, which have linked up the interior of the district with the city, and by the establishment of steamer services along and across the Hooghly. The Calcutta tramway system has been extended to Howrah since 1907, and the ferry steamer service connecting the two cities has been considerably improved and accelerated; consequently, an increasing number of persons who work in the day at Calcutta leave their residence in Howrah. The number of persons born in Calcutta and enumerated in the city is double what it was in 1901, while those born in Hooghly have increased from nearly 17,000 to over 29,000. During the 10 years over which the census records extend it has more than doubled its population; the rate of growth was 35 per cent. in 1891-1901 and 136 per cent. in the last decade. The decline in the percentage of increase is partly due to the fact that the jute mills were not in full work owing to the dull state of the market, and partly to the fact that the census was taken on a Friday. "Some of the mills," reports the Magistrate, "closed on Friday evening for the week and a considerable number of the mill hands left for their homes, Calcutta and other places."

78. Less than twenty years ago the city was lacking in many urban amenities. In 1889 it was described by the Sanitary Commissioner as being "without exception the dirtiest, most backward and badly managed municipality" he had seen. His successor in 1893 endorsed this verdict and remarked: "Generally speaking the sanitary condition of the town of Howrah is most deplorable. I have never, in fact, seen a town in such a dangerously insanitary condition, and I should be very sorry to live in it myself." Since then much has been done to improve the condition of the town, though it is no easy task on account of its low-lying situation, its rapid

		NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ACRE.	
WARD		1911.	1901.
I	...	22	24
II	...	16	14
III	...	70	58
IV	...	54	60
V	...	91	82
VI	...	24	62
VII	...	76	68
VIII	...	41	33
IX	...	9	9
X	...	9	8

growth and past neglect in laying out building sites. Water-works were opened in 1896; a regular system of drainage has been introduced and is gradually being extended; bye-laws have been adopted for regulating the construction of new huts; overcrowded *bastis* are being gradually opened up by new roads, and their sanitation and drainage improved. Density is high, averaging 33 per acre. The outer fringe of the town is thinly peopled, being mostly occupied by fields interspersed with gardens and villas.

79. The marginal statement showing the districts which contribute over 1,000 to the population sufficiently indicates how heterogeneous the population is. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district, and in the last ten years the number of those born in the city or district has decreased by 10,000, or nearly 20 per cent. The latter now outnumber the immigrants from the United Provinces by less than 6,000. The city is, in fact, ceasing to be a Bengali city. Nearly half the inhabitants were born in the United Provinces or the Province of Bihar and Orissa (which contributes 38,830 to its population), and only 45 per cent. speak Bengali, while 47 per cent. speak Hindi and 3 per cent.

District, etc.	Number of persons.
Howrah ...	43,639
United Provinces ...	37,913
Hooghly ...	29,010
Calcutta ...	9,847
Shahabad ...	7,575
Saran ...	6,353
Midnapore ...	6,047
Patna ...	5,709
24 Pargannas ...	4,031
Gaya ...	3,664
Cuttack ...	3,446
Monghyr ...	3,150
Muzaffarpur ...	3,035
Burdwan ...	2,247
Balasore ...	1,655
Dacca ...	1,365
Darbhanga ...	1,290

Oriya. The railways, mills, factories, docks, iron-works, etc., afford employment to a large number of labourers and artisans, who leave their wives and families at home and huddle together in crowded *bastis*. At the time of the census it was ascertained that jute mills and presses employed no less than 24,000 persons, or over one-seventh of the total population, while 15,000 more worked in other manufacturing concerns, such as cotton mills, rope works, iron foundries, machinery and engineering workshops, etc. There are now only 562 females to every 1,000 males. The proportion of females gradually decreases at each census: since 1872 the number of males has risen by nearly 150 per cent., whereas the females have increased by only

80. With a population of 108,551, the city of Dacca contains 58 per cent. more inhabitants than in 1872. Its development has been most rapid during the last

ten years, during which it added 21 per cent. to its numbers, while the general ratio of increase in the Dacca district was 12 per cent. Its rapid growth since 1901 is mainly due to its being made the headquarters of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government in 1905, after which people settled in increasing numbers in the town. The construction of public buildings, moreover, necessitated the employment of a large labour force, and the population was further increased by the staff of the Secretariat and other offices. The extent to which the town owes its accretion to immigrants is shewn by the fact that while the males have increased by 26·5 per cent., the rise in the number of females is only 14 per cent. Out of every thousand persons, 198 are foreign born, their distribution by birth-place being as shewn in the margin. Nearly 4,000 immigrants are natives of Monghyr. Other districts of the United Provinces and Bihar from which immigrants come in large numbers are Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Muzaffarnagar, Ghazipur, Ballia, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh. These people work as constables, railway servants, boatmen, general labourers, porters, domestic servants, scavengers, and shoe-makers. The town is far from being a busy manufacturing or industrial centre, for at the industrial census of 1911 only 14 concerns employing 20 hands or more were returned, the aggregate number of their employes being 1,195. Weaving, formerly the glory of Dacca, now supports only 1,029 persons, but shell work and jewellery, for which the city is also famous, are still in a fairly flourishing condition, the former supporting 2,193 persons and the latter 4,032 persons.

81. The density of population in each ward is shewn in the marginal statement, from which also it will be seen that all parts of the town share in the increase except Ward V, which sustained a slight loss owing to the removal of a *basti* from a plot of land acquired by Government. The city consists of three parts—(1) the town proper, which is congested, (2) the fringe area, which is more thinly populated, and (3) the new town, which is very sparsely populated. Wards V and II, which occupy the first and second place respectively in order of density, lie wholly within the town proper. The most congested

No. of ward.	Population.	DENSITY PER SQUARE	
		1901.	1911
I	21,093	331	354
II	14,993	471	616
III	18,536	157	193
IV	19,672	178	219
V	8,765	765	760
VI	11,163	125	171
VII	12,319	211	214

area in these two wards is Sankaribazar in Ward II, where 2,456 persons were enumerated in 432 *khanas* or census houses. In this quarter the houses, mostly three stories high, are closely packed together with a small frontage along the road, and the unsavoury smell of decomposing shells (in which the Sankharis work) clings to them. Ward I, which comes next, lies partly within the town proper and partly within the fringe area. The next, in order of density, is Ward IV, which covers a portion of the old town proper and also includes a portion of the new town. Wards III and VI lie partly in the town proper and partly in the fringe area. Ward VI lies wholly in the fringe area with one rather congested road. The civil station at Ramna consists of the area acquired by Government for the construction of public buildings and is the least populous part of the city.

82. Patua, the capital designate of the new Province of Bihar and

Year.	Number.
1881	170,654
1891	165,192
1901	134,785
1911	136,153

Orissa, is a decadent city, as will be seen from the figures given in the margin which show the total population recorded at each census during the last 30 years. Figures are not given for the census of 1872, as it was wanting in accuracy, and an apparent increase of over 11,000 recorded in 1881 is believed to have been due to its incompleteness. In 1901 the census was taken at a time when plague was raging and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants had fled from their homes, the result being a decrease of 18½

per cent. At a second census held in July 1901 the population was found to be 153,739, or nearly 19,000 more, but in spite of this addition, the population was 7 per cent. less than in 1891. The last census shows an increase of 1,368, as compared with the first census of 1901; but if it be compared with the second enumeration of 1901, there is a decrease of 17,586 persons, or 11·4 per cent. The causes of the decay of the city are twofold, viz., persistent unhealthiness,* repeated epidemics of plague and the loss of trade. Formerly Patna city was an important emporium for rail and river-borne trade, but its trade is declining owing to its diversion to other centres and the disorganization caused by plague, which has been almost an annual visitation since 1900. During the last ten years there have been no less than 17,384 deaths from plague, and the loss of population (17,586) recorded at the present census very nearly corresponds with that figure. The city extends over nine square miles, and for the purposes of municipal government includes the town of Bankipore. There are on the average 23 persons per acre, and 90 per cent. of the inhabitants were born in the city or district.

83. Bhagalpur grew steadily between 1872 and 1901, adding 10,000 to its population during that period. During the last decade there has been a set back, the number of its inhabitants decreasing by 1,411, or 1·9 per cent. The decrease is mainly the effect of plague, which during the decade caused a mortality of 4,201. Like Patna, the people are nearly all local residents, 83 per cent. being born either in Bhagalpur itself or in the Bhagalpur district, while the sexes are almost equally distributed.

84. When the census of 1911 was taken, plague was raging in Gaya. A large proportion of the people had fled from the town to villages in the interior, and the total population recorded was only 49,921, or 30 per cent. less than in 1901, in which year also the town was suffering from the effects of another epidemic.† Owing to this circumstance, the census gave no idea of the normal population of the town, and a second census was therefore held in June, when the epidemic had subsided. At this second census the population returned was 70,423, or only a little less than in 1901. The comparatively large excess of males, who outnumbered the females by 7,000, may perhaps be taken as an indication that all the females who had been sent away during the plague had not yet returned to their homes, but the same disproportion of the sexes is noticeable in other towns of Bihar. There were no less than 4,780 deaths from plague in the town during the decade ending in 1910. That, in spite of this mortality, the population should be nearly equal to that recorded in 1901 (though in that year also the population had been diminished by plague) may be attributed to the fact that it is a large pilgrim centre, which every year has a considerable floating population, and that it has developed since 1901 owing to its being an important station on the Grand Chord Line.

TOWNS.

85. Before 1872 the town of Burdwan suffered severely from the epidemic of fever which took its name from the district, and in the last 40 years has only added 3,600 to its population. Excluding the places treated as cities, however, it is the fourth largest town in the Province. It now contains 35,921 inhabitants, or 899 more than in 1901, but had it not been for an extension of the municipal boundaries, there would probably have been a decrease.

TOWNS IN WEST BENGAL.

* The *Sair-ul-Mutakhirin* gives an account of an epidemic which broke out at Patna in the early part of the 18th century and spread over Northern India:—"At the end of the year (1730-31) there arose, for forty days together, out of the ground such an abominable stench all over the city, that the poor and rich, being equally affected by it, were attacked by an epidemical fever that filled the houses with sick. The shops and markets were shut up, the streets became desert, and the city looked like a place forsaken by its inhabitants. People said that they had never seen or heard of such a calamity. The stench and sickness commenced at Patna and Allahabad, from whence it proceeded to Akbarabad and Delhi, and continued spreading over Paniput and Sirhind, until it extended to Lahore where it stopped by a favour of divine Providence."

† The coincidence of plague with the census both in 1901 and 1911 led to a belief among the people that there was some connection between the two.

The health of the town has considerably improved since the construction of water-works in 1884-85, but it is still badly drained and suffers from fever. It has, moreover, no large industries such as would attract labour from outside. The most progressive town in the district is Asansol, which is one of the chief centres of the coal industry and an important railway junction. It has developed rapidly of recent years, and has added 50 per cent. to its population during the last ten years: part of this increase must, however, be attributed to the municipal area being extended by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles in 1905. The head-quarters of the subdivision were removed to Asansol in 1906, owing to its being a more central and important place than Raniganj, and it has not only supplanted but outgrown the latter town, which now shows a slight decline. Kalna has a slight increase of population, but the other towns of the district, viz., Dainhat and Katwa, are decadent. The three towns last named are situated on the Bhagirathi, and all have suffered from the silting-up or reeding of that river and from the diversion of trade to the railway. The prosperity of Katwa should, however, revive on the completion of the Hooghly-Katwa line, which will give its trade an outlet.

86. Suri in Birbhum is a small town, which has recently been opened up by the Ondal-Sainthia line; its apparent growth since 1901 is probably due to the inclusion of another square mile within the municipal area. The effect of railway communication is marked in the case of the towns in Bankura, to which the Bengal-Nagpur Railway line was extended in 1902. The head-quarters station has increased by 13 per cent. and Bishnupur by 7 per cent., but Sonamukhi, which is not connected with the railway, has a slight decrease. Part of the increase in Bankura must, however, be ascribed to the addition of an area of one square mile to the municipal limits. In Midnapore the only progressive town is Kharagpur, whose rise has already been referred to. In all the other towns the population has diminished, or is practically stationary. Midnapore now has 32,740 inhabitants, or little more than in 1891: as pointed out in the last Census Report, it has no great industry or trade, and exhibits no tendency to grow. During the last decade it has suffered from fever and cholera, which have also seriously affected the towns of the Ghatal subdivision, viz., Chandrakona, Ghatal, Kharar, Khirpai and Rajnibanpur.

87. Hooghly contains no less than eight towns, of which seven are on the banks of the Hooghly. The most important is Serampore, which has been steadily progressing during the last 40 years. Owing to the proximity of Calcutta and to the industrial concerns started in the town and its neighbourhood, an increase of nearly 12 per cent. at this census has brought its population up to 49,594, or double what it was in 1872. Bhadreswar, a rising factory town, has developed at an extraordinary rate during the last decade, having an addition of 9,203, or over 60 per cent. Another flourishing town is Baidyabati, which has a considerable trade-mart at Sheoraphuli and a large jute mill at Champdani; it has added 3,342 to its population since 1901. Hooghly-Chinsura, the headquarters of the district, is slowly but steadily declining. It has no industries or trade of any importance; it is an unhealthy place, the inhabitants of which suffer from dysentery, fever and occasional epidemics of cholera; the streets or lanes are full of abandoned houses overgrown with jungle, recalling the picture of "ruin and melancholy" sketched by Mrs. Fenton in 1827. The death rate has been higher than in any other town of the district in all but two years of the decade, when it was exceeded in Bansberia. The latter town, which also suffers from defective drainage, was second on the list in the remaining eight years and has also lost population. The other towns, viz., Kotrang, Uttarpara and Arambagh, are small and unimportant. Bally, further down the river, is the only town in the Howrah district besides Howrah; it adjoins Howrah, and, as it shares in the influx of immigrants, is steadily growing.

88. In no district has there been a greater growth of urban population than in the 24 Parganas, where the average per town has risen by 38 per cent. since 1901. The whole riparian strip along the Hooghly is fast becoming urbanized: owing to their growing density of population the South Suburbs. South

Barrackpore and Naihati municipalities have been twice subdivided since their creation and formed into nine municipalities. There are now no less than 26 towns in the district, of which five, viz., Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktollah, Garden Reach, South Suburbs and Tollygunge, adjoin Calcutta and are suburban in character. Taken together, these five towns have added 40 per cent. to their population since 1901, while Calcutta itself has only increased by 5·7 per cent. The second class consists of industrial towns which, with the exception of Budge Budge, stretch northwards from Calcutta along the bank of the Hooghly, viz., Baranagar, the adjoining town of Kamarhati, Naihati, the two contiguous towns of Halisahar and Bhatpara, Titagarh, Budge-Budge and Garulia. The increase in these towns has been phenomenal, averaging no less than 67 per cent. There are three other towns along the Hooghly, viz., South Barrackpore, North Barrackpore and Panihati, which, however, are not industrial centres : of these, only South Barrackpore shows an advance, which is partly accounted for by the increase in the Barrackpore Cantonment. The remaining ten towns are situated inland, and are mostly rural in character : altogether, they have only increased by 6 per cent., the most substantial increases being found in South Dum-Dum, Baruipur and Basirhat. The growth of Baruipur may, however, be partly accounted for by an addition to its area.

89. Nearly all the towns of Nadia are either stationary or decadent. Their aggregate population has had an addition of only 563 since 1901, and has decreased by a little over 17,000 since 1891. The two largest towns, Krishnagar, the headquarters station, and Santipur, once an important weaving centre, have both lost ground : the former has suffered severely from fever, the latter from the decline of its industries. Nadia, the birth-place of Chaitanya and a pilgrim centre, returns 1,600 more persons than in 1901, but this is not altogether a real advance, for a religious festival was approaching, and there were a number of pilgrims present in the town. Of the subdivisional stations, Ranaghat alone, which is a considerable railway junction, has been slowly but steadily growing since 1891 ; in spite of the municipal area being reduced by 200 acres in 1905, its population has increased by 13 per cent. In Murshidabad, Berhampore, the district headquarters, has an increase of 7 per cent., and the two subdivisional headquarters of Kandi and Jangipur have also expanded. Murshidabad and Azinganj (a municipality in its suburbs) both show a continuous and heavy decline since 1891. There are only three towns in Jessore, of which Jessore and Maheshpur are stationary, while Kotchandpur has lost population owing to the falling off in the manufacture and sale of sugar to which it owed its former prosperity.

90. In North Bengal there are 19 towns and three cantonments, viz., Buxa, Lebong and Jalapahar, of which, however, the last two are treated as forming part of the town of Darjeeling. Of these 19 towns, only three have over 20,000 and only six over 10,000 inhabitants. The largest is still Sirajganj, a flourishing jute market on the Padma, which has grown slightly since 1901. The only towns that have decreased since that year are Natore and Sherpur (Bogra), the result of malaria and general unhealthiness. All the other towns are progressive except Old Malda, which is stationary : Jalpaiguri has increased by nearly 18 and Bogra by nearly 28 per cent. since 1901. Of the smaller towns, Saidpur, the northern head-quarters of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, has gained 42 per cent. and now contains over 8,000 inhabitants, while Kurigram and Gaibandha, two subdivisional stations in Rangpur, have doubled their population. All the towns in Cooch Behar are small and unimportant, except the capital of the same name, which is not progressive.

91. The town of Darjeeling requires special mention on account of its importance as the headquarters of Government for part of the year and also because it is, next to Simla, the most populous hill station in India. In 1872, before the construction of the railway, when the only approach to Darjeeling was by a long tedious march, the population numbered only 3,157, but during the next

nine years it increased by more than 100 per cent. It again doubled itself between 1881 and 1891, after the construction of the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway had brought the station within a day's journey of Calcutta.

Station	1881
Population	2,100
1891	18,820
1901	18,000
1911	17,400
1911	16,921

The census of 1901 disclosed an increase of 20 per cent., the total population amounting to 16,921, but its progress during the last ten years has been less rapid owing partly to the fact that there is not much room for further expansion, and partly because its expensiveness deters people

from taking up a permanent residence in it. In spite of this, the population rose to 19,000, the actual increase according to the census taken in March 1911 being 2,081, or 12 per cent., altogether 1,576 of the inhabitants were Europeans. Darjeeling, it may be explained, includes not only the town proper, *i.e.*, the area within municipal limits, but also the cantonments of Lebong and Jaldighat, including Katapahar. If these two cantonments are excluded and the figures for the town alone are taken, there was an increase of 1,360, or 9 per cent. during the decade.

92. A census taken at this time of the year only records the population of the town at the end of winter. It is far greater during the hot weather and rainy months, when it attracts a number of visitors who come to escape the heat of the plains or to recruit in its cool climate. A second census was therefore held in September 1911 in order to ascertain its population at this time of the year. The results of the two censuses are shown in the margin. The population of the whole town was only 3 per cent.

	1901	1911
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000
Population	17,400	18,000

more than that recorded at a similar hot weather census held in September 1900, a fact which seems to indicate that the place now attracts very few more people than it did ten years ago. Kurseong, which is a minor hill station, is growing more rapidly, having added 25 per cent. to its population since 1901. It is becoming an important centre for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and like Darjeeling attracts visitors, but it is by no means the same trade centre as the headquarters of the district.

93. In the Dacca Division there has been an increase in the population of all but four towns since 1901. Both Dacca and Naryanganj record large additions, to which reference has already been made. Seven of the eight municipalities of Mymensingh are progressive; the headquarters town has grown by 35 per cent., Sherpur by 21 per cent., Netrokona by 20 per cent., and Jamulpur by 18 per cent. The only decadent town in this district is Tangail, the population of which has been steadily falling off since 1881. The two towns of Faridpur show steady increases; Faridpur is now nearly 13 per cent., and Medinipur, a large jute centre, 9 per cent., larger than in 1901. In Tippera district, Comilla has an increase of 18 per cent., and Brahmanbaria of nearly 12 per cent.

94. Excluding Dacca, which has already been dealt with, the largest town in the Division is Chittagong, the trade of which has developed very considerably since 1901. It has more than made up the apparent decrease disclosed in 1901, and the population is nearly 30 per cent. greater than that then returned. Trade has grown steadily, and is of sufficient importance for one large steamer line to visit the port. Previously navigation was impracticable owing to the low depth of water in the Karnafuli river, but the channel has been considerably improved by dredging. Jetties and warehouses have sprung up, and the town is now a growing centre of commercial and railway activity. Cox's Bazar in the same district has regained the position it had in 1891. In Backergunge there has been a loss of 15 per cent. in Pirojpur and of 13 per cent. in Nalchiti, but Barisal, the headquarters, shows an increase of 18 per cent. The other towns are progressive, notably Jhalakati, a large centre of trade, which has increased by 14 per cent., and has more than quadrupled its population since

* The marginal statement shows the season population, according to a special census, of each hill station except Ootacamund, of which no special season census was taken.

1881. In Khulna, the head-quarters station of the same name is advancing rapidly, adding 25 per cent. to its population during the decade. There is also an increase of 30 per cent. in Satkhira, but a large village extending over three square miles was added to it in 1903. The only other town, Debbhatta, has been stationary since 1881.

TOWNS IN SOUTH BIHAR.

95. Nearly every town in South Bihar has suffered from repeated visitations of plague, and has had to sustain a loss of population. The aggregate population of the seven towns of the Patna district has fallen by 15 per cent. Patna city, as already stated, has sustained a loss at each census since 1881, while Bihar shows an even greater relative decrease. Its population numbered 48,968 in 1881, but gradually fell to 45,063 in 1901. It now contains nearly 10,000, or 22 per cent., less than in the latter year, though it has been connected with the main system of the East Indian Railway by a light railway, and its trade should have developed, had conditions been normal. Its area has, however, been reduced by a square mile, and it has suffered severely from disease, no less than 4,082 persons dying from plague; in only two out of ten years ending in 1910 did the birth-rate exceed the death-rate. Dinapore, where there were 3,205 deaths from plague, has decreased by 2,674, and Barh and Khagaul have also sustained heavy losses. Phulwari, which is a collection of villages rather than a town, is practically stationary, and the only town in the district with a substantial increase is Mokameh. This is a rising trade centre and an important railway junction, through which the grain traffic of the north-Gangetic districts passes, and it has added 11 per cent. to its population.

96. In Gaya, the second census of the headquarters station, as already stated, disclosed a population little less than in 1901; and it is still the largest town in the Province next to Patna and Bhagalpur. All the other towns in this district are small in size, none having 10,000 inhabitants. Plague was prevalent in Jahanabad at the time of the census, and many of its inhabitants had consequently deserted their homes. The result was a diminution by 32 per cent., or 2 per cent., more than that shown by the first census of Gaya, where the more urban population has not the same intimate connection with neighbouring villages. Tekari, in which the population was reduced to nearly half in 1901 in consequence of the deaths and desertions caused by plague, is still on the downward grade, and Daudnagar also has a slight falling off. Both these towns were affected by plague when the census was held, and many had left their homes for unaffected areas. Apart, moreover, from this disturbing element, Tekari is 17 miles and Daudnagar 14 miles from the railway, to which trade flows more and more. Aurangabad and Nawada have an increase of 1,000, and Hisua has a slight increase. The last two towns are on the railway, while Aurangabad is close to it, and all three have benefited by the opening of the Grand Chord Line.

97. In the Census Report of 1901 it was remarked that with the solitary exception of Sasaram, all the towns of Shahabad seemed decadent. The result of this census is to confirm this view, for every town has lost population. The loss is insignificant in Sasaram, which has had a mortality over 1,000 from plague, but has developed owing to the opening of the Grand Chord Line. It is very great in the case of the four northern towns Arrah, Buxar, Dumraon and Jagdispur, where it averages 17 per cent. Arrah has been especially subject to epidemics of plague since the last census, the mortality from that cause amounting to 8,747; the actual decrease of population according to the census is 7,621. Buxar, which suffered a decrease of 10 per cent. in 1891-1901, has now another decrease of 19 per cent. enumerated in March 1901; but at that time plague was raging and the population was abnormally small. A second census taken in July 1901 gave a population of 50,133, so that there has actually been a decrease of 3,220. The number of deaths from plague recorded in the ten years 1901-11 was 9,666, and it has not been for this mortality, there would probably have been a fair increase. Jamalpur was also partially deserted at the census held in March 1901. The town contained 13,929 persons: a second enumeration taken

months later disclosed a population of 16,302. The number has now risen to 20,526 in spite of 2,000 deaths from plague, but this large increase is mainly due to an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles having been included within municipal limits in 1903. In the town as now constituted the ratio of increase is 8 per cent.: it contains large railway workshops to which labourers and artisans are attracted. There are only two other towns in the district, both of which are local trade centres, viz., Khagaria, north of the Ganges, which has lost slightly, and Sheikhpura, south of the Ganges, which has added considerably to its numbers.

99. There has been a general decline of urban population in North Bihar due partly to plague, partly to the increasing volume of emigration and partly to the fact that the towns, as a rule, have no large industries, while their trade, except in agricultural produce, mainly supplies local wants. In Saran the decrease of 1901 has been followed by another serious loss of population, which is shared in by every town. Chapra, which in 1901 recorded a decrease of 20 per cent., has since then had 6,634 deaths from plague, and its population has fallen by 3,528, or 8 per cent. There was a particularly bad epidemic in the early part of 1911, and some of the inhabitants had deserted the town when the census was taken. The rate of decrease is even higher in Revelganj, which has suffered both from loss of trade and from plague mortality: the aggregate number of deaths from plague in the decade 1901—1910 represented 23 per cent. of the population returned in 1901. In Siwan the decrease of 21 per cent. corresponds to the actual loss caused by plague. The two towns of Champaran, Motihari and Bettiah, have been free from this disease, and both have an accretion of population. The municipal area of Bettiah was reduced by half a square mile in 1902, but on the other hand its population was artificially inflated on the day of the census, when the town was visited by the Lieutenant-Governor, and people flocked in from the neighbourhood. These two towns have progressed steadily since 1872, the former having more than doubled, and the latter nearly doubled, its population.

100. The town of Muzaffarpur, which declined by 9 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has again lost slightly, though there was an addition of a square mile to the municipal area: it now has only 1,200 more inhabitants than it had in 1881. Sitamarhi is the only progressive town in this district; it has been free from plague and has grown steadily since 1881. Hajipur, the only other subdivisional town, is decadent, every census disclosing a further decrease: during the last 10 years plague carried away 17 per cent. of the population. The population returned for Darbhanga in 1901 was unnaturally small, owing to a number of people having left the town for weddings elsewhere; but in spite of this there has been no recovery, but a further small decline (3,616), which may be attributed to plague. Madhubani, on the other hand, was free from plague, but has lost 7 per cent., owing to nearly two square miles being excluded from municipal limits in 1901. Samastipur is stationary, and Rosera has a heavy loss. The two towns of Bhagalpur have also lost ground; the headquarters station, as already stated, has lost slightly, while the population of Golgong has been reduced to under 5,000. In the Purnea district, Katihar, a developing railway junction, is the only town with an appreciable growth. Purnea is decadent, and, though it has added a few hundreds since 1901, is less populous than in 1872. Kishanganj is a centre for the jute trade, but it lies in the fever area and its population is stationary.

101. In Orissa more than half of the urban population is contained within the two towns of Cuttack and Puri. Cuttack with 52,528 inhabitants is the fourth largest town in the Province, and has an increase of 2 per cent. since 1901. In that year it contained a detachment of a Madras regiment, but it has since ceased to be a military station, and there is consequently a slight loss of population on that account.* The other two towns in the Cuttack district are holding their ground. The population of Puri is always an uncertain

* The old cantonment has been absorbed by the municipality. Its population at the time of the census was 3,508.

quantity, owing to the floating population of pilgrims. In 1901 it was returned at 19,331 or nearly 21,000 more than in 1891, but 17,085 pilgrims had come into the town for one of the large annual festivals, and the permanent population was 32,259. At the present census also there was an influx of 5,293 pilgrims on account of the approaching *Dol Jatra* festival; if they are deducted, the resident population of the town numbers 31,393 or 6·3 per cent. more than in 1901. This increase is natural, for Puri has developed considerably during the last ten years, owing to its attractions as a seaside resort. Balasore has grown slightly in consequence of an extension of the municipal boundary, but Bhadrakh is stationary.

102. The Chota Nagpur Plateau contains 27 towns, but only two (Ranchi and Purulia) have over 20,000 inhabitants. In the Feudatory States there are only six small towns, with an average population of 6,200, scattered over 28,000 square miles. Most of the towns in British territory have not yet been connected by the railway with the outside world; eight, which have obtained railway communication, are making great progress, their average increase in the last ten years being 25 per cent. In the Southal Parganas, Sahelganj has now more than made up the loss of population it sustained by plague in 1901, when the town was partially evacuated. Compared with that year, it has nearly doubled its population, but it has only 3,000 more inhabitants than in 1891. This is a town which owes its development to the railway, local produce being received from the districts of Purnea, Malda and Bhagalpur, as well as from the Rajmahal Hills. Of recent years it has been growing in importance as a trade centre, owing to the development of the trade in *sabai* grass, which is here pressed into bales and exported to Calcutta for the manufacture of paper. Bogghar has added no less than 29 per cent to its population since 1901, but this apparently large increase is due, to a great extent, to an addition of two square miles to its area; it is a favourite place of pilgrimage, but the pilgrims mostly come in January, February and September, and the census figures were but little affected by them. Both this town and Madhupur are attracting an increasing number of Bengali gentlemen, owing to their reputation as health resorts, but the actual growth of population in Madhupur is still very small. Dumka, the headquarters of the district, which has recently been created a municipality, has a population of only 5,629. The old capital of Rajmahal, which is a subdivisional headquarters and a local trade mart, has only a few hundreds less.

103. Hazaribagh, which was described as slightly decadent in 1901, has now increased by nearly 2,000. Access to this town has been facilitated by the opening of the Grand Chord Line, and though it is still 40 miles from the railway, it is already attracting visitors and permanent residents on account of its healthiness and the educational facilities afforded by its college. Giridih in the same district has benefited by the development of the coal-fields, and has increased by 13 per cent.; but part of the increase must be attributed to the municipal area being extended by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The growth of Ranchi since 1891 has been even greater, for in 1901 it recorded a growth of 28 per cent, and it has now added 7,000 more or 27 per cent. to its population. The area of this town has increased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles since 1901, but it has also developed naturally. At the last census it was 70 miles away from any line of railway, but since then the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has been extended from Purulia, a narrow gauge line being opened at the end of 1907. Its importance both as a sanitarium and as an administrative and commercial centre has increased in an extraordinary degree. New buildings have sprung up, and it has attracted a number of new settlers.

104. Daltonganj, in the district of Palamau, to which the railway has also been extended since the last census, has grown by 23 per cent., while Garhwa, a trading mart, which has been connected with the railway by a good road, has advanced considerably. Purulia, in the Manbhum district, which increased by 42 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, owing to the opening of the Bengal-

Nagpur Railway and the development of the cooly-recruiting business, has registered a further increase of 21 per cent. Chaibasa, the headquarters of Singhbhum, which is still 16 miles away from a railway, has not advanced appreciably, but the opening of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi has led to the creation of another town in the district. Sambalpur, the headquarters of the district of that name, returned a population of 14,571 in 1891, but between that year and 1901 some adjoining villages were excluded from the municipal area, and the population consequently fell to 12,870. During the past decade it has advanced very slightly.

VILLAGES.

105. Both in the Presidency of Bengal and the Province of Bihar and Orissa the vast majority of the population live in villages, the proportion per mille of the total population being 936 in the former and 966 in the latter Province. The term village as used in the census records has very different meanings. In the Province of Bengal as constituted at the time of the census the *mauza*, or survey or settlement village, was treated as the census village, except in four districts; in the districts then included in Eastern Bengal and Assam the residential village was taken as the unit. In other words, the census village corresponded to the *mauza* in all the districts of Bihar and Orissa, except Manbhum, Palamau and Hazaribagh, while in Bengal it corresponded to the *mauza* in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, to the settlement village in Cooch Bihar, and elsewhere to the residential village, *i.e.*, a group of houses bearing a separate name.

106. The *mauza*, it may be explained, consists of a parcel of land, the boundaries of which were defined either by the revenue survey over half a century ago or by later cadastral surveys. It usually bears the name of the main village or collection of houses found on it when the survey was made, but it does not necessarily correspond with the latter. It may contain only that one village, or it may contain a number of separate villages, or it may be uninhabited. In some cases the portion of the *mauza* which was inhabited at the time of the survey may have disappeared owing to the village or villages being abandoned, or it may be known by a different name, or new villages or groups of houses may have been established. The area and boundaries of the *mauza*, however, remain unchanged. It cannot disappear, except by being diluviated, and it is therefore a constant unit. The adoption of this unit is an innovation in the Bengal census procedure, the residential village being hitherto the unit, except in cadastrally surveyed districts. The term 'village' was, however, elusive and difficult of definition, while its application proved a source of great divergencies. In some parts the only residential village which was locally recognized was the village which gave its name to the *mauza*; this, consequently, was the only village returned, other collections of houses being treated as hamlets (*tolas* or *aras*). Again, groups of houses at a distance from this village, each of which in the general acceptance of the term would be regarded as a separate village, were grouped together, because they bore the name of the parent village. Elsewhere, however, every collection of houses bearing a separate name was treated as a separate village. The general result in 1901 was summarized by Mr. Gait as follows :—

"There is no guarantee that the definition has been rightly or uniformly applied even now, or that a fresh enquiry would not result in many of the so-called hamlets being classed as villages and many of the villages transferred to the category of hamlets. And if it is difficult now to decide precisely what constitutes a residential village, it will be still more so ten years hence to say what was treated as a village at the present census. In the course of ten years many existing villages will have disappeared or changed their names, while new ones will have sprung up; large villages will have absorbed their smaller neighbours, and hamlets will have grown to the status of separate villages. Detailed comparison between the results of the two censuses is thus impossible where the residential village is taken as the unit."

107. The size of the *mauza* varies very greatly, and some are surprisingly large and populous. This is due to the fact that, at the time of the revenue survey, large tracts were under jungle and were consequently surveyed in large blocks. Since then the jungle has given way to cultivation, and villages have sprung up in what was waste land. Thus, in the west of Midnapore a large tract of jungle land was delimited in 19 blocks; these blocks, which are known as the Jungle Mahals, contain over 20,000 villages between them. Again, in the Gaya district, one *mauza* Kawakhod, with an area of 60 square miles, was treated as a single *mauza*; it now contains no less than 88 villages or hamlets with 11,608 inhabitants. In Muzaffarpur the average area of a *mauza* is 131 acres or about two-thirds of a square mile; but the individual *mauzas* range from a few acres to three square miles, and in the alluvial formation known as *diaras* extend to 19 square miles; in this district one *mauza*, Sarsand, has a population of 10,120 persons. In Purnea, where the population is not so dense, the average size of a *mauza* is a little under one square mile; here the smallest *mauza* has an area of only 5 acres, while the largest extends over 12,621 acres, or nearly 20 square miles. In Champaran the average is 114 square miles, or nearly double that of Muzaffarpur, but one *mauza* (Senra Labedaha) has the enormous area of 10 square miles and a population of 16,135 persons, while another extends over 11 square miles and has 11,540 inhabitants.

108. In Saran, a district where the pressure on the soil is very great, the average size of a *mauza* is only a little over half a square mile. Altogether 218 *mauzas* in this district are over 1,000 acres in area, and 697 between 500 and 1,000 acres; the remainder are all under 500 acres. The smallest has an area of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; the largest (Shitab Diara) stretches over $16\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and contains 5,117 inhabitants. The latter is, as the name indicates, a *diara* tract, and its size is not therefore so extraordinary, but its population shows how, in course of time, *diara* lands are taken up for settled habitation and not merely for shifting cultivation. Parsa, an inland *mauza* in the same district, with an area of $6\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and 6,479 inhabitants, is far more densely populated. In Bhagalpur, Khawaspur Milik has a population of 10,152 living in 18 villages, while in Puri the *mauza* of Pratap Sasan includes 27 villages with 5,094 inhabitants. A *milik*, it may be mentioned, was originally a rent-free property granted either for religious and charitable purposes or as a reward for services already rendered or liable to be rendered in the future; a *sasan* was a royal grant of rent-free land to Brahmans, and in Orissa there is still a class of Brahmans designated Sasani as they depend for their subsistence on such grants. The marginal statement shows the number of inhabited *mauzas* and residential villages or hamlets in the districts of the old Province of Bengal which have come under survey and in which the *mauza*

Division	Inhabited mauzas	Inhabited villages
Burhman	26,122	29,621
Presidency	13,319	21,332
Patna	13,231	21,272
Ticket	12,222	22,622
Bhagalpur	12,214	22,521
Orissa	12,273	22,321

was taken as the unit.

109. It would be of little use to discuss the statistics for villages in Bengal owing to the difference between the definitions adopted in those districts which were administered by the two Governments, viz., Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, and to the indeterminate character of the unit adopted by the latter. Suffice it to say that the average number of inhabitants per village is 352, and that nearly four-fifths of the rural population are in villages with a population of under 2,000. The least populous villages, as distinct from *mauzas*, are found in North Bengal, and the most populous in East Bengal, the average population being 261 and 391 respectively. The population of *mauzas* varies from 326 in West Bengal to 574 in Central Bengal. As an instance of the variations which may occur in the number of villages found in a district where the residential village is the unit, it will be sufficient to point to Jalpaiguri, where there were 3,330 villages in 1891, 766 in 1901 and 2,219 at this census.

110. In Bihar and Orissa, however, the *mauza* being a permanent unit, the statistics repay examination, though, owing to the change of the

definition of the census village, it is impossible to institute a comparison with the statistics of last census. In this Province the average population is 318. The mean is, however, reduced by the small villages of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which contain on the average less than half as many people as the villages of North and South Bihar: in the latter area the most populous villages are found in Darbhanga, where there is a dense cultivating population averaging 900 per village. In the Province as a whole nearly nine-tenths of the rural population reside in villages with under 2,000 inhabitants. Large villages with over 2,000 inhabitants are far more frequent in Bihar than in other parts of the Province, the proportion of the rural population enumerated in them being 255 per mille in North Bihar and 178 per mille in South Bihar, whereas in Orissa the ratio is only 55, and in the Chota Nagpur Plateau 25 per mille.

111. In the two Provinces dealt with in this report it is not always easy to distinguish between an overgrown village and a

CHARACTER OF VILLAGES.

small town having few, if any, urban characteristics. The density and numerical strength of the population are in themselves no criteria, for a village may be a compact area with over 5,000 inhabitants, all or nearly all engaged in cultivation. The main points of difference lie in the occupations of the people, for a town is a centre of trade, or at least has shops catering for the wants of its inhabitants and of the surrounding villages, or it is a place where the majority of the residents are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. In the villages, however, the majority are devoted to agriculture, there being comparatively few of the industrial classes: such as there are have mostly occupations subsidiary to agriculture or are engaged in handicrafts supplying the simple needs of the villagers. As a rule, the village is purely residential, and shops are few and far between, the villagers getting their supplies at the periodical weekly or bi-weekly markets (*batis*) or the fair (*mela*) to which people flock in from the neighbourhood. In this respect rural Bengal is not unlike mediæval England, where nearly all selling and buying took place at weekly markets or annual fairs. The villages are still, to a very large extent, self-contained, the people meeting their wants from their own resources, but as the tentacles of modern commerce are thrown out further and further, this isolation is gradually being broken into. One sign of the change is the creation of a new type of village, which may be most appropriately described as a railway bazar. They are simply collections of houses, godowns, etc., which spring up in the neighbourhood of railway stations and grow by gradual accretion. They are often little more than crowded *batis*, their inhabitants consisting of traders, coolies and others dependent on the railway and not on the produce of the fields. Another new type of village consists of the cooly lines in the neighbourhood of mills and mines.

112. The character of the residential villages varies considerably in different parts of the two Provinces. In Bengal the village generally consists of small groups of houses scattered through the rice and jute fields: large compact villages, where periodical markets are held, are usually found only on the banks of the rivers. The villagers live, more or less secluded, in detached homesteads, surrounded by a belt of fruit trees or bamboo thickets: the screen of trees and jungle secures that privacy which the Bengali likes for his domestic life. The oldest villages are almost invariably found on the banks of the rivers or in their neighbourhood, where there are ridges of comparatively high land and of considerable extent. The central basins between such ridges are swampy and unhealthy, but as the population increases and the village site becomes more crowded, the people build their houses further away from the river bank on mounds artificially raised in order to keep them above flood-level. A noticeable feature of the Bengal villages as compared with villages up-country is their cleanliness. The difference between them may be illustrated by an account given by a medical officer fresh from the Punjab: "The very first thing that struck me after coming from the Punjab was the cleanliness of the villages as compared with those of that Province, and also the plentiful and comparatively pure supply of drinking-water. In the Punjab there is often but one irregular shallow pond used by man and beast for washing and drinking, the banks

of which are extremely foul with excrement, which is washed into the water by every shower, and as the dry season progresses, makes the water more and more concentrated sewage. There too in every village it is a common thing for men, women and children to go but a very few yards from their houses to defecate. In this district (Murshidabad) I found nothing approaching this state of affairs: the houses were carefully *leaped* every morning, court-yards were swept, and all the lanes were quite free from human excrement."

113. In Bihar the people are more gregarious. They live in closely packed villages standing on mounds that consist of the *debris* of former habitations; instead of dispersed homesteads we find clusters of mud-walled houses grouped round a main street with narrow side lanes. In densely populated areas, the establishment of a new village is no easy matter, and the growing population has to find accommodation by over-crowding the existing houses or adding yet another house to the congested village site. Most villages are situated in the open, surrounded by dry cultivation, but in North Bihar many are built on the edges of swampy depressions. Some villages are surrounded by groves of palm trees which furnish liquor—strangely enough, the inhabitants of such villages are often Muhammadans, to whom such indulgence should be taboo—elsewhere they stand compact in the midst of bare treeless plains. The sanitation of the Bihar village leaves much to be desired. There is little or no attempt to secure proper drainage or cleanliness. The wells from which the people get their drinking-water supply are frequently neglected and dirty. Some, moreover, are in the inner court-yards of the houses, surrounded by the house drains, the contents of which gradually soak in and find their way into the water by percolation.

114. In Orissa the villages consist of groups of houses, each with a small compound enclosed by a bamboo fence, and containing a vegetable garden. They are screened by a belt of palm, mango and fig trees; close by is the village tank, consecrated or married to a god, in the centre of which may be seen a small column or pole sacred to the deity. Most villages contain a small open shed in which the Bhagabat is recited before the assembled villagers, and in Sambalpur there is generally a rest-house for the accommodation of strangers.

115. In Chota Nagpur the villages are generally built on a ridge or near the crest of a slope, above the spot which the first settlers selected for the *bandh* or reservoir from which to irrigate their fields. They consist, as a rule, of a long straggling row of houses or of a single street with houses on each side, but occasionally contain narrow lanes striking off from the main street. When the village is first formed, the houses stand well away from one another, each with a little plot hedged in, but, as it grows, the villagers have to be content with more contracted sites and smaller enclosures. Trees, so conspicuous a feature of the Bengal village, are few in number; but there is generally a solitary *riyal*, banyan or mango tree near the house of the village head-man, alongside which an open space is usually reserved as the *akhara* or village meeting place. Immediately outside the village, however, there are usually one or more groups of trees (generally *sal* in the villages of aborigines), or even a single tree representing the grove (*sarna* or *jahira*) sacred to the village deity.* Many of the villages are very dirty, drinking-water being got from unprotected *kutchas*, which receive part of the drainage, and their general condition is more like that of Bihar than Bengal. The Santal village is an exception, the Santals keeping their houses and their surroundings exemplarily clean, a fact which partly accounts for the healthiness and vigour of the race.

116. The above account may be taken to apply to most villages in Chota Nagpur, but they vary in character with the race of their occupants. They are not all so bare and treeless as the village described above. The Khond village lies embedded in a leafy grove or at the foot of finely-wooded hills, or crowns some knoll in the valleys. The houses are built in two long rows forming a street; at the back is a fence enclosing the homesteads

* H. Coupland, Manblhum District Gazetteer.

so that the whole village looks somewhat like a stockade. Both the Ho and Munda villages are distinguished by graveyards with massive slabs, beneath which lie the bones of past generations of the villagers. A collection of these sepulchral monuments invariably marks the site of a Ho or a Munda village; in addition to the slab at the tomb, a massive stone, 5 to 15 feet high, is set up to the memory of the deceased outside the village. The Bhuiya villages in the Orissa hills on the other hand are picturesquely placed at the foot of well-wooded hills by the side of a hill stream. "The village nestles in a fine grove of jack trees, to the fruit of which the Bhuiya is particularly partial. There is one broad street with the houses on either side. The house of the head-man and the village elders is in the centre of the street: on the outskirts live the low castes of Pans and Kols, who perform all the menial tasks of the Bhuiyas. In close proximity to the head-man's house is the *darbar* or *māndap* (drum) house, where the bachelors of the village sleep, and the place in front is used as the village dancing ground. The *darbar* house is also the village guest-house: here are stored the provisions contributed by the villagers and made up into bundles ready for the immediate use of the guest."* The Oraon villages, on the other hand, are generally huddled together without any attempt at a village street; there are no thoroughfares, but only narrow twisting paths—"a most perfect labyrinth leading to an infinite series of *cul-de-sacs*, each one or more puzzling than the last. A European who finds himself in one of these mazes would find it impossible to get out of it without a guide."†

117. The villages of the aborigines are by no means always permanent. Should a village be attacked by some epidemic disease, the inhabitants believe that the spot is haunted by some evil spirit, demolish their house and move to some more favourable site. Another feature which deserves mention is that in Oraon, Khond, Bhuiya and Sauria Paharia villages there is generally a dormitory for unmarried boys and another for unmarried girls.

118. In Darjeeling and Sikkim there are no villages in the proper sense of the word, but only homesteads nestling on the hill sides or in the valleys. Occasionally five or six houses are grouped together, but generally each homestead stands in its own land near the patches of cleared cultivation. Clusters of houses, which can be dignified by the designation of villages, are only found in a few bazars to which the people go to obtain their weekly supplies of food.—In the Tarai the social unit is not, as elsewhere in India, the village, but the *jot* or farm, *i.e.*, the homestead of a substantial farmer or *jotdar* with the houses of his relations, tenants and farm labourers clustered round it. The *jotdar* keeps the little community together and maintains a store-house, elevated on piles, in which his stock of rice is kept and from which he makes loans to his dependants or furnishes them with seed.

119. On the outskirts of many villages in the plains may be seen a small cluster of houses in which live the degraded semi-Hinduized castes, the 'untouchables' as they are called by the modern Bengali. These consist of dirty ill-thatched houses, which present a very different appearance to the neat, well-swept and tidy buildings of the better class Hindus. In Orissa these detached hamlets are occupied by such castes as the Pans and Gandas, in Bihar by Musahars and Doms, and in Bengal by the unclean Haris and Bauris.

HOUSES.

120. In Bengal the dwelling house, or, as it may perhaps be more properly called, the homestead, is as a rule composed of four huts, built round and facing a central courtyard, with detached cattle-sheds and out-houses. Two of the huts forming

* L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, Orissa States Gazetteer, p. 51.

† Rev. P. Dehon, *Religion and Customs of the Orisons*, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, 1906.

the house are used as living rooms—one for the male and the other for the female members of the household—another is a cookshed and the third is the *baitalkhana* or sitting room, where visitors are received and the men sit and smoke. They are usually built on raised plinths, and the walls consist of bamboos or reeds plastered with mud, or are built of earth, which, in the lateritic districts of West Bengal, hardens, with exposure to the air, almost of the consistency of stone. The earth required for the plinth and walls is taken from pits dug in the neighbourhood, which in the rains are full of water and afford congenial breeding-grounds for mosquitoes. The roofs are covered with thatch of considerable thickness, and have a curved hog-backed ridge, especially designed for withstanding the heavy rainfall of the delta. Sometimes the roofs are tiled, and those who can afford it are beginning to roof their houses with corrugated iron (in which they adhere to the same immemorial curve), as a protection against arson, which is a favourite form of crime in some parts of Bengal.

121. In Bihar the houses of the cultivators are, as a rule, mud-walled huts, built of earth dug up in the vicinity, with which broken pottery is mixed, so as to impart solidity. The roof is, as a rule, made of thatch—a frequent source of fire; only the well-to-do can afford tiled roofs. There is no provision for ventilation, but this is no great hardship to peasants who regard their houses merely as places for cooking and sleeping in. In riverain tracts, liable to flood from great rivers, the cultivators live in huts with wattled walls and thatched roofs, for the soil is often so sandy that mud for the walls cannot be obtained, while the risk of their houses being washed away makes the use of other materials a piece of useless extravagance.* The houses are therefore erected above the level of flood water and are constructed of bamboo framework, thickly plastered over, and thatched with straw. Some of the poorer classes have only huts made of reeds which scarcely support a thatch. These, however, have the advantage of being portable. As a Bengali writer says—"A man like a snail can carry his house anywhere and raise it anew." The richer classes only live in brick-built houses. The ordinary cultivator either cannot get or cannot afford bricks, and, besides this, there is in some places a superstitious belief that brick-built walls attract the evil eye; the well-to-do, however, know that it is harder for a burglar to break through a brick wall than a soft earthen wall. There is also a prejudice in some parts against square houses; houses should be oblong, and the two longer sides should run north and south.

122. In Chota Nagpur the average house consists of three mud-walled and thatched buildings, one of which is the sleeping apartment, one a kitchen and one a cattle-shed. They are arranged on three sides of a quadrangle; on the fourth or open side is a plot of land, on which are grown various crops and vegetables for domestic consumption. Behind one of the three huts is another plot usually enclosed by mud-walls, in which corn is threshed and fodder and manure are stored. The site has to be carefully selected from superstitious motives. A Brahman or Ojha is consulted as to whether the site is a lucky one and what is an auspicious day for commencing building. Some of the wilder tribes place 21 grains of paddy on the spot selected over-night and return in the morning to ascertain the result. If the grain has been disturbed or attacked by white-ants during the night, the spot is abandoned as unlucky; if it is untouched, the building is commenced.

123. Among some of the aboriginal races the houses are of a very primitive kind. "The huts of the Juangs," writes Colonel Dalton, "are about the smallest that human being ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about 6 feet by 8, and are very low, with doors so small as to preclude the idea of a corpulent householder. Scanty as are the above dimensions for a family dwelling, the interior is divided into two compartments, one of which is the store-room, the other used for all domestic

* The name of the headquarters station of the Saran district, viz., Chinpra, is believed to be derived from *Chkapar*, meaning a thatched roof, and is evidence of its liability to inundation in early times.

arrangements. The paterfamilias and all his belongings of the female sex huddle together in this one stall, not much larger than a dog-kennel; for the boys there is a separate dormitory." The narrow entrance, into which the owner is obliged to creep on all fours, is characteristic of the rudest huts used by Dravidian races, and it has been suggested that it is a reminiscence of cave-life. This feature is also found in the Oraon houses, which are small and low, most of them consisting of four mud walls, 15 feet long, 7 feet high and 6 feet broad, surmounted by a thatched roof. In the middle of one of these walls there is a hole $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, which serves as an entrance, the door consisting of two big planks roughly hewn out of the trunk of a tree. Above is a log which supports the wall and is aptly called the *kanarphora* or forehead-breaker, whilst on both sides there is a raised verandah, under which the household pigs have their sty. Inside, there are three rooms, in the middle one of which the family live and prepare their food. On one side of it is a room in which the bullocks and the goats are kept; on the other is the granary and store-room.

124. The houses of the Khonds call for special mention, as they are made entirely of wood without a single nail being used. The Khond builds his house himself, his only tools being a hatchet and a chisel. With these he hews out thick planks from the log of a tree, and erects grooved posts to form the framework of his house. Planks are slid into the grooves and bound together by cross-stays, which are fixed by wooden pins and keys. The doors are ingeniously made to revolve in grooved blocks fixed to the frame. The roof consists of thin flat rafters with a thatch of straw, and the only repair it requires is the addition of a layer of fresh straw every year. It takes a Khond two years to build a house, and it lasts from 20 to 30 years. The interior generally consists of two small rooms partitioned off by a railing. One is used for cooking and sleeping in, the other serves as a cattle-pen. The younger members of the family and the servants sleep in a separate room, where the stock of grain is also stored. The grown-up girls sleep together in a dormitory in charge of one of the old women, and there is another dormitory for the young men.

125. An entirely different type of house is found among the hill tribes in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are raised about six feet above the ground, access being obtained by means of a rough step ladder. In front is a verandah, behind which come the bachelors' quarters. At the back of the latter are the rooms of the married members of the family, separated by mat walls. They are apportioned according to seniority, one being reserved for the eldest married member of the family and his wife, another for the second eldest, and so on.*

126. In whatever part of the country they may be, the houses have one common feature, viz., the absence or rarity of windows by which the interior can be ventilated. This is not a matter of much importance in the houses of the lower classes, for the men live out in the open, and for the women there is a certain amount of ventilation through the thatched or tiled roof, or through the walls where the latter are made of reeds or bamboos: there is, moreover, generally a space between the walls and the roof which allows of the perfusion of air. The flimsy nature of the walls is really sanitary, and in the hills of Darjeeling and Sikkim the comparative rarity of consumption may be put down to this account. It is a different matter for *pardah* women living in brick-built house. The rooms are jealously closed, and the windows, if any, are small in size, are near the top of the wall, and are securely latticed, so that these are of little use for ventilation. The insanitary effects of the *purdah* system are accentuated in towns. To quote from a report by Dr. H. M. Crake on the sanitary condition of the northern portion of Calcutta:—"No survey of an oriental city can possibly ignore the potent influence of the *pardah* system on its domestic architecture. Obviously, the house is directly inspired by the necessity of securing absolute privacy for the ladies of the household. To effectually seclude the inner apartments from the vulgar gaze, air and light are shut out and the rooms rendered

* Chittagong Hill Tracts Gazetteer.

unfit for human habitation. It is very common to find the whole of the lower storoy of the *zanana*, even in large and valuable houses, given up to godowns and kitchens, the inmates frankly admitting that none of the rooms are fit to live in. I must confess I am astonished at the average kitchen. It is, in a large number of houses, a gloomy, stuffy den, full of acrid smoke, and yet the ladies of the house have to spend hours in these very unpleasant surroundings. The entire absence of chimneys results in an atmosphere which is almost unbearable when cooking is going on in a particularly ill-ventilated kitchen."

HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

127. The house for census purposes is a social and not a structural unit. As at the last census, it was defined "as

THE CENSUS HOUSE.

consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family, *i.e.*, by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess, with their resident dependants, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house." In other words, the unit is the commensal family, and not the homestead or enclosure. The value of this definition is that it is easily understood and requires very little explanation: it is, in practice, the definition used in the interpretation of the *Chaukidari Act*, and is no novelty to the people. There were some exceptions to the standard definition, but they were few in number. In the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians the whole building actually occupied by them was taken as one house. For police lines, jail, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, etc., special arrangements were made. In cooly lines each room with a separate door-way was treated as a separate house, and in the *bastis* of Howrah and Calcutta each hut was numbered as a house.

128. The average number of persons per house as thus defined is 5·3 in Bengal and 5·2 in Bihar and Orissa, which have changed places in this respect during the last decade. The variations between the different divisions are small, the maximum being 5·5 (in Central and East Bengal) and the minimum 4·6 (in West Bengal). In Central Bengal the average is slightly inflated by the figures for Calcutta, where the house was defined as the municipal premise; in West Bengal the low average is due to the immigrant population of labourers living in huts, *bastis* or cooly lines, where each room was numbered as a house. There are 105 houses per square mile in Bengal, or 38 more than in Bihar and Orissa: for this difference the area of waste, hill and jungle in the Chota Nagpur Plateau is mainly responsible. Their relative density is highest in West Bengal with its numerous towns, and then in North Bihar, which has comparatively few towns but a dense agricultural population. Of individual districts, Howrah has most (433) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts fewest (5) houses per square mile.

129. The figures for cities give very divergent results, owing to the fact that in Calcutta and the suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur Manicktollah and Garden Reach the unit was the municipal premise. In Howrah city, where the Bengal definition of house was adopted, the average number of persons enumerated in each house is only 2·9: this low figure is due to the number of *bastis* with a cooly population where each hut or room was treated as a house. The fall of the average since 1901, when it was 3·4, may be regarded as a result of the measures taken to open them out and prevent overcrowding. With this number may be compared the average of Patna city, *viz.*, 4·8. The variation is sufficient proof, if any is needed, of the difference between conditions in a progressive but congested industrial town and a decadent town with no large manufactures. Both in Patna and in Bhagalpur the average number of persons per house has risen since 1901; in the former the figure is still below that for the district generally, and in the latter it is exactly the same. In the case of Gaya no such comparison is possible, as the place was half empty at the time of the census.

130. The average number of houses per square mile has increased steadily in each Province and in each Division, except in Central Bengal, where however the

PROVINCE OR DIVISION.	NUMBER OF HOUSES PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15 AND OVER.	
	1901.	1911.
Bengal	104	101
West Bengal	118	115
Central "	109	102
North "	101	100
East "	97	95
Bihar and Orissa	88	90
South Bihar	81	86
North "	85	87
Orissa	91	96
Chota Nagpur Plateau	96	94

apparent decrease is due to the change of definition of house in Calcutta and its suburbs. It is difficult to draw from the statistics of census houses any general conclusions as to the number of families, owing to the joint-family system. A house, as defined for census purposes, does not necessarily imply the existence of one married couple with their children: there are probably also sons and nephews with their wives, and the widows of the husband's brothers or his sons' widows, together with their children. The different conditions prevailing may however be

roughly gauged by comparing the number of married females aged 15 and over with the number of houses, as in the marginal statement. It will be seen that the relative number of houses has decreased throughout Bengal, but has increased in Bihar and Orissa except in the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

131. The increase of houses in the latter Province is partly due to the

DISRUPTION OF JOINT FAMILIES.

natural increase of families, but the growing tendency to break up the joint-family is a contributory

cause. During the lifetime of the father, the Hindu family, as a rule, lives jointly, i.e., it not only lives together, but its property is also held in common under the managership of the *karta* or head of the family. All who belong to it, e.g., sons, grandsons, nephews, etc., are entitled to maintenance from its funds, and all contribute to the expenses, whether present in the house or absent from it—in the latter case, they are bound to remit their savings home. This system has all the force of a religious institution, being based both on sacred texts and immemorial custom, but there is a general consensus of opinion, that the family is now-a-days more frequently broken up when the father dies. In Bihar, it is reported, it was the general practice, within living memory, for families to remain joint for two, three, or even more generations. Now it is estimated that the number in which the joint system is maintained for any considerable time after the father's death—much less for two generations or more—is less than one-fourth. It is a common practice for brothers to set up for themselves either as soon as their father is dead, or, a little later, while their mother is still living. In most cases, when the adult brothers partition the ancestral property in this way, the younger children have to east in their lot with one or other of them, the mother generally remaining with the youngest of her children. But, though they set up separate establishments, they often continue undivided in legal and other business affecting their property. Where this is the case among the landlord classes, no application for partition of the estate is presented to the Collector; the rent is still collected in a lump sum, but after it is realized, it is divided among the sharers.

132. Among cultivators, holdings sometimes remain joint for a considerable time after the buildings, furniture, etc., have been apportioned among the members of the family, the division of the produce taking place on the *khali* or threshing floor, after it has been reaped. In the majority of cases, however, when the family ceases to live together, a partition is made of the holdings, and their accounts are entered separately in the landlord books. On the whole, the family remains joint among the peasantry for a longer time than among the non-agricultural classes, the reason being simply that the larger the labour force, the easier it is to till the land. In the case of industrial and professional pursuits, where the personal equation is far more important, the individualistic tendency is more pronounced.

133. In Orissa, as in Bihar, the family generally remains joint so long as the father or mother is alive, but is broken up after the death of the parents. The disruption takes place at once if their sons are married and have children, and, if not, later, when they have married and have children of their own. It is estimated that only one-fifth of the families are now joint. In Sambalpur, which is governed by the Mitakshara law, according to which the son has the same rights as the father in the ancestral property, the sons are more

prone to demand or enforce partition during his lifetime. In other parts of Orissa it is practically out of the question for a son to separate unless he has some independent means of livelihood, whereas in Sambalpur the sons are sure of a share in the property. In this latter district, therefore, the family is more likely to break up after one of its members marries and begins to live with his wife. In Orissa generally, however, the longer a family remains joint, the more are its members held in esteem, for the breaking up of the family, though of common occurrence, is looked upon with disapproval. Neither marriage nor the death of the father necessarily causes the sons to leave the ancestral home. On the contrary, they generally continue to live together in the same homestead, but in separate messes.

134. In cities also the tendency is for the family to continue to live under the same roof but in separate rooms. To quote again from the report by Dr. Crake on the sanitary condition of northern Calcutta :—

“The curious system of actually dividing dwelling houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. It is quite common to come across what was originally a single dwelling split up amongst three or four relatives. Owing partly to the *pardah* system, but very largely to the bad blood engendered by the almost inevitable litigation which the partition involves, each co-sharer erects as lofty a masonry wall as he possibly can, so as to completely shut off his share from the rest. Though carried out with wonderful ingenuity, the result too frequently is that a noble mansion with spacious court-yards is converted into a number of mean little houses with totally inadequate open spaces, and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Very often one unfortunate heir can only reach his portion through a long tortuous passage.”

135. The following are the chief causes to which the disintegration of joint families is ascribed.—(1) Some members of the family take advantage of their position to lead a life of idleness and become simply drones, living on the labour of their brothers. As an instance of this, may be quoted the case of an officer in Government employ, who obtained a large increase of pay but was poorer than before, because his elder brother at once threw up his own post and ceased to contribute to the family income. (2) Misappropriation or misuse of the joint property, e.g., the *karta* may devote part of it to his own personal uses or employ it for purposes which do not benefit the family. (3) The family becomes so large, that there is no longer room for all under the ancestral roof. Some of the joint families are exceptionally large forming small colonies—there is a case on record of a joint family with 500 members.* For the sake of convenience, some of them move out to make homes for themselves. This division is often followed by a partition of the property. (4) Migration. Members of the family leave the home in search of employment, and do not return. Having to live apart from their relations, and finding no chance of returning home, they naturally do not see why they should not obtain a separate share of the property. In Bihar a number of joint families have been broken up on this account, especially among Kayasths who furnish recruits to Government service. Brahmans and Rajputs, who do not so generally find employment in occupations necessitating their absence from home, have, it is reported, a larger number of joint families than the Kayasths. (5) The abolition of the Panchayat system. Formerly disputes between the members of a joint family were settled by the Panchayat quickly and cheaply. Now, they have recourse to *mukhtars* and *vakils*, the result being protracted litigation, embittered feelings, and eventually the impoverishment and dismemberment of the family. (6) Modern tendencies, such as the influence of education, the throwing off of caste-ties, especially in towns, and the consequent weakening of the family bond. These tendencies are confined to the educated classes and mostly come into operation where some members are conservative and others have advanced ideas. The disintegration of the family may be due to their neglect of caste rules or to their wanting to live in a more luxurious or laxer style than their forefathers ; in one case a family divided merely because one of them decided to give an English education to his daughters.

* S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are* (1883), p. 2.

136. Women are frequently instrumental in producing the dismemberment of families. This is especially the case where the husbands marry girls from some distant village and from families with which they have little or no past connection. Devoted to their husbands' interests, the wives are jealous of their earnings being used by others, particularly by those who do not contribute to the family income. More petty feelings, less disinterested motives, such as the mutual jealousy of the brothers' wives, the quarrels of their children, etc., also contribute to the breaking up of the family. More than one correspondent points out that it is significant that one of the Sanskrit word for wife, viz., *dara*, comes from a root meaning "to tear asunder."

137. Notes on customs regulating inheritance and partition among the aboriginals of the Chota Nagpur Plateau are given in the appendix at the end of this volume. There appear to be signs that these customs, which are the outcome of an earlier state of development, are gradually becoming modified in tracts where aboriginals are brought into contact with more civilized neighbours. Tribal customs are thus gradually breaking down, and this process will, in the nature of things, become more general as the aboriginals adopt the manners and customs of their more advanced neighbours and as their contact with Hindus becomes more frequent. It may be of value, however, to place on record the customs as they still exist.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—DENSITY, WATER-SUPPLY AND CROPS OF DISTRICTS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA.		PERCENTAGE TO CULTIVABLE AREA OF—		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	PERCENTAGE OF GROSS CULTIVATED AREA UNDER—			
		Cultivable.	Net cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double-cropped.			Rice.	Jute.	Other food-crops.	Other non-food crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL	567	69.7	49.5	70.9	16.7	4.3	69.84	69.2	8.2	13.0	9.6
WEST BENGAL	607	79.6	53.0	66.6	5.5	20.5	56.86	79.3	2.2	10.2	8.3
Bardwan	372	82.6	52.6	63.7	15.4	39.8	56.06	81.9	1.5	11.6	5.0
Birbhum	534	87.8	69.7	79.4	2.5	21.5	55.77	92.8	...	3.2	4.0
Bankura	434	90.0	33.5	37.3	1.6	14.8	55.26	84.3	...	8.6	7.1
Midnapore	344	70.9	56.7	80.0	2.0	10.6	59.45	78.1	0.6	13.3	10.0
Hoogly	918	74.2	32.3	70.5	7.0	31.0	54.88	66.4	11.8	7.0	14.8
Howrah	1,850	83.9	61.7	73.1	13.1	...	56.95	58.3	14.2	11.1	16.4
CENTRAL BENGAL	565	65.5	41.5	63.4	13.8	3.7	58.55	75.1	4.6	12.2	8.1
24 Parganas	502	46.2	33.2	71.8	3.1	0.1	63.10	85.8	7.5	4.8	1.9
Nadia	580	79.0	37.1	46.0	21.2	0.2	67.20	67.6	3.6	15.3	13.0
Murshidabad	640	89.1	42.3	47.6	17.4	18.3	54.04	67.1	3.3	20.6	8.8
Jessore	601	67.3	59.0	80.5	14.3	...	60.72	76.6	3.3	10.4	0.2
NORTH BENGAL	527	75.0	54.8	73.0	23.7	1.0	88.76	61.8	9.9	12.1	16.2
Rajshahi	566	74.3	55.8	73.1	27.0	0.1	59.79	67.6	6.1	11.9	14.4
Dinajpur	423	80.2	50.1	62.4	0.5	...	69.13	79.0	8.8	6.0	6.2
Jalpaiguri	309	70.4	45.3	68.9	15.4	...	130.28	63.8	7.2	4.0	25.0
Darjeeling	233	33.2	29.1	69.0	4.1	16.2	130.33	22.5	2.7	41.6	35.2
Rangpur	886	73.5	65.6	89.3	39.9	3.0	63.80	57.3	13.4	9.9	10.4
Bogra	794	86.2	53.5	62.0	37.7	...	72.70	64.4	18.1	8.0	11.5
Pubna	772	81.3	63.3	77.8	56.6	...	60.63	47.9	14.1	21.3	16.2
Malda	529	86.4	65.0	75.3	16.2	...	54.22	62.3	2.8	19.4	15.5
EAST BENGAL	573	63.9	47.9	75.0	18.9	...	82.08	68.4	10.8	6.6	14.2
Khulna	287	33.1	29.0	76.2	5.5	...	65.97	84.3	1.7	3.3	10.7
Dacca	1,066	75.3	67.0	89.0	36.6	...	69.22	65.1	11.0	11.1	12.8
Mymensingh	724	70.4	59.2	64.1	31.9	...	83.55	49.1	21.4	8.3	20.2
Faridpur	854	60.7	61.8	68.7	12.2	...	65.59	70.1	11.3	6.8	11.8
Backergunge	623	79.3	64.9	81.8	22.8	...	64.99	31.6	1.5	4.5	12.4
Tippera	972	82.9	72.0	86.8	22.1	...	83.81	71.3	17.2	3.2	0.3
Noakhali	792	88.8	84.5	95.1	42.4	...	111.92	77.1	2.3	6.5	14.1
Chittagong	665	45.2	37.2	82.2	9.5	...	126.53	90.9	0.03	2.0	7.1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	30	51.7	4.6	9.0	...	...	93.03	58.5	...	8.5	33.0
DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA.		PERCENTAGE TO CULTIVABLE AREA OF—		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	PERCENTAGE OF GROSS CULTIVATED AREA UNDER—			
		Cultivable.	Net cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double-cropped.			Rice.	Maize.	Other cereals and pulses.	Other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BIHAR and ORISSA	415	72.7	51.7	71.1	13.4	12.3	52.48	54.3	5.3	26.6	13.8
NORTH BIHAR	646	89.6	68.2	76.1	26.3	9.8	53.36	43.2	6.4	31.8	18.6
Saran	813	91.3	76.9	84.2	29.9	26.1	48.05	24.2	11.2	47.1	17.5
Champaran	540	83.1	55.7	67.0	24.8	6.2	54.09	40.3	6.3	34.3	18.6
Muzaffarpur	937	90.3	74.4	82.4	29.1	1.8	45.88	33.9	7.9	35.8	10.4
Darbhanga	875	91.0	71.9	79.0	32.7	14.9	49.77	41.2	5.1	35.0	18.7
Bhagalpur	508	90.0	66.0	73.3	24.0	12.0	51.27	54.8	7.3	27.8	10.1
Purnea	398	91.4	87.9	74.3	3.4	1.2	72.51	60.4	1.1	11.4	27.1
SOUTH BIHAR	515	75.7	59.3	78.3	14.3	22.2	45.18	44.2	6.5	37.7	11.6
Patna	778	86.2	84.2	97.6	10.5	26.4	45.26	43.5	9.4	37.2	9.9
Gaya	458	78.2	87.1	85.8	2.4	18.2	42.96	59.7	2.8	27.4	10.1
Shahabad	427	78.5	54.3	69.1	11.3	35.5	48.63	42.7	2.1	45.3	12.9
Monghyr	544	63.7	42.2	66.2	29.9	9.0	49.01	24.1	14.4	48.0	13.5
ORISSA	508	70.3	55.1	78.3	9.2	18.6	59.10	82.49	0.1	7.2	10.3
Outback	577	72.8	62.5	72.2	14.3	18.2	60.41	77.7	...	11.4	10.9
Balasore	506	77.6	69.1	89.2	0.8	12.9	60.79	89.4	...	1.8	8.8
Puri	410	60.8	47.1	77.4	9.1	25.7	55.66	83.18	0.82	5.9	10.9
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	221	62.4	38.6	61.9	3.5	7.9	53.75	66.2	4.9	18.5	10.4
Hazaribagh	184	63.1	39.0	61.7	3.3	7.1	51.89	72.1	8.5	13.6	5.8
Ranchi	195	69.1	40.1	58.0	0.9	0.2	33.54	72.3	0.2	12.7	14.8
Palamanu	140	45.6	18.8	40.8	3.1	9.8	48.16	54.0	7.9	25.4	12.7
Manbhum	373	65.2	57.9	88.8	4.3	8.1	52.88	78.1	4.9	10.0	7.0
Singbhum	178	57.3	34.3	59.9	2.5	8.8	58.32	65.1	3.5	22.5	8.9
South Parganas	345	73.3	49.0	66.9	8.6	16.3	53.55	46.9	6.5	33.6	11.0
Angul	119	29.2	22.5	76.6	6.1	5.5	53.37	51.5	1.9	18.8	27.8
Sambalpur	195	72.3	37.2	51.5	0.9	4.8	58.48	74.6	0.1	14.8	10.5

In the calculations for each Province and for each natural division, those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE

PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION.	THANAS WITH A POPULATION							
	1881-82		1891-92		1901-02		1911-12	
	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	40,515	3,548	40,139	8,608	32,871	12,079	25,862	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
Bengal	12,892	734	4,110	976	13,683	5,167	17,017	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
WEST BENGAL			888	252	3,842	1,428	4,130	
			sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
B. Banka								
B. Bardhaman								
B. Birbhum								
B. Burdwan								
B. Calcutta								
B. Hooghly								
B. Medinipur								
B. Murshidabad								
B. Nadia								
B. North 24 Parganas								
B. South 24 Parganas								
B. Tanjore								
B. Tirhoot								
B. Tinsukia								
B. Tripura								
B. W. Bengal								
CENTRAL BENGAL	3,256	301			619	267	3,981	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.			sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
C. Bardhaman								
C. Burdwan								
C. Calcutta								
C. Hooghly								
C. Medinipur								
C. Murshidabad								
C. Nadia								
C. North 24 Parganas								
C. South 24 Parganas								
C. Tanjore								
C. Tirhoot								
C. Tinsukia								
C. Tripura								
C. W. Bengal								
NORTH BENGAL	412	49	2,085	467	6,960	2,254	5,553	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
N. Bardhaman								
N. Burdwan								
N. Calcutta								
N. Hooghly								
N. Medinipur								
N. Murshidabad								
N. Nadia								
N. North 24 Parganas								
N. South 24 Parganas								
N. Tanjore								
N. Tirhoot								
N. Tinsukia								
N. Tripura								
N. W. Bengal								
EAST BENGAL	9,224	384	1,137	257	3,262	1,218	3,353	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
E. Bardhaman								
E. Burdwan								
E. Calcutta								
E. Hooghly								
E. Medinipur								
E. Murshidabad								
E. Nadia								
E. North 24 Parganas								
E. South 24 Parganas								
E. Tanjore								
E. Tirhoot								
E. Tinsukia								
E. Tripura								
E. W. Bengal								
BIHAR AND ORISSA	27,623	2,814	36,029	7,632	19,188	6,912	8,845	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
NORTH BIHAR			1,278	316	5,082	1,862	3,378	
			sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
N. Banka								
N. Bardhaman								
N. Burdwan								
N. Calcutta								
N. Hooghly								
N. Medinipur								
N. Murshidabad								
N. Nadia								
N. North 24 Parganas								
N. South 24 Parganas								
N. Tanjore								
N. Tirhoot								
N. Tinsukia								
N. Tripura								
N. W. Bengal								
SOUTH BIHAR			2,885	658	3,856	1,432	3,009	
			sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
S. Banka								
S. Bardhaman								
S. Burdwan								
S. Calcutta								
S. Hooghly								
S. Medinipur								
S. Murshidabad								
S. Nadia								
S. North 24 Parganas								
S. South 24 Parganas								
S. Tanjore								
S. Tirhoot								
S. Tinsukia								
S. Tripura								
S. W. Bengal								
ORISSA			1,433	390	2,990	1,133	1,594	
			sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
O. Banka								
O. Bardhaman								
O. Burdwan								
O. Calcutta								
O. Hooghly								
O. Medinipur								
O. Murshidabad								
O. Nadia								
O. North 24 Parganas								
O. South 24 Parganas								
O. Tanjore								
O. Tirhoot								
O. Tinsukia								
O. Tripura								
O. W. Bengal								
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	27,623	2,814	30,433	6,268	7,260	2,485	864	
	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.	sq. mi.	per sq. mi.
C. Banka								
C. Bardhaman								
C. Burdwan								
C. Calcutta								
C. Hooghly								
C. Medinipur								
C. Murshidabad								
C. Nadia								
C. North 24 Parganas								
C. South 24 Parganas								
C. Tanjore								
C. Tirhoot								
C. Tinsukia								
C. Tripura								
C. W. Bengal								
C. Banka								
C. Bardhaman								
C. Burdwan								
C. Calcutta								
C. Hooghly								
C. Medinipur								
C. Murshidabad								
C. Nadia								
C. North 24 Parganas								
C. South 24 Parganas								
C. Tanjore								
C. Tirhoot								
C. Tinsukia								
C. Tripura								
C. W. Bengal								
C. Banka								
C. Bardhaman								
C. Burdwan								
C. Calcutta								
C. Hooghly								
C. Medinipur								
C. Murshidabad								
C. Nadia								
C. North 24 Parganas								
C. South 24 Parganas								
C. Tanjore								
C. Tirhoot								
C. Tinsukia								
C. Tripura								
C. W. Bengal								

* The areas shown for West Bengal and Midnapore exclude 41 square miles of uninhabited river bed. The proportions per cent. which the area and population of each group bear to the total

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Towns Classified by Population.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—PERSONS PER HOUSE AND HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE.				AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.								
Bengal	5.2	5.2	5.3	6.2	83	78	77	61
WEST BENGAL	5.3	5.1	5.2	6.3	105	100	96	75
Burdwan	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.4	133	132	122	102
Medinipur	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.1	132	133	121	107
Bankura	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.2	117	120	107	103
Midnapore	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.2	112	111	103	84
Hooghly	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.9	221	222	233	195
Howrah	4.3	4.3	4.0	3.6	433	373	307	239
CENTRAL BENGAL	5.5	5.1	5.4	6.0	116	119	107	93
24 Parganas	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	91	79	64	56
Calcutta *	20.3	20.3	20.3	20.3	1,344	1,344	1,344	1,070
Nadua	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	122	122	119	103
Murshidabad	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	132	132	132	120
Jessore	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	121	120	120	100
NORTH BENGAL	5.4	5.3	5.5	6.0	97	91	83	73
Rajshahi	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	110	111	107	95
Dinajpur	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	76	73	67	62
Jalpaiguri	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	111	111	103	97
Dakshin	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	116	116	103	97
Rangpur	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	116	116	103	97
Dogra	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	111	111	103	97
Pubna	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	111	111	103	97
Malda	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	111	111	103	97
Cooch Behar	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	111	111	103	97
EAST BENGAL	5.5	5.5	5.4	7.8	94	87	88	57
Khulna	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Dacca	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Mymensingh	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Faridpur	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Dickergunge	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Tippura	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Noskhali	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Chittagong	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Hill Tracts	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	106	106	106	110
Bihaar and Orissa	5.2	5.3	5.7	6.4	67	62	71	61
NORTH BIHAR	5.1	5.3	5.8	6.6	126	120	109	91
Samat	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
Champanan	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
Muzaffarpur	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
Darbhanga	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
Bhagalpur	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
Purnea	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	182	175	169	122
SOUTH BIHAR	5.2	5.3	5.8	6.6	98	97	92	78
Patna	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	146	140	134	134
Gaya	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	146	140	134	134
Shahabad	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	146	140	134	134
Monghyr	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	146	140	134	134
ORISSA	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.9	103	99	90	75
Outlack	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	111	111	101	90
Baharore	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	111	111	101	90
Puri	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	111	111	101	90
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	5.2	5.3	5.7	5.9	36	31	34	30
Hazaribagh	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Ranchi	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Palamu	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Manbhum	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Singbhum	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Sonthal Parganas	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Angul	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Sambalpur	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Orissa Feudatory States	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
Orissa Feudatory States	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	32	32	29	26
SIKKIM	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	50	50	50	50
CHILAS—	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	50	50	50	50
Calcutta	20.3	20.3	20.3	20.3	1,344	1,344	1,344	1,070
Howrah	20.3	20.3	20.3	20.3	1,344	1,344	1,344	1,070
Oossipur-Chitpur	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Manicktola	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Garden Road	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Dacca	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Patna	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Gaya	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706
Bhagalpur	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	1,706	1,706	1,706	1,706

* The variations in Calcutta are due to changes in the definition of house. In the calculations for each Province and for each natural division, those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

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CHAPTER II.

MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

138. The present chapter deals with the variations in the population that have taken place since 1872, when the first census was taken. The changes which occurred between each census up to 1901 will be only briefly referred to, as they have already been dealt with in previous census reports, and the discussion will be mainly devoted to the variations during the last decade. Figures showing the variations in the population of each district and State are contained in Imperial Table II, and similar information for thanas is given in Provincial Table I. These statistics are further illustrated by the subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter, which deal with 1. variations in the population of districts in relation to density since 1872, 2. variations in the natural population of districts between 1901 and 1911, 3. the difference between the vital statistics for each district and the results of the census, and 4. variations by thanas classified according to density.

139. There is ample evidence of the scantiness of the population in various parts of the two provinces in the early days of British rule. This was largely the result of the terrible famine of 1770, when, according to the estimate made by Warren Hastings, "at least one-third of the inhabitants perished"; even 18 years later the Governor-General had to report to the Court of Directors that one-third of the Company's territory in Bengal "was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts." Apart, however, from the effects of famine, the unsettled state of the country had long been instrumental in preventing the expansion of cultivation. Rennell's map shows the lower part of the delta as empty of villages, with the words "Depopulated by the Maghs" written across it. Further south, the oppression of the Marathas had reduced the rich province of Orissa to a pitiable state. Of this we have first-hand evidence by Mr. Motte, who, in order to avoid repetition in his account of the journey which he made through it in 1766, remarked: "In my journey it will be unnecessary to say that any place I came to was once considerable, since all the places which were not so are now depopulated by the Marhattas, and such alone remain as on account of their toil are longer in decaying." Again: "I passed into the talook of Budrne (Bhadraakh), where I found deep marks of the Marhatta claws on the fine tract of land, formerly well peopled, where a human creature is not now to be seen, except, perhaps, a solitary herdsman, attending a large drove of buffaloes or other horned cattle."⁶ In many parts it took years for the British to establish the settled rule of peace. The border district of Midnapore, for instance, was liable to periodical invasions by the Marathas, while its western portion was covered with jungle and inhabited by predatory tribes. It was perpetually harassed by the inroads of the Marathas, by armed bands of *sannuasis*, who roamed through the country in many thousands strong, by the raids of aboriginal tribes (generally known as Chuars), and by the turbulence of the jungle chiefs. Even in 1800, after nearly forty years of British occupation, the Collector reported that two-thirds of Midnapore consisted of jungle, the greater part of which was uninhabited and inaccessible.

140. In the districts now included in Bihar and Orissa, the reports of the Collectors and the investigations of Buchanan Hamilton show that large areas were waste or very thinly peopled. Herds of wild elephants roamed through the north of Purnea, and some had even made their way to

⁶ *Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbulpoor*, Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.

"the woods in the south." Wild buffaloes were exceedingly destructive, and in the north wolves used to carry off a number of children. "The population seems in some places to be diminishing, for the extreme timidity and listlessness of the people have in some parts prevented them from being able to repel the encroachments of wild beasts."^o Only one-fourth of Champaran was under tillage in 1794, and a great part of Darbhanga was uncultivated, partly owing to the famine of 1770, and partly because of the oppression of the farmers of revenue and freebooting zamindars. In 1783 the Collector proposed that cultivators should be recruited from the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh to reclaim "the impeopled wastes." Thirteen years later one *pargana* was described as "the abode of dreadful beasts of prey," while another was the haunt of wild elephants. Again, Buchanan Hamilton left it on record that part of Shahabad had not recovered from the desolation caused by the wars of Kasim Ali half a century before, and that in some *parganas* a large portion of the land was either overgrown with stunted woods or had lately been deserted. Even as late as the Mutiny the country round Jagdispur was covered with dense jungle in which the mutineers found a retreat, and Government was obliged to have it cleared at a great cost. Similar accounts might be given for other districts, if the limits of space permitted.

141. In the first half of the 19th century attempts to compute the population, or actually to count it, appear to have been made from time to time. The basis of the calculations varied widely, and some of the figures appear so extraordinary in the light of our present knowledge, that it is surprising that they can have been accepted at all. For instance, a so-called census of the district of Patna was held in 1837, and the total population estimated at 815,790, but 284,132 persons, or nearly one-third of the total, were assigned to the city of Patna.[†]

Another census showed the population of the Tirhut district as 1,660,538, the basis of the calculation being a count of houses and the assumption that each contained six persons. Twelve years later the number had fallen by 150,000, and it was naively explained that the population was "supposed to have increased enormously," but it was now calculated at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons a house. Elsewhere, as for instance in Chittagong, the figures were based on an estimate of the area under cultivation, coupled with an assumption that each cultivated acre supported 6 persons. As a rule, however, the estimates were based on the number of houses and the average number of persons supposed to live in each; the average, though generally taken to be 5, was sometimes 4, and in one case as low as $2\frac{1}{2}$. How haphazard these estimates were may be realized from the experience of Sir Henry Thuillier, then a young lieutenant, in charge of the revenue survey of a *varqana* in Sylhet from 1839 to 1842. In 1841 he reported to the Deputy Surveyor-General that he did not know that he was expected to undertake a census, and that it would be difficult to make the count so late in the day. Major Bedford, Deputy Surveyor-General, reprimanded Thuillier, though he candidly admitted that the mistake had probably resulted in economy; if the houses were counted and multiplied by a certain factor, that would suffice. Thuillier then pointed out that this gave no indication of the numbers of the sexes, but even this did not defeat Major Bedford. He seemed astonished that Thuillier's wanderings in Jaintia had not given him a tolerably accurate idea of the relative numbers of the sexes, and eventually the numbers were assigned on Thuillier's visual knowledge of that *varqana*. Afterwards, in 1851-52, Thuillier himself, who had in the meantime been appointed Deputy Surveyor-General, in an annual report to the Board of Revenue, showed the figures for Jaintia as having been obtained by a "census taken of the population."[‡]

^o Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*. Buchanan Hamilton adds:—"This however is only a local and recent evil, and within the last forty years the population has, I am credibly informed, at least doubled." He also speaks of "the immense population by which the country is overwhelmed." These statements can scarcely be credited, for even in 1788 nearly a quarter of a *pargana* with an area of nearly 1,000 square miles lay waste for want of cultivators (*Purnea District Gazetteer*, p. 99).

[†] Bengal and Agra Gazetteer of 1841.

[‡] I am indebted for knowledge of the above incident to a note by Captain F. C. Hirst.

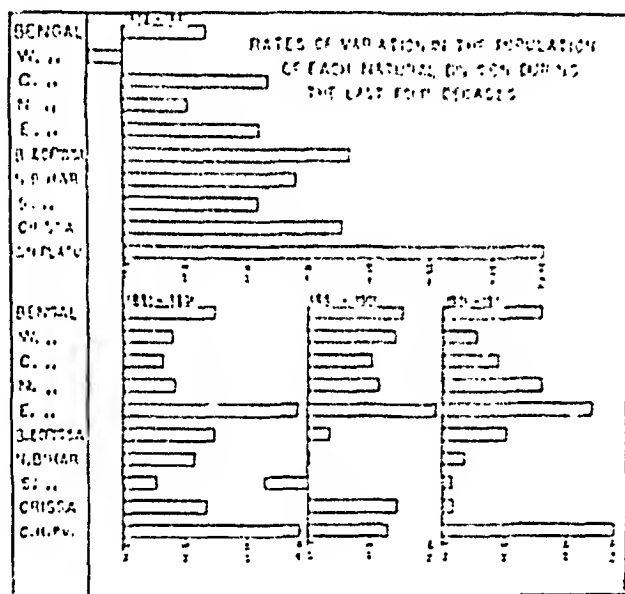
142. The marginal table shows the population recorded at each census,

VARIATIONS SINCE 1872		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE SINCE PREVIOUS CENSUS	
Year of census	Population		
Bengal	{ 1872 ... 31,667,222	...	...
	{ 1881 ... 37,011,969	...	6.7
	{ 1891 ... 39,805,912	...	7.5
	{ 1901 ... 42,881,776	...	7.7
	{ 1911 ... 46,305,612	...	8.0
Bihar and Orissa	{ 1872 ... 28,210,382	...	...
	{ 1881 ... 31,321,291	...	10.1
	{ 1891 ... 33,991,375	...	7.5
	{ 1901 ... 36,557,257	...	7.8
	{ 1911 ... 38,135,291	...	5.1

and the percentage of increase during each intercensal period. During the 39 years over which the census operations have extended, Bengal has added 11,618,350 persons or 37.5 per cent. to its population. At every census, except that of 1881, the rate of increase has been greatest in East Bengal—a rich and fertile region, which is now

more populous by 56.8 per cent. than it was in 1872. Both Central and North Bengal have added to their population at every census but the rates of increase since 1872 are less than half that returned for East Bengal. West Bengal, which has grown only by 11.3 per cent., has been the least progressive, owing partly to the decline between 1872 and 1881, when it suffered from the long continued visitation of Burdwan fever, and partly to the small increase (2.8 per cent.) registered in 1911.

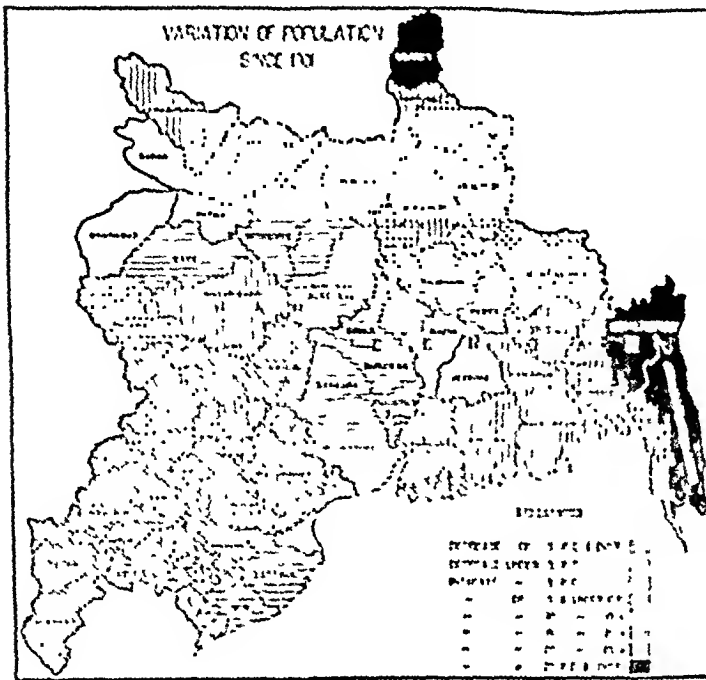
143. The population of Bihar and Orissa has grown by 36.2 per cent. since 1872, but part of



the increase is fictitious, *i.e.*, it is the result of improved enumeration and not of natural growth. This has been especially the case in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the census was defective, in a major degree in 1872, and in a minor degree at each subsequent census. Even allowing for this element of error, no part of the Province has developed so rapidly as this tract, which is peopled by hardy and prolific races, mostly of aboriginal descent, and in which there is room for expansion, large areas being available for reclamation and calling for cultivators. In North and South Bihar also the census of 1872 was wanting in accuracy and completeness, the result being that an increase of over 10 per cent. was returned for both divisions in 1881. The census of 1891 showed a growth of 5.9 per cent. in North Bihar and of 2.7 per cent. in South Bihar, but since then the former has been almost stationary, while the latter has yet not made good the loss of population which it sustained between 1891 and 1901. Orissa developed rapidly up to 1881, when it was recovering from the effects of the famine of 1866, and it continued to progress until 1901. It has now received a check, its rate of increment during the last decade being under 1 per cent.

144. Up to 1905 both the Provinces dealt with in this report formed part of one Province (Bengal), and when the census of 1911 was held, they were divided between the two Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The general rate of growth up to the latter year in the united Province



of Bengal showed a progressive decline, viz., from 12 per cent. in 1881 to 7½ per cent. in 1891 and to 5 per cent. in 1901: this was undoubtedly due in part to the higher standard of accuracy attained at each successive census. The separation of the figures for the two new Provinces shows that there has been a steady but gradual advance in Bengal, the increase in the percentage of

growth being 13 per cent. (from 6·7 per cent. in 1881 to 8 per cent. in 1911). In Bihar and Orissa there was a continuous decline in the ratio till 1901, after which there was a sharp rise: in this latter Province the abrupt transition from the increase of 18·1 per cent. recorded in 1881 to that of 7·5 per cent. recorded in 1891 is due to the admitted incompleteness of the first census of 1872. The greater rapidity of growth shown by the present census cannot be connected with any improvement of the census-taking except in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, especially in the Orissa States. Here, there is reason to believe, the better organization effected under the control of the Political Agent resulted in the enumeration of persons who previously escaped the census, and it must therefore be held partly responsible for the high rate of increase recorded—19·6 per cent. as against 9·5 per cent. in 1901. In the case of Sikkim there is no doubt that part of the increase of 19 per cent. recorded at this census is due to improved organization. The census of this State is always a matter of difficulty owing to the nature of the country, its scattered population and the paucity of persons able to read and write. In 1901 an excellent scheme for the census was drawn up by Mr. Gait, then Census Superintendent of Bengal, but, for reasons which need not be discussed here, it was not given effect to. Except in a few bazars, houses were not numbered, and eventually two clerks had to be deputed to conduct the census of the entire population—a task which lasted ten weeks. At the present census, a scheme following the lines laid down in 1901, with some modifications suggested by further experience, was carried out successfully by the Political Officer.

115. The actual increase of population in Bengal since 1901 has been 3,423,866 or 6·7 per cent. Every natural division contributes to the increase, but in unequal shares, as shown in the margin. Immigration is partly responsible for the accretion.

DIVISION.	Increase per cent.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of 11½ millions over 1901 population per million	Percentage of Musalmans
Bengal	6·7	+ 4·8	52·3
West Bengal	2·8	+ 1·1	15·4
Central "	4·4	+ 0·5	46·1
North "	8·0	+ 3·95	59·3
East "	12·1	+ 9·55	67·5

The immigrants from outside provinces outnumber the emigrants who have gone to other parts of India by a little over 1½ millions, the excess having increased considerably during the last decade. The main factor, however, is natural growth, and in different parts of the province this largely depends on the strength of Musalmans, who, as is well known, are more prolific than Hindus.

The marginal table sufficiently shows how largely their preponderance affects the proportional growth of the population in each division. The increase is greatest where they are most numerous, viz., in North and East Bengal, and least where they are in a minority, viz., in Central and West Bengal, though the immigrant population is strongest there. It should be added that conditions are somewhat peculiar in Central Bengal. It contains the unhealthy districts of Jessore and Nadia, the only two districts in the province which have sustained a loss, and there is a large body of male immigrants in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas who leave their wives at home: it is on this account that the birth-rate falls below the death-rate.

The addition of population in Bihar and Orissa is 1,878,036, or 5·1 per cent. In this province the Musalman form a small minority, and emigration is active. The number of emigrants to other provinces is in excess of that returned for immigrants by $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions: one-thirtieth of the total population of the province were present in Bengal at the time of the census. The emigrants are mostly adult males, and, though for the most part they leave their homes only for a time, their absence materially affects the birth returns. It is this which mainly accounts for the fact that, while, according to the vital statistics for 1901-10

DIVISION.	Increase per cent.	Excess of births over deaths per mille.
Bihar and Orissa	5·1	5·2
North Bihar ...	1·9	5·1
South " ...	0·7	1·5
Orissa ...	0·9	2·8
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	14·0	9·1

there was an excess of 1,910,000 births over deaths, the census shows an increase of only 1,240,000 in the areas for which returns of births and deaths were compiled. There has been a substantial increase only in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where it is due to natural growth among prolific aborigines. In North Bihar there has been a slight advance, but South Bihar and Orissa are practically stationary. The slow rate of growth in these areas is the combined result of emigration, scarcity and epidemics of disease, notably plague, which has caused a mortality of half a million in Bihar. The conditions prevailing in each district and natural division will be discussed later, and here it may be stated that four districts have sustained a loss of population, viz., Saran, Patna, Shahabad and Monghyr.

146. In Bengal, where there had been a succession of somewhat unhealthy years at the end of the previous decade, there was an improvement in the general condition of the people up to 1904. The east of the Province was visited by heavy floods in 1905 and by widespread epidemics of cholera in the next two years. Crops were also short, and their partial failure accentuated the tendency to high prices. After 1907, however, there was again a series of healthy years. In Bihar and Orissa the first four years of the decade witnessed a period of fair agricultural prosperity: the number of births increased, while mortality gradually fell. The three years 1905 to 1908, however, were years of distress. The harvests were short and the price of food-grains ruled high: the decline of the birth-rate and the rise of mortality are symptomatic of the unfavourable conditions prevailing. In 1909, however, the outturn of the crops was excellent, prices fell and a marked improvement in the general health was apparent.

It is almost superfluous to add that conditions even in the same year are exceptionally diverse in different parts of the enormous area covered by the two Provinces. The same year may witness drought and excessive rainfall, a failure of the crops on one side and a full harvest on the other, a rapid extension of cultivation in one direction and the lapsing of well cultivated land into jungle in another. These features will be dealt with later in the sections given to each district.

147. The most prominent feature of the economic history of the last decade is the rise in prices which took place in 1906 and continued during the two succeeding years. While the average price of food varied little from the normal during the first half of the decade (1901 to 1905), it suddenly rose in 1906 in a marked degree, this rise becoming accentuated in 1907, till in August of that year the average price of rice was 58 per cent., and the maize 70 per cent. above the previous normal. The crops of 1907-08 being also

the middle classes who are dependent not on agriculture, commerce and industries. but on the fixed salaries which they obtain in clerical and professional employment. To them high prices meant straitened circumstances, if not actual privation. So much was this the case. that the Government instituted a system of "grain compensation allowances" in view of the diminution of their assets which the high prices of food entailed.

150 The landless labourers, formerly the most destitute of all, were not much affected. Those who were ready to travel could find ample employment in the coal-mines, mills, factories, etc., where wages have risen and are far higher than in rural areas. In the case of the coal-mines, for instance, it has been estimated that in the ten years ending in 1903 the wages of all classes of workers had been increased by about 50 per cent. "In the year 1894," writes the Chief Inspector of Mines, "the manager of a large colliery said that he took care that any miner who was willing to do a fair day's work should get not less than 4 annas per day, and that most of his work-people got one hot meal every day, as if these workers were exceptionally well off as compared with other miners. I believe that 4 annas a day was almost above the average wage at that time, but now it is not at all uncommon to be told that the miners earn 5 annas, 7 annas, and more than these amounts per day, that a miner and his wife earn Re. 1 per day between them, and so on. And the wages of other labourers have, consequently, risen accordingly."*

In districts where the wages of field-labour have not risen appreciably during the last ten years, the labourers should *a priori* have suffered from the pinch of high prices. In such districts, however, they are paid not in cash but in kind; and while the quantity of produce they receive remains unchanged, its value has increased. In other parts agricultural labour is paid in cash, but the labourers' wages have risen. In several Bengal districts, indeed, local labour has to be supplemented by the influx of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa, and the demand being in excess of the supply, wages are regulated thereby.

151. There appears to be no doubt that there has been a general rise in the standard of living of the present generation. Many things which were formerly regarded as luxuries are now articles of ordinary use. Not the least significant change is the way in which rice is displacing coarser grains as a daily article of food, *e.g.*, the lowest classes in parts of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, who seldom had a meal of rice, are now able to indulge in it. There has at the same time been an undoubted improvement in the staying powers both of the small cultivators and the landless labourers, especially in North Bihar. In giving an account of the famine of 1873-74, which was most intense in the district of Tirhut (*i.e.*, the present districts of Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur), Sir A. P. (now Lord) Macdonnell stated that the raiyats were so impoverished, and so unable to bear up against the failure of a single season's crop, that one-third of the population was at one period in receipt of relief from the Government. In 1896-97, when the distress was at its highest, more than three-fifths of the persons in the Patna Division who were in receipt of relief belonged to the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, but, instead of forming one-third of the population of those districts, they formed less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of it. The lapse of ten years has shewn a further improvement, for in the Darbhanga famine of 1906-07 the percentage of persons relieved to the population of the distressed area was only one-third of what it was in the previous famine, while the proportion was still smaller in the famine of 1908-09.

The change which has taken place must be mainly attributed to the greater mobility of labour, which again is the result of the extension of railway communications. When scarcity is felt, a larger proportion of the people leave the district and obtain labour elsewhere, remitting their savings home. The volume of emigration, in fact, corresponds to the state of the crops. If they are good, it diminishes; if there is a failure, it is larger and lasts longer. The one section of the community, which appears to be stationary, consists of the professional middle classes (*bhadralok*) of Bengal who do not engage in commerce or industries. They do not reduce their expenditure on the social and religious ceremonies

incidental to their position, though the expense of maintaining that position has increased. At the same time their ranks are swelled, and competition is rendered keener year after year, by the growing number of recruits from schools and universities.

152. There was, as already stated, a large extension of the area under jute during the first part of the decade, and fears were at one time expressed that the area under food-crops was being reduced below the limit of safety. There appear to be no valid grounds for such fears, for the subsequent lowering of the price of jute resulted in the shrinkage of jute cultivation, and rice has partially regained the area which it lost. Even in the jute-growing districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Tippera the area under jute is still less than a third of that under rice. It has been proved, moreover, that rice and jute can be raised from the same land, provided that it is fertile enough; but it must be admitted that the ordinary cultivator is averse to such double cropping, as it involves continuous and somewhat exhausting labour.

There is no doubt as to the extension of rice cultivation to tracts where it was formerly unknown. In 1877 Sir William Hunter wrote in the Statistical Account of Bhagalpur:—"Throughout the south of Bihar, all along the hills from Rajmahal to where the Son river enters at the south-west corner of Shahabad district, the people are poor, and the country is barren and only just reclaimed from jungle. Rice has been comparatively recently introduced, and is still too scarce and dear to be the staple food of a people who had long been accustomed to support life on more hardy grains and on jungle produce, such as the fruit of the *mahu* tree." In this area rice is now grown wherever irrigation is possible, and much has been done to extend irrigation. In Monghyr the Kharagpur reservoir alone has so greatly extended the area under cultivation that the rent-roll of the estate benefited by it has risen by 300 per cent. in 30 years.

Formerly the cultivator distributed his capital and labour far more equally between rice and other crops, such as oil-seeds, pulses, etc. Now, the good prices commanded by rice, and the facilities for export afforded by the railway, have led him to concentrate on rice. This is not an unmixed benefit, for rice is often grown on uplands imperfectly irrigated and unsuitable for its growth. Areas which used to produce millets and maize, on which the people subsisted, have been turned into rice-lands of which the output is often uncertain and precarious. Such cultivation is, in fact, speculative, the peasants abandoning the grains which form their daily food for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

153. Three districts were affected by famine during the decade, viz., Darbhangga, Ranchi and Puri. A number of other districts suffered from scarcity, which in places almost approached famine, but the cultivators, with improved resources, were able to ride over their difficulties with the aid of loans, and it was not necessary to declare famine. Such scarcity was most acute in Bankura, Nadia, Murshidpur, South Parganas, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, Balasore and Angul.

DARBHANGGA.

154. In Darbhanga the famine of 1906-07 affected an area of about 1,690 square miles, or one-half of the district, with a population of nearly 1½ million. The famine was primarily due, not as usual to drought, but to floods. In July 1906 the rivers debouching from the Himalayas overflowed their banks, causing considerable damage to the crops. The first flood had scarcely subsided, when it was followed by another of unprecedented height and duration. Almost the whole affected area was submerged for about a fortnight, the *bhadol* crop being destroyed and the paddy seedlings swept away. By the time the water had subsided, it was too late to plant out fresh seedlings, except in the Madhubani subdivision, where, however, the crop suffered greatly from subsequent drought. In the end the *bhadol* crop yielded only 12, and the winter rice 27 per cent. of the normal. *Kabi* crops were sown over a larger area than usual, but the prolonged drought which followed the floods, and heavy rainfall at harvest time, reduced their yield to barely half the average. The total output of crops for the year is estimated to have been barely one-third of the normal. The harvests of 1905-06, moreover, had been poor, the yield being only two-thirds of the normal. The result was widespread scarcity,

but it was acute enough to necessitate the declaration of famine only in five of the ten thanas of the district, viz., the Darbhanga, Bahera and Rosera thanas in the Sadar subdivision, the Warisnagar thana in the Samastipur subdivision and the Benipati thana in the Madhubani subdivision. Of these, the Rosera and Bahera thanas (in the south-east of the district, where the famine was especially severe) suffered most. The famine continued till August 1907, when a bumper *bhadoi* crop brought it to a close. Except during the first stage of the distress, i.e., immediately after the floods, the percentage of persons relieved to the population of the distressed area was only 2·66 per cent., their average daily number being 38,945.

155. The affected area had not fully recovered from the effects of this famine before it was visited by another, which was brought about by drought. Owing to the failure of the monsoon rains in 1908, the *bhadoi* crop had a very poor yield, and the winter rice crop, which is the mainstay of the people, was an almost total failure. There was scarcity, more or less acute, throughout the district, except in the Dalsinghsarai and Samastipur thanas. The failure of crops was most severe in the Sadar and Madhubani subdivisions, where famine was declared and relief operations had to be undertaken. In the Samastipur subdivision the only area where scarcity existed was the Warisnagar thana. This subdivision is a rich, fertile tract, with uplands suited to the cultivation of *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops, and is not dependent on winter rice like other parts of the district.

Distress was acute from February 1909 up to the end of May 1909, when it was mitigated by the commencement of the rains and the consequent resumption of agricultural operations. During these four months agricultural employment was almost entirely non-existent, except for a short time during the *rabi* harvest. This harvest, however, had little effect in relieving distress, as the crop was very poor for want of moisture. The most severely affected parts were the east portion of the Bahera thana, the Singhia outpost of Rosera, and portions of the Darbhanga, Phulparas and Benipati thanas. The average daily number of persons relieved (53,609) was greater than in 1906-07, but their proportion to the total population of the affected area was less and amounted only to 2·22 per cent.

156. In 1908 there was famine in Ranchi for the first time since 1900. After that year the crops were more or less normal until 1906-07, when there was a bumper crop, the bulk of which was exported owing to the enhanced demand caused by the failure of crops elsewhere. The famine was due to the early cessation of rain in 1907, and was intensified by the very large exports. The total rainfall was in excess of the normal, but it was very badly distributed. August was abnormally wet; the rainfall in September was quite up to the average in quantity, but the whole of it fell in the first few days, and, except for one or two slight local showers, there was no rain in the district after 9th September. The result was that the early rice suffered from damp, while the winter rice dried up owing to insufficient moisture. The oil-seed crops withered, and the *rabi* was a total failure.

The area in which famine had to be declared consisted of thanas Kurdeg, Kochhedga, Chainpur, Bishenpur, Ghagra and Gumla (all in the Gumla subdivision), with an area of 2,261 square miles and a population of 237,238. Relief was also required in Sisai thana and a part of Sonahatu thana, while test-works were opened in Burmu and part of Tamar. The whole affected tract was 3,402 square miles with a population of 447,461. The distress varied from scarcity in Burmu to actual famine in Bishenpur, but in the area in which famine was declared the ratio of persons on relief works to the population affected was only 1·59 per cent. It would undoubtedly have been greater but for the exodus of able-bodied labourers. Instead of the emigration season closing as usual in April, it continued right through the hot weather and even into the rains, when, as a rule, cultivators are very unwilling to leave their fields. The mortality reached a high figure (46·5 per mille) owing mainly to severe epidemics of small-pox, fever and cholera, which were rife throughout the district. There were no deaths directly traceable to starvation or privation, but in consequence of high prices and general distress the people succumbed to disease more readily than would have been the case in an ordinary year.

Puri.

of the Chilika Lake in the south-west of the district, while the latter, which also borders on the sea, lies at the extreme north-east of the district. The former, which may be described as the Chilika tract, has an area of 143 square miles with a population of 25,038; the latter, which is known as the Marchpur tract, extends over 178 square miles with a population of 74,345. The Chilika tract, which has a sandy, salt-impregnated soil, is not subject to floods to any considerable extent, but it cannot withstand the effects of drought. It has only one crop, viz, winter rice, which is very largely dependent on an adequate rainfall in September and October; and in 1907 there was almost an entire failure of this later rain. In the Marchpur tract conditions are somewhat similar, winter rice being the chief, and in some parts the only, crop, but unlike the Chilika tract, it is subject to inundation from the Devi and other rivers running through it. Here floods did great damage to the standing rice crop, and the failure of the September and October rains destroyed much of what the people were able to retransplant.

158. Fever is such an important factor in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, whether considered from a statistical, sociological or economic point of view, that a brief description of its distribution is required, especially as no comprehensive account of the

FEVER.

habitability of different parts of the two Provinces to fever has hitherto been published. Year by year it is silently and relentlessly at work. Plague slays its thousands, but fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors, saps their vigour and fecundity, and either interrupts the even tenor, or hinders the development, of commerce and industry. "A leading cause of poverty—and of many other disagreeables in a great part of Bengal—is the prevalence of malaria. For a physical explanation of the Bengali lack of energy, malaria would count high."* The present account is brief and sketchy considering the complexity and intrinsic importance of the subject, but, owing to the necessary limitations imposed on a census report, more cannot be attempted.

159. The vast majority of deaths are returned under the generic head of fever, owing to the predilection of chankidars for fever as the cause of death in any case not palpably due to cholera, small-pox or plague. Inquiries made by competent observers show, however, that the mortality actually due to malarial fever is very much smaller than would appear from the returns. A special investigation (referred to at greater length below), which was conducted for three years in a rural area of Burdwan, where over 70 per cent. of the deaths were ascribed to fever, proved that nearly half were due to other causes, chiefly respiratory diseases. Even worse results were obtained by an investigation into the actual causes of so-called fever deaths in a small Bengal town, where the standard of intelligence and efficiency should *a priori* be higher. In this town a Deputy Sanitary Commissioner went from house to house to verify the recorded deaths, and found that, out of twenty deaths, ascribed to fever, three only were due to malaria, and even these were doubtful. The diagnosis of the cause of death was, in the majority of cases, extraordinary. Three deaths were due to old age, dropsy or bronchitis. One was a case of convulsions, and another of septicæmia. Two deaths could not be traced, and in two other cases living persons were reported as dead.

160. The medical officers deputed to assist the Bengal Drainage Committee, during the special inquiry held in 1906-07, also made investigations into the actual causes of the deaths reported as due to fever. In Nadia they found that 40 per cent. of the cases investigated were due to malaria, acute or chronic, and the remaining 60 per cent. to bronchitis, pneumonia, phthisis, dysentery, diarrhoea, typhoid, Leishman-Donovan infection, and other causes. In Jessore they found that 35 per cent. were due to malaria, while phthisis was responsible for 9 per cent., and dysentery and diarrhoea for 11 per cent. A similar inquiry was held in the Dinajpur district in 1904, when it was found that less than one-third of the deaths classified as due to fever were actually caused by malaria. The general result of these different inquiries is to

show that approximately one-third of the deaths imputed to fever are the direct result of malaria.

161. In many localities where malaria has long been prevalent and become endemic, it does not cause any exceptional mortality. In parts of the Tarai, in particular, the incidence of malaria is high, but the inhabitants, such as Tharus, Meches and Rajbansis, seem inured to it. Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, writes that, on visiting malarious districts for the first time, he was struck by the well-developed and prosperous appearance of the inhabitants, even in the malarious villages. "Although with spleens large enough to reach the umbilicus, and with malarial parasites in their blood, and having attacks of fever frequently, the children as a whole looked quite fat and healthy, not particularly anæmic, and seemed little affected by the malaria and were playing about and seemed to enjoy life." In fact, though malaria prevents any large increase of population, it is not inconsistent with a small or moderate increase provided that other conditions are favourable.

It must, however, be remembered that malaria is the indirect cause of a large proportion of deaths owing to enfeeblement caused by its repeated attacks. Malaria, and the lowered vitality resulting from it, is a predisposing cause in both phthisis and dysentery, so that it is responsible, in part, for the prevalence of these diseases and for the mortality ascribed to them. There can, in any case, be little doubt as to the prejudicial effect of malaria on the birth-rate, both by causing abortion and still-birth, and also by diminishing the reproductive powers of persons whose systems are weakened by continual attacks. Further, as stated by a statistical authority, "from an economical point of view common sickness is more important than deaths, for it is the amount and duration of sickness rather than the mortality that tell on the prosperity of a community (Dr. Dickson)."^{*}

162. It is only recently that the various types of fever and their prevalence in different localities have been scientifically investigated. It has been shown conclusively that Central Bengal is subject to a bad type of malarial fever, where its prevalence is due to, or is facilitated by, two causes, viz., the water-logged state of the country and the insanitary condition of the villages. The general situation may be summed up in the words used by Captain Stewart and Lieutenant Proctor in their description of one typical district: "The excessive prevalence of malaria as a whole can be attributed directly to the great facilities afforded to the breeding of mosquitoes, chiefly by the presence in and around the villages of jungle, dirty tanks, ditches, marshes and casual water in every direction, and, to a lesser degree, to the *bils* and dead rivers acting in the same way in some cases. In its turn, the presence of so much water in the villages is due, in part, to the carelessness and ignorance of the inhabitants, and in part to the want of natural drainage in the country, owing to its position in a deltaic tract, where the process of land-building is still going on. The rivers are gradually heightening their banks and beds, until the drainage is away from instead of towards them. The subsoil water is unable to drain away rapidly, remains long at high level after the wet season, and prevents the soaking in of rain-water resulting in casual collections of water remaining for long periods in every hollow, natural and artificial. It is the combination of these two factors, the high subsoil water and the jungly and insanitary condition of the villages, that results in so high a malaria rate. The pits, hollows and jungle in the villages† would in themselves be insufficient to account for so great a prevalence of the disease, were they not combined with the lack of natural drainage, which allows the surface collections of water to remain for so long a time; and on the other hand, so far as our present knowledge goes, the high subsoil water has no connection with the disease except in so far as it is a cause of these surface collections of water. The silting up of the rivers is merely one sign of the

^{*} A Newsholme, *Vital Statistics* (1899), p. 38

† Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., to whom I am indebted for assistance in preparing this account of the localities affected by fever, writes:—"Tanks containing enough water to remain till all the year, contain enough fish to destroy all larvæ, provided the latter are unprotected by excess of weeds. Clean tanks are larvæ free..... The effect of jungle is variable, but I am convinced that the undoubted fact that jungly villages are more malarious is explained by the fact that jungle is a measure of the age of a village, the jungly villages are old villages with broken surface and foul soil. It is quite conceivable that a village situated within a solid unbroken circle of bamboo growth, with only a narrow exit and with tanks and water outside the ring, might be adequately guarded against mosquitoes and fever."

lack of natural drainage, and apart from that is not in itself a cause of malaria to any large extent."

163. Conditions similar to those described above also exist in North Bengal and the alluvial tract of West Bengal, in both of which malaria is prevalent. In West Bengal it occurs not only in water-logged localities, but also on the dry uplands. The geological formation of the latter is favourable to the retention of water in places where the surface is uneven, for the soil has an impermeable stratum which prevents percolation. Here stagnant pools remain until a dry season comes in. The number of infected mosquitoes goes on increasing, and, *pari passu*, the number of infected people, the one reacting the other. The river districts of East Bengal, such as Dacca, Backergunge and Tippera, are the least malarious. "In these districts the rivers are open, tidal, and clean-banked. When the rivers silt up at the mouth, the district is at once changed in character, and will be found to be amongst the worst in the Province. Dinajpur, Jessore, part of the 24-Parganas, Faridpur and Nadia are examples of this class. In Faridpur these two conditions are seen within thirty miles of each other. The Bhushna thana is as malarious as any part of Bengal, while Pabna and the *char* thanas are free from the scourge. Were it not for Bhushna and some of the low, Jessore and Dinajpur are full of old water courses that have gradually silted up; the natural drainage of the district is upset, the subsoil water is phenomenally high, and the whole place is water-logged."† On the other hand, cholera is nearly always more prevalent in river districts than in drier areas. In the latter, epidemics rage sometimes with extraordinary virulence, but in the river districts cholera is almost an annual visitation. The explanation seems to be the practice of defecation on the banks of *khals* or rivers and the consequent pollution of the water. The severity of the disease depends on the rainfall and the quantity of water flowing in the rivers. When rainfall is short, the current slow, and the volume of water small, the disease is rife. When rainfall is heavy and there is a good flood, it is rare.

164. In Bihar the condition of most villages is probably more insanitary than in Central and North Bengal. They are mostly free from jungle, but they are congested and badly drained; the drinking-water supply is often neglected, measures being rarely taken to protect the wells and preserve their purity. The earth required for building the houses is dug up in their immediate vicinity, the excavations forming dirty pits, where water remains stagnant for a long time. Moreover, the cowsheds, as in Bengal, are close to the houses, and in them the mosquito finds a resting place undisturbed by smoke.† Most villages are surrounded by rice cultivation, this wet crop being grown almost up to the doors of the houses. In North Bihar many villages stand on the edge of large marshes. Extensive areas are swampy and liable to inundation from the rivers, which leave water lying over the country till November. The drainage, as in North Bengal, is obstructed by deserted or silted-up river channels.‡ Conditions, however, vary even in the same district. The south of Champaran, a dry area, is practically free from malaria, but in the submontane swampy area to the north the people are fever-sodden. In the north of Bhagalpur malaria is rife; on the south bank of the Ganges in this district, and also in Patna and Monghyr, it is absent.

165. In the upland plateau of Chota Nagpur, where there is good natural drainage, where the soil is dry and porous, and where wet crops are not grown to such an extent as in Bengal and Bihar, malaria is far less common, but it is distinctly prevalent in the valleys. "In some of the shut-in valleys in this part of the Province it is possible to find places that are perfect death-traps. These are usually valleys with rich marshy soil and a slow stream wandering through them. Malarial infection is so rapid and so deadly, that inhabitants of the districts usually avoid these spots choosing

† Report of the Drainage Committee, Bengal, 1909.

‡ Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1904.

§ The proximity of cowsheds to houses is an important factor in the propagation of malaria.

§ In Saran the country is so closely cultivated, that in some places the natural drainage channels have been brought under tillage

the more healthy parts for locating their villages.”* The villages at the foot of the *ghats* below the plateau or on the escarpments, and those actually on the edge of plateau, are also very malarious.

166. In Orissa most of the big villages have a main street, with houses in a row, which is kept clear of trees and jungle, but behind the houses, and on the outskirts of the village, conditions are similar to those obtaining in a typical Bengal village. The country is deltaic, rice cultivation is seen everywhere, and Cuttack is largely under irrigation from the canals. “One can,” remarks Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., “only suppose that the reason why the irrigated portions of this district are not heavily malarious is that the amount of existing infection has not reached a numerical value high enough to cause widespread epidemics. The supply of anophelines has certainly in many places reached the numerical value, and I shall not be surprised to find a heavy epidemic occurring in the near future.”

167. Plague first appeared in Bengal in 1898, when there were two outbreaks, one in Calcutta and the other in Backergunge.† In the early part of 1899 it again visited Calcutta, and there were also outbreaks in ten rural districts. In the cold weather of 1900-01 the disease spread over a larger area. Since the last census it has established itself firmly in Bihar, coming and going with the seasons with wonderful regularity. It is most prevalent in the winter, practically disappears or remains dormant throughout the hot and rainy seasons, and re-crudesces with the advent of the cold weather, attaining its greatest virulence in the first three months of the year. At first, the epidemic was confined to those parts where easy communication and grain markets existed, e.g., in Patna from 1900 to 1904 the tract along the East Indian Railway and the surroundings of Bihar were attacked every year, while the south-west of the district remained immune. The disease thrives in congested areas, and the people have recognized this by evacuating their houses and encamping in the open. This so far is practically the only measure they take to avoid attack, and inoculation has found little favour. The only district in which it has been resorted to on any extensive scale is Gaya, where 23,000 persons were inoculated by their own free will during the epidemic of 1900-1901. The success of inoculation in this district was due to the popularity of the Collector and the Civil Surgeon and to the confidence they inspired: in no other district has the same result been obtained.

1901	...	...	70,388	168. The marginal table shows the actual
1902	...	...	25,369	number of deaths recorded as due to plague during
1903	...	...	56,972	the ten years in the Province of Bihar and
1904	...	...	70,450	Orissa. The vast majority occurred in Bihar, for
1905	...	...	116,769	Chota Nagpur and Orissa have been almost
1906	...	...	56,708	immune from this scourge. The districts of Patna.
1907	...	...	79,867	Saran and Shahabad have suffered particularly
1908	...	...	14,105	severely, the ratio of plague deaths during the
1909	...	...	9,613	decade to the population of 1901 being 90, 80 and
1910	...	...	45,209	30 per mille respectively.
Total	...	...	545,450	

The trading classes appear to have lost most heavily from plague. “It is not the trade itself but its environment that is responsible for the increased death-rate or for the immunity of those who engage in it. All shop-keepers, especially grain-dealers and Halwais or sweetmeat vendors, show a very great mortality from plague. It is almost always the village shop-keepers who are first attacked with plague: they usually introduce the disease, and they always suffer the most. These men have dark, rat-infested store-godowns. In Calcutta. Barli and many other towns it is the bania’s quarter from which most deaths are

* Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1904.

† As the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa seem to think that plague is a new visitation, and that its causes are mysterious, I may be permitted to mention that a Muhammadan historian (Mu’tamad Khan) gives an account of an outbreak of plague in the Deccan in 1619, which clearly indicates the presence of the plague rat and also that the evacuation of houses was then, as now, the chief means of escape from attacks. “When it was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, and, striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact.”

returned. Unfortunately the raiyat's house is his grain-store as well as his abode; hence in the agricultural villages the conditions under which he and his family live are not very different from those of the city bania. Consequently, though not a shop-keeper, his family usually suffers severely. The men who have no such houses, such as Nats (gipsies) fishermen, herdsmen, almost entirely escape. Further, in rural areas, the death-rate is much greater amongst women and children than amongst men. The reason being that they are more at home.*

169. Epidemics of plague have been conspicuous by their absence in nearly all parts of Bengal, Calcutta being the only place in which there has been any considerable mortality. The immunity of Bengal is remarkable, because there is a constant influx of labourers coming from infected areas to seek employment in the fields, or on the railways, or in the mills and factories. The causes of this immunity were first pointed to, in 1906, by Major Clemesha, I.M.S., who remarked:—"A house so constructed as not to be suitable for rats to live in, and not containing any food to attract rodents, would probably remain non-infected unless a case of pneumonic plague was placed in it. There is the greatest difference between the Bihar and purely Bengali villages. In Bihar the mud houses are closely packed together, so as to utilise every available inch of ground. There are no streets, narrow passages between the walls only remaining. The village is compact; it may consist of several *tolas* or hamlets separated by a considerable distance, but each such *tolas* is a compact, overcrowded unit. In Bengal exactly the opposite tendency prevails. Villages are long straggling lines of houses built on the highest part of the land to be above flood level. Usually each house is buried in a thicket of bamboos and rank vegetation, having its own compound, and the individual houses being often some distance apart. Undoubtedly, the Bihar village is the ideal type for plague to flourish in. It is certainly infested with rats. Conversely, it would appear that the Bengali village is not a suitable location for the virus. Plague has fairly frequently been introduced into such a village, but it has not spread to more than the members of the household. To-day, practically all Eastern Bengal is free from the disease. I am not able to say definitely as to whether this type of village contains less rats than the Bihar variety, but I am inclined to think that this is the case. It is, however, certain that there is comparatively little overcrowding: the houses are much better ventilated and lighted, and are made of a material which allows rapid exchange of air. I am inclined to the view that these conditions and the possible scarcity of rodents have a considerable influence in rendering these districts unsuitable as a habitat for the plague virus. With most of those districts there is considerable communication with Calcutta, and yet it is only in Bihar and in cities that plague has obtained a foothold."

170. Further inquiries have established the fact that the immunity of Bengal, and particularly of Eastern Bengal, is due to the scarcity of plague rats, which again is a consequence of the structure of the houses and the habits of the people. The results of these inquiries are summarized as follows:—

(1) Eastern Bengal has suffered very little from bubonic plague; a few epidemics only of pneumonic plague have occurred. (2) The physical features of the country protect it, to some extent, from the importation of infection and would tend to limit the opportunities for spreading the disease if it once broke out. (3) The freedom from plague can chiefly be attributed to the scarcity of rats in the houses as compared with other parts of India. (4) *Mus rattus* is comparatively rare in Bengali houses, because of the habits of the people, in respect of their dwellings, which diminishes the food supply of the rodents. (5) The structure and design of the Bengali home, whether it be of the solid masonry type or on the one hand or of the flimsy matting or grass type on the other, afford little shelter for rats. (6) The presence of natural enemies of *Mus rattus*, such as the musk rat, may assist in maintaining a low rat infestation of the houses.† Commonly on these conclusions, the Editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* remarks:—"The writer gives a very favourable account of the neatness

* Major W. W. Clemesha, I.M.S., *An Account of Plague in Bengal*, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLI, 1906.

† The Journal of Hygiene, Plague Supplement I, p. 192 (Dec 1911).

‡ *An Account of Plague in Bengal*, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLI, 1905.

and tidiness of the houses of Eastern Bengalis are compared with those of the inhabitants of other parts of India, and while these habits of tidiness help to keep away the rats, the construction of the houses does even more. When the houses are *gacha*, i.e., built of brick and mortar, the walls naturally afford little harbourage for rats, and the *kutcha* fences of thin bamboo matting or wattle, with a roof of corrugated iron, split bamboo or thin thatch, gives even less shelter to these rodents. The country-tilled roofs, which are connected with rat-country, are not seen in Eastern Bengal. In fact, the rat is a domestic animal in the thick mud-walled houses necessary to protect against heat and cold in Upper India, while in Eastern Bengal he finds but few places to live in and, in fact, is not a domestic animal.*

171. The principal irrigation works in the two Provinces are the Son, the Ganges and Mithanore canals. The average area irrigated in each of the decades ending in 1890, 1900 and 1910 are as shown in the margin. During the last decade the Bhakra canal, a small work in the Champaran district, was completed, being first used for irrigation in 1905. The Tiltan canal in the same district is under construction and has been partially completed. The Son Canals irrigate the greater part of the district of Shahabad and small portions of Gaya and Patna.

After the introduction in Shahabad of a large area of waste land was brought under the plough, and the cultivation both of rice and suga cane rapidly increased, the area under rice is now 50 per cent more than it was before the construction of the canals. In Gaya the canals, which irrigate the two thanas of Bandanagar and Arwal, have turned neglected waste into fertile fields. Speaking of Bandanagar in 1812, Buchanan-Hamilton remarked—“Some of the best land even is neglected, and is chiefly occupied by peschodang woods of the *Salix fimbriata*.” His description of the country round Arwal is equally depressing, for he observed—“A great portion is neglected, and, where the soil is poor, is chiefly over-grown with thorns of the stunted *Ardisia*. Where the waste land is rich, it is over-grown with harsh long grass.” The appearance of this tract is now very different, as it includes some of the best rice-growing land in the district. Since 1872, Bandanagar has added nearly 15 per cent, and Arwal 33 per cent, to its numbers.

172. In Shahabad also there was a large increase of population in the irrigated areas up to 1891, but the census statistics of the last 20 years do not show any general correlation between growth of population and the benefits of canal irrigation. In fact, throughout the northern thanas

THANA.	POPULATION (1891)	DECREASE PER 100 KAR. MILES.			
		1891	1901	1911	1921
(1) Sonpur	21	622	772	772	337
(2) Firozpur	37	431	641	443	241
(3) Bara	24	673	987	225	275
(4) D. T. T. T.	24	611	722	722	715
(5) T. T. T. T.	31	222	222	422	422
(6) D. T. T.	31	212	222	422	422
(7) K. T. T.	14	275	275	221	222

(numbered 1—4 in the marginal statement) there has been a serious decline since 1891, whereas in the central thanas (numbered 5—7) the pressure on the soil has been increasing. There is a general belief locally that since the construction of the canals malarial fever has spread and increased in intensity. That this belief is well founded may be gathered from the finding of the Committee appointed to enquire into the administration of the Son Canals. “It is,” they remarked, “a matter of notoriety that Shahabad was formerly one of the healthiest districts in Bengal. It was not free from fever by any means, but it was less malarious than other districts. There can be no doubt that it does not now enjoy this comparative exemption from malaria. Fever now appears to be more common in all the Bihar districts than it formerly was, but nowhere is the increase greater and more marked than in Shahabad. This change is attributed partly to the dampness of the subsoil occasioned by irrigation, and partly to the obstruction of drainage occasioned by the canal embankments. It is an obvious conclusion to connect increased malaria with increased dampness. The change, moreover, cannot be attributed to any other cause with any show of reason.

* An Account of Plague in Bengal, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLII, 1906.

173. In Cuttack, which is served by the Orissa canal system, the inquiries made during the settlement show that the increase of cultivation in irrigated lands is no greater than in non-irrigated lands. All the inquiries made have failed to exhibit any evidence of a substantial extension of cultivation to lands which but for the canal water were not likely to have been reclaimed." The canals have, however, given a large area immunity both from famine and flood. The canal embankments protect nearly 550,000 acres, where every year the inhabitants used to be kept on the alert, for two or three days at a time, waiting for a signal to fly to the highest ground available, and were obliged to see their houses washed down on all sides without having any power to save them. As regards famine, it will be sufficient to

1881 in the thanas where over 5 per cent. of the area is under canal irrigation. 174. Three large schemes, designed for the drainage and consequent reclamation of swampy areas, have been carried out in Bengal. Two of these schemes, viz., the Howrah and Rajapur schemes, which drain an area of 50 and 270 square miles respectively, benefit the district of Howrah; the former was completed in 1885 and the latter in 1894-95. The third, which was brought into operation in 1873, consists of the Dankuni drainage works in the Hooghly district. These schemes have proved very successful in reclaiming useless swamps and improving other lands. In years of heavy rainfall the surplus water is drained away by means of channels and sluices; in years of drought and in years of heavy rainfall. Hooghly is let in for the purposes of irrigation. The people are thus assured of good harvests both in years of drought and in years of heavy rainfall. Two thanas have been especially benefited by these schemes, viz., Durgin, where the population has increased 33 per cent. since 1891, and Jagatballypur, where the increase amounts to 17 per cent. In Amta, where there is waterlogging similar to that which used to prevail in these two thanas, the increase has been only 9 per cent., though it has been opened up in the Howrah district.

172. The most important drainage scheme in progress during the decade was the Magera Hat scheme, which is designed for the drainage of a marshy tract extending over 290 square miles in the south of the 24-Parades. The conditions which formerly existed in this tract may be realized from a description written 30 years ago. Fever was constantly present in every village; other diseases found a congenial home; the productivity of the land was only a fraction of what it should be. The inhabitants were subjected to a constant and a severe malaria. The soil was a swampy preparation resulting in the survival of the fittest. "This was a state of things becoming a thing of the past, even though the scheme had not been carried out."

completed. Its effect is already shown in the census returns for villages situated in the affected tract. The population of these villages was 272,731 in 1901, but has now risen to 352,702, the rate of increase being 29 per cent., which is far in advance of the general rate of growth for the district, in spite of the fact that this tract contains an agricultural population, whereas others are industrial centres. In the same district, the construction of a sluice in the neighbourhood of Diamond Harbour has already had remarkable effects, though it was only completed in 1909. Prior to its construction there were 100 square miles of swampy or waste land; now this area is covered with rice cultivation, the annual value of which is nearly 38½ lakhs of rupees, while the value to the tenantry of one year's crops only is estimated as approximately twice the actual cost of the scheme.

176. There have been large extensions of railway communications in both Provinces during the decade. The Eastern Bengal State Railway has completed a line from Kamnia to Dhubri and Gauhati, and thus brought the Assam Valley within easy reach of Calcutta and Bihar. The extension of the Bengal and North-Western Railway from Hapur to Katihar and the linking up of Katihar with Godagari by the Eastern Bengal State Railway have furnished a through route across the North Gangetic districts, stimulating emigration from Bihar to Bengal and Assam. The Assam-Bengal Railway has completed communication through the hill section of the line between Champur and Dibrugarh, thus opening up a new route to the tea-gardens of the Assam and Surma Valleys, which is much quicker and easier than the old river routes. Lines have also been made to Noakhali and Ashuganj on the Meghna, and from Kamnia to Bogra on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The increase in the mileage of railways in this part of Bengal has not resulted in a decrease in steamer traffic: on the contrary, the facilities afforded by the steamers have been increased considerably, and they now penetrate the recesses of the delta more extensively than they used to do. In West Bengal the East Indian Railway has constructed a line from Ondal to Samthia, which passes through the centre of Birbhum and connects the Sadar station (Surr) with the Chord Line at Ondal on one side and with the Loop Line at Samthia on the other. In Central Bengal the Murshidabad-Ranaghat branch has been added to the Eastern Bengal State Railway system: it takes off from the main line at Ranaghat in Nadia and runs through that district to Lalghata Ghat on the Ganges in the extreme north of Murshidabad.

177. In Bihar and Orissa the Grand Chord line, traversing the districts of Manbhum, Hazaribagh, Gaya and Shahabad, was opened in 1906, and the Purulia-Ranchi line, a light railway connecting Ranchi with Purulia on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, in 1907. In the latter year also, the Midnapore-Bhojudih-Gomoh section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the districts of Manbhum, Bankura and Midnapore was opened to traffic. This line completed the through connection, east and west, of the Manbhum colliery area, and also opened up the district of Bankura, which till then was not served by a railway. Further west the Barua-Daltonganj branch of the East Indian Railway has given Palaman connection with the main line and afforded its coalfields access to the north-west. North of the Ganges the most important new line is the Hajipur-Katihar extension of the Bengal and North-Western Railway along the left bank of the Ganges. Its value to North Bihar can hardly be exaggerated, as it traverses the districts of Purnea, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Darbhanga and Saran, and has branches to the Ganges opposite Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Another extension of the same railway is the Mansi-Bhaptiahi line, which runs from Mansi near the Ganges to Bhaptiahi near the Nepal frontier. This line connects Bhagalpur city with the Supaul and Madhupura subdivisions, and in Monghyr provides direct communication across a tract seamed with rivers and channels, where traffic by road used to be most difficult.

Three light railways have also been opened. In Patna a light railway was built from Baktiarpur to Bihar, which was extended to Silao in 1909. In 1905 a line from Barasat to Basirhat in the 24-Parganas was opened, and in the same year the Mayurbhanj light railway, which connects Baripada, the headquarters of the Mayurbhanj State, with Rupsa on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

178. The value of new lines of railway to the tracts which they traverse, in affording an outlet for their produce and also to their surplus labour, needs no explanation; but, as pointed out in the Census Report of 1901—"It does not follow that this benefit will be reflected by an immediate growth of the population. Very frequently the tendency is the other way. The cultivator benefits by the rise in prices, but there is no waste land available for new settlers, while on the other hand the less labour is enabled to move easily and for shorter periods to places where there is a greater demand for his services." These remarks are very fully confirmed by the census statistics which show that the effect of a new line of railway is to remove a considerable number of population from the tract in question, and to replace it by a smaller number of population, who are usually better educated and more enterprising. The number of cultivators has generally been diminishing, whereas the number of labourers has increased, which again shows that the number of cultivators is already so small that they are unable to absorb the surplus labour. The population of the tract is also increasing, but the increase is not so rapid as in the case of the other tracts, and the number of cultivators is still small.

[illegible]

180. Railway embankments may also obstruct the drainage of the country. The Indian Railway Act section 117 requires railway administrations to provide waterways sufficient to enable the water to drain off the land in or adjacent to the railway as rapidly as before its construction, but it is open to question whether it is physically possible or not, there is no doubt that in many cases, for example, the embankment is so high and the drainage of the country. On one side the floods are deep and last longer than before, and the soil becomes waterlogged on the other side.

[illegible][illegible]

the other, the land does not receive the same amount of moisture or the same fertilizing deposit of silt. The resultant advantages and disadvantages may, however, counterbalance one another. In the former area the cultivators may merely lose 'catch crops'; in the latter they may be benefited by protection from floods.*

181. Since the last decade there has been a revival of the small industries of Bengal owing to the Swadeshi movement, *i.e.*, a movement aiming at the resuscitation of dead or dying indigenous industries, the development of such as have maintained their vitality, and the initiation of new forms of industrial enterprise, directed and managed by Indians and employing Indian labour. Its effect has been principally to enable weavers to regain some of the ground which they had lost owing to the produce of their looms being driven out of the market by cheaper machine-made goods. Interest in the movement has fallen off lately, but for some years it had a stimulating effect, as may be realized from the remarks recorded in 1907 by the *Magistrate of Hooghly*: "It appears that while formerly the weavers had to take advances from the middlemen and were always more or less indebted to the latter, they are now very much better off, and if anything, the middlemen are sometimes indebted to them. I was told the other day by the President of the Dwarhatta Union that a young widow of the weaver caste, who would formerly have in all possibility suffered great privation, was now earning Rs. 16 or 17 a month and maintaining herself and her younger brother and sister in some comfort. In Dhaniakhali I was told that a weaver earns about Rs. 20 a month, and the Subdivisional Officer of Serampore reported that a weaver there earns Rs. 25 a month. A large dealer in Dhaniakhali was complaining that he was doing less business now than before, because now dealers from Chandernagore and elsewhere are coming to the villages, whereas formerly he and a few others had a sort of monopoly." The Swadeshi movement has also been instrumental in the starting of a number of small factories in the metropolitan districts for the manufacture of such articles as soap, ink, pencils, tin boxes, steel trunks, combs, buttons etc., but it has not made much headway as regards large manufactures employing mechanical power. Joint-stock companies have been started, but few have had any real vitality, and nearly all the important industrial concerns are still chiefly under European supervision and supported by European capital. There is one notable exception in the case of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, recently established at Sakchi in Singhbhum, which owe their creation to the enterprise of Messrs. Tata, but in this case also the management consists of Europeans and Americans.

182. The decade has witnessed a most remarkable development of coal mining, as may be realized from the marginal statement. Coal mining in Bengal is now nearly a century old, but in spite of the natural advantages conferred by the geographical position of the coal-fields and easy mining conditions, its true development has only taken place during the last 20 years, progress being most rapid in the last ten. The output of coal in 1910 was 95 per cent. of the total production of India, and nearly all of it was raised from the Raniganj coal-field in the districts of Burdwan and Manbhum and the Jheria coal-field in Manbhum. The latter has developed most rapidly and produces more coal than any other field; the labour force in Manbhum has grown accordingly, for whereas there were 157 mines with 32,194 workers in 1901, the number of the former rose in 1910 to 232 and of the latter to 56,179. The only other coal-fields of any importance are the Giridih field in Hazaribagh, with 10 collieries and an output of 674,000 tons (in 1910), and the Daltonganj coal-field in Palamau with one mine from which 85,000 tons were raised. The history of the industry during the decade was somewhat chequered owing to a boom and a subsequent slump. The boom culminated in 1908, when the output was over 11½ million tons, the maximum ever reached; next year the trade received a decided set-back, the demand being no longer equal to the supply. The value

YEAR.	NUMBER OF—		Output in tons.
	Mines.	Workers.	
1901	292	79,652	5,703,876
1910	418	56,179	10,777,308

* See Monghyr District Gazetteer, pages 116, 117, 119-121. Bhagalpur District Gazetteer, pages 132, 133, and Purnea District Gazetteer, page 105.

of coal properties shrink enormously, but the Chief Inspector of Mines pointed out—"In spite of the slump in values, the industry to-day is probably in a healthier condition than it was two years ago; the fever has departed; many weak members, which should never have been allowed to grow, have been excised, and, with normal conditions, a steady and profitable future is bound to supervene."* At present the mining is easy, for most of the coal is raised from inclines driven into the outcrops of the seams, and the majority of the mines are at depths varying from a few feet to 350 feet.

183. **Other Mines.** of mines rising from 18 in 1901 to 168 in 1910 and the number of workers from 6,254 to 10,581.

State is quartered on a small scale in Monghyr, and copper is raised in Singhbhum. There are also iron workings in the latter district, from which 17,646 tons were raised in 1910.

MANUFACTURES.

184. The development of other large industries, which was so marked a feature of the economic history of the last decade, has continued. The marginal table will sufficiently illustrate the expansion of jute manufacture, and it need merely be added that the capital invested in the mills is £13,000,000, that the wages paid to the 200,000 employes are 4 crores per annum and the annual value of the products is 25 to 30 crores. The number of cotton mills has risen in the decade from 10 to 15, and the average number of operatives from 8,000 to over 11,500, while in 1910-11 the number of other factories in Bengal as then constituted was 184, with an average daily labour force of 84,657.† Of the latter 21,914 persons were employed in 10 railway workshops, 9,850 in 36 jute presses, 8,288 in 9 dock-yards, 7,332 in 4 arms and ammunition factories, and 5,310 in engineering workshops.

Year.	No. of mills.	Average daily number of operatives.
1880-1	19	33,394
1890-1	25	61,563
1900-1	34	110,057
1910-1	58	199,670

185. Nowhere has there been a greater outburst of manufacturing and industrial activity than in the 24-Parganas, where the number of factories rose from 74 to 124 between 1901 and 1911 and the number of operatives from 94,186 to 169,310. The mill towns along the banks of the Hooghly show a most extraordinary growth of population, which is accounted for by the influx of labourers, as illustrated in the marginal table. The character of the population has changed so greatly owing to this influx, that some mill towns are now practically foreign towns planted in the midst of Bengal.

Towns.	Increase of population, 1901-1911.		Actual, 1901-1911.	Per cent.	Actual, 1901-1910.	Per cent.
	1901-1911.	1901-1910.				
Bahadur	36,763	81	30,355	213
Haldia	181	21,610	162
Titagarh	23,106	...	...	...

In Bahadur four persons speak Hindi to each person speaking Bengali; in Titagarh 75 per cent speak Hindi, 8 per cent, Telugu, and 4 per cent Oriya, while 11 per cent, only speak Bengali.†

186. The present system of reporting births and deaths and compiling vital statistics from the returns is of recent origin, having been introduced in 1892. Births and deaths in towns had, it is true, been registered since 1873, but in rural areas deaths alone were registered. Under the present system, compulsory registration is in force in the towns, i.e., parents, guardians or the persons directly concerned are required to report births and deaths to the town police. In rural areas each *chaukidar* or village watchman is provided with a pocket

VITAL STATISTICS.

† There was 1 cotton mill in Eastern Bengal and Assam with 285 operatives, and 115 other factories employing, on the average, 11,875 operatives daily.

° Report of Chief Inspector of Mines in India for 1909.

† The existence of a large new colony of Madras in Titagarh came to light in a curious way in the course of compilation. In the tickets for Table XIII for that town there were over 3,000 entries of Madras, i.e., two-fingered. This seemed at first inexplicable, but one of the tickets gave a clue, as Madras was entered after Doanigul. The tickets for Tables X and XI were then compared. The former contained over 3,000 entries of Telugu and the latter a corresponding number of entries of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam as the birthplace. Investigation showed that the caste was Devanagiri or Devanaga, a common Madras weaving caste. It may be added that in 1901 the number of persons born in Madras and enumerated in the whole district (24-Parganas) was only 618, and the number of Telugu speakers 294.

book, in which he is required to have all births and deaths that may occur within his jurisdiction recorded by himself or the village *panchayat*; these are reported on parade days at the police stations and outposts, which are the registering centres. The statistics thus obtained are compiled by the police, and submitted monthly to the Civil Surgeon, who prepares returns for the whole district for inclusion in the annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner. The statistics are checked from time to time by Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Vaccination, and the *chaukidars* punished, if necessary, for neglecting to report properly. In the towns, the higher level of intelligence and the fear of legal penalties tend to make registration and the classification of diseases more accurate than in the rural tracts. In the latter the reporting *chaukidar* is generally illiterate, and vital registration is less correct, the chief defects being the registration of still births and the omission of actual births in outlying villages and among the lower castes.

187. In addition to the periodical checks above mentioned, a special inquiry was held between August 1906 and July 1909 in order to ascertain, by way of test experiment, how far births and deaths in rural areas are correctly registered. The area selected was a portion of thana Galsi in the district of Bardwan, containing a population of about 53,000 persons. This area was divided into three sections, each of which was under the charge of a medical officer. The reports of births and deaths as registered by the *chaukidars* were obtained every week. Inquiries were then made in the villages to verify their reports, and also to ascertain locally if any births and deaths remained unregistered. A special local inquiry was also made in each case of death, either recorded or unrecorded in the thana register, to determine its probable cause. At the commencement of each year's operation a rough census of the population under observation was taken with the object of checking the work done. During the three years over which the enquiry extended, the number of births and deaths that actually occurred was 1,670 and 6,910, respectively, as against 1,690 and 6,917 entered in the thana register. There was thus an excess of 20 births, which was due to the inclusion in the birth returns of 2 cases of abortion and 26 cases of still-births, to the double registration of 3 births, and to failure to report 11 actual births. In the case of deaths there was an excess of 7 only, due to the erroneous inclusion of 3 cases of abortion, 23 cases of still-birth and one death that occurred before the enquiry began, and to the omission of 20 deaths that actually occurred.

188. This enquiry shows that the vital statistics as at present collected and compiled are vitiated mainly by errors regarding still-births and, in a minor degree, by the omission of births and deaths, but that the net difference between the number of vital occurrences and the number registered is very small: the latter is in excess by 4 per mille in the case of births and one per mille in the case of deaths. The number of births that escaped registration was only 2 per mille of the total number, the corresponding ratio for deaths being 3 per mille. There was considerable variation in the manner of registering still-born infants. Altogether, 53 cases of still-birth were reported, of which 23 were recorded as deaths and 26 as births, while the remaining four were correctly recorded as still-births. The medical officers, however, found that there were 34 cases of still-births which were not recorded at all, 22 being males and 12 females. The effect of still-born infants being erroneously included in the birth returns is to produce an infinitesimal excess of males, for the proportion of males among still-births is always high:—it varies according to the figures given by Darwin from 135 to 150 males per 100 females* and in the 34 cases reported by the medical officers the ratio per 100 females was as high as 183. The proportion of still-births actually registered as births to the total number of births that occurred was, however, under 6 per mille, and it is doubtful therefore whether the excess of males due to this error is more than 4 per mille.

189. If the results of this enquiry could be regarded as typical, the vital statistics could be accepted with some confidence, but it may be taken for granted that, while the inquiry lasted, the *chaukidars* felt that they were on their trial and took trouble to report every birth or death of which they

* Descent of Man, 2nd edition, p. 243.

had cognizance. Further, the testing conducted annually by the Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Vaccination shows that the reporting is still incomplete in some districts. The maximum in the case of deaths (21 per cent.) was recorded by Shahabad* in 1904 and in the case of births (12) by Rajshahi in 1903; the worst district record in a single year for births and deaths was 9 per cent. Such bad results, however, are exceptional. The returns (given in the margin) showing the percentage of unreported births and deaths in Bengal that were detected by the vaccination staff (out of several millions inquired into) are proof that there has been a gradual improvement in accuracy, especially since 1905, after which the Eastern Bengal districts are excluded as they were transferred in that year to the newly formed province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In these districts the same standard of efficiency has not been reached as elsewhere, and it is noticeable that the census results do not correspond with those afforded by the vital statistics so closely as in Bihar and Orissa and other districts of Bengal.

On the whole, the number of omissions is comparatively small, and the general conclusion seems to be (1) that though the vital statistics of the whole Province approximate to the truth (in a major degree for Bihar and Orissa and in a minor degree for Bengal), those for individual districts, especially in Eastern Bengal, are not always reliable; and (2) that the tendency to omission is greater in the case of births than deaths.

190. The returns of deaths under different heads are notoriously inaccurate. The reported number of deaths from fever is invariably in excess of the actual number owing to the fact that the *chaidars*, who are primarily responsible for their registration, group under this head nearly all the deaths which are not due to the well known diseases of plague, cholera or small-pox. Even deaths from cholera are often returned as deaths from fever: a year in which there is a cholera epidemic in a district will usually show a large rise in fever mortality, because the *chaidar* goes on returning cholera deaths as due to fever until the epidemic is so bad that he is forced to recognize it. Detailed investigation of the returns yields the most extraordinary results. In one district, for instance, out of a total of 83 deaths registered as due to dysentery or diarrhoea, only 32 were actually found to be due to those diseases. Fever accounted for 23, cholera for 18, teething for 2; one was really a case of still-birth and another of death during labour; the remainder were caused by old age, obstruction of the spleen, phthisis, want of milk and actually snake-bite. Other instances of the extraordinary nature of the diagnosis have already been given. The explanation is that the *chaidar* is ignorant and careless, that he rarely sees the corpse, and that in any case he nearly always takes the word of the relatives as to the cause of death: the latter are generally equally ignorant, and sometimes they deliberately conceal the actual cause.

CAUSES OF DEATH.

191. Taking the figures given in the marginal table above as typical of each Province, and making necessary allowance for omissions, we get the results given in Subsidary Table III A. In this table the effects of migration have had to be ignored, as there are no statistics to show how many were immigrants and how many were emigrants in each year. They do not, however, affect the results very materially, for in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, as a whole, the emigrants exceeded the immigrants by only 1 per mille in 1901 and by 3 per mille in 1911: in Bengal the excess of immigrants over emigrants is now 6 per mille more than in 1901, while in Bihar and Orissa the excess of emigrants over immigrants is greater by 13 per mille. From this subsidiary table it will be seen that the average annual birth rate and death rate during 1901-10 are 37.9 and 32.9 in Bengal, 42.1 and 36.1 in Bihar and Orissa, and 39.7 and 34.3 respectively in Bengal.

VITAL STATISTICS AND ESTIMATES OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATES.

* The actual number was 104 out of 484 deaths.

YEAR.	PERCENTAGE OF OMISSIONS.	
	Births.	Deaths.
1901	...	1.23
1902	...	0.85
1903	...	0.80
1904	...	0.91
1905	...	0.87
1906	...	0.86
1907	...	0.78
1908	...	0.74
1909	...	0.74
1910	...	0.72

Bihar and Orissa as a whole. Mr. G. F. Hardy, F.I.A., F.S.S., the Actuary who was retained by the Census Commissioners of 1881, 1891 and 1901 to deal with the age statistics of those years, estimated the birth and death rates for 1891-1901 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole at a little over 43·9 and 38·9 per mille, respectively.

192. As regards the net increase due to vital occurrences, the subsidiary table shows the actual annual excess of births over deaths to be 5·3 per mille in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, and this may be taken as a fair approximation, for as shown above, the net excess of emigrants over immigrants in the two Provinces taken together was very small. There is, however, a considerable difference if the two Provinces are considered separately. The balance of migration is against Bihar and Orissa, the emigrants from which add to the death roll of other countries and thus lower the death rate of their own Province: they outnumbered the immigrants by 36 per mille in 1901 and by 49 per mille in 1911. In Bengal, on the other hand, there is a gain from migration, for the number of immigrants is far greater than that of emigrants. It contains a large floating population from Bihar and the United Provinces, who add to its mortality returns, but very little to the number of births, as the immigrants live mostly without their families. These immigrants outnumbered the emigrants by 26 per mille in 1901 and by 32 per mille in 1911. Thus, as compared with the birth rate, the real death rate is lower in Bengal, but higher in Bihar and Orissa, than would appear from the returns of vital occurrences. The average rate of increase, therefore, may be taken as a little above 5 per mille in Bengal and a little below 6 per mille in Bihar and Orissa. The rate for the two Provinces together (5·4 per mille) corresponds closely with Mr. Hardy's estimate of 5 per mille as the actual rate during the previous decade.

193. It also appears on a detailed examination of the vital statistics that each Province would have shown a higher rate (about 7 per mille) as the average annual rate of increase, had there been no lean years like 1905-08, when the rates of increase were abnormally low. Mr. Hardy's estimate of 7 per mille as the normal rate of increase in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole (deduced from the estimated actual rates of 8·0, 7·7 and 5·0 per mille in 1872-81, 1881-91 and 1891-1901, respectively) is therefore corroborated by the vital statistics for 1901-10, during which

	1891-1901.			1901-1911.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
Rates according to Mr. Hardy's estimate for the previous decade ...	51·8	44·8	7·0	43·9	38·9	5·0
Rates according to vital statistics ...	35·8	31·8	4·0	39·7	34·3	5·4
Difference ...	-16·0	-13·0	-3·0	-4·2	-4·6	-4

being reduced from 16 and 13 per mille in 1901 to only 4·2 and 4·6 per mille in 1911.

WEST BENGAL.

194. The district of Burdwan consists of two distinct portions, the eastern half being a low-lying alluvial tract subject to inundations from the Damodar, Ajay, Khari, Kunur and Bhagirathi rivers. The effects of floods are accentuated by the obstruction of drainage caused by dams and weirs erected across rivers and creeks for the purposes of irrigation. Large tracts are consequently water-logged for a considerable portion of the year, especially in the south-east of the Sadar subdivision. The western portion of the district, which corresponds to the Asansol subdivision, consists of rolling uplands, with a dry laterite soil, and is far healthier. Between 1872 and 1891 the population of the district decreased by 94,535, or nearly 6½ per cent. This diminution

was due to a virulent type of fever known as Burdwan fever,* which

raged between 1862 and 1874, and, in 12 years, is estimated to have carried off three-quarters of a million people. After 1874 the health of the district improved, but the after effects of the disease persisted for some time. A decided recovery was witnessed in the decade 1891-1901, and at the census taken in the latter year an advance of 10 per cent. was recorded.

195. During the next decade conditions were generally unfavourable, and the number of deaths exceeded the number of births by 20,000. There were repeated epidemics of cholera, those of 1907 and 1908 being especially virulent and accounting for over 20,000 deaths, while malaria continued to levy its annual toll. Some scarcity was felt in 1904, and, in the Katwa subdivision, in 1908; but owing to the demand for labour in the coal fields, factories, etc., the poorer classes are able to get ample employment and are not so much affected by the failure of crops and the pinch of high prices as in purely agricultural districts. The cultivators have benefited by the higher price which they get for their crops, and labourers by the rise in wages; the rate of interest, it is reported, was formerly 30 to 75 per cent. but has fallen to 12 per cent. Sons of middle-class cultivators now think it beneath their dignity to work in the fields like their fathers. The supply of agricultural labourers is unequal to the demand in the sowing and harvesting seasons, and wages have consequently gone up.

196. The population has only increased by 5,655 or less than one-half per cent., and there would have been a decrease, had it not been for the influx of labourers attracted by the good wages obtainable in the coal-fields. The causes of this check to development are the ravages of disease and the greater exodus of persons born in the district, whose absence materially affected the returns. Their number has risen by 32,000 since 1901, but is still only about two-thirds of that returned for immigrants, who have increased by 21,000. The increase would have been greater had it not been for the dull state of the coal market, which resulted in the number of workers in coal mines falling from 39,383 in 1901 to 37,665 at the time of the census. Owing

BURDWAN.	1911.	Male.	Female.	1901.
Actual population	770,324	768,017	764,842	767,874
Immigrants	92,390	87,200	81,208	74,139
Emigrants	37,978	68,352	43,337	30,877
Natural population	733,912	749,399	724,171	714,612

* As I shall have frequently occasion to refer to "the epidemic of Burdwan fever," it may be explained that this was an endemic fever which became generally epidemic, and that the name by no means implies that it was peculiar to Burdwan. It appears first to have attracted notice in the Jessore district about 1825, and began to affect the Nadia district about 1832; it came across the Bhagratih or Hooghly river into the Hooghly district in 1857-59 and it affected other districts of the Burdwan Division at a later period. During the period of its greatest virulence, a number of medical officers made inquiries into its origin and character and into the condition of the affected tracts. The general consensus of opinion was that the disease was a malarial fever of an intensely aggravated type, attended by an unprecedented mortality. The causes most generally assigned were over-population and obstruction of drainage caused by the silting up of rivers; but it cannot be said that any completely satisfactory reason has been put forward, which accounts for the outbreak of the fever, its gradual spread from east to west, and its disappearance. The fever was called by the natives *jeun boker* (literally, fever without sense) i.e., fever with delirium, a term which in recent years has also been applied to cases of plague. [See Hooghly District Gazetteer, pp. 127-128.]

BURDWAN.	Population, 1911.	Variation, 1901-1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,538,371	+ 0.37
Sadar Subdivision	663,101	- 2.61
Burdwan	66,672	+ 1.63
Dahlganj	83,964	+ 1.32
Bandarghosh	60,365	- 2.24
Ratan	101,801	- 3.38
Sagekhola	103,115	- 3.30
Samarpur	69,832	- 4.34
Gaol	30,271	- 3.18
Asagram	85,163	- 2.74
Asansol Subdivision	398,582	+ 4.74
Asansol	177,312	+ 3.61
Raigang	175,783	+ 5.52
Kaksa	33,487	- 1.56
Katwa Subdivision	261,463	+ 3.32
Katwa	89,673	+ 3.14
Katwa	94,935	+ 2.43
Manikot	76,833	+ 2.33
Kalna Subdivision	225,225	- 0.53
Kalna	89,411	- 0.21
Furnesshall	73,250	- 3.13
Manikotwar	62,561	+ 3.29

mainly to this cause, the Asansol subdivision, which grew by nearly 20 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has now added only 17 per cent. to its population. Immigrants represent over one-fifth of the total population of the subdivision and nearly one-half of the total number of immigrants in the whole district. All the thanas in the subdivision have added to their population except Kaksa, which is an agricultural tract that suffers from endemic fever. The only other subdivision in which there has been any growth of population is Katwa, where it is independent of immigration. In the Sadar and Kalna subdivisions the loss is shared in by every thana except Manteswar and Sahibganj.

197. Like Burdwan, the district of Birbhum was decadent until 1891 owing to the ravages of fever. The population decreased by 7 per cent. between 1872 and 1881, and in the succeeding decade increased by less than 1 per cent. In

BIRBHUM	Population, 1911	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901	1901-1905
DISTRICT TOTAL	335,473	+ 3'68	+ 13'03
Sadar Subdivision	544,472	+ 1'59	+ 13'97
Suri	135,406	- 0'87	+ 10'45
Dubrajpur	135,511	- 1'72	+ 12'53
Belpur	119,174	+ 2'01	+ 17'24
Sakulpur	82,546	+ 6'14	+ 14'04
Labpur	64,163	+ 6'50	+ 11'55
Rampur Hat Subdivision	391,001	+ 6'73	+ 11'68
Rampur Hat	110,469	+ 7'15	+ 10'03
Majumreshwar	97,107	+ 3'49	+ 4'57
Nalhati	90,154	+ 7'94	+ 11'93
Mumrai	93,271	+ 8'23	+ 17'14

the latter year there was a falling off of nearly 4 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision, which suffered severely from fever, but an accretion of 10 per cent. in the Rampur Hat subdivision to the north. In the next 10 years conditions were generally favourable, and the district added 13 per cent. to its population, the two subdivisions sharing nearly equally in the increase.

198. Birbhum is almost entirely dependent on agriculture. The crops had a fair outturn up to 1905, but from

1906 to 1908 they were short, and there was some scarcity in 1908-09. The poorer middle classes, small cultivators and landless labourers were embarrassed by the high range of prices. The Santals and other semi-aboriginal tribes, who could not get sufficient employment locally, went further afield, but the good crops and revived prosperity of the next two years brought them back to their homes. A serious flood occurred in 1902, when heavy rain caused the Brahmani in thana Murarai, the Bansloi in Nalhati and the Mor in thana Suri to overflow their banks and inundate the surrounding country. Great loss was caused to cultivators in the four thanas of the Rampur Hat subdivision, and more especially Nalhati and Murarai. The health of the district was generally good, except in 1906-1908, when it suffered from a wave of fever and epidemics of cholera; in these three years deaths exceeded births by 41,000.

199. In the decade as a whole, there was an excess of 18,689 births.

BIRBHUM	1911.	1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.
Actual population	463,638	471,635	444,689
Immigrants	23,897	35,182	27,194
Emigrants	21,681	23,521	20,876
Natural population	456,622	464,974	438,371

and the census shows an increase of 33,193 or 3'68 per cent. The number of immigrants has risen very little and is nearly counterbalanced by the exodus of the native-born. The growth of population is shared in by all thanas except Suri and Dubrajpur in the west of the Sadar subdivision. Here the soil is not so fertile as it is to the east, and heavy mortality was caused by cholera and small-pox in 1908.

Owing to the loss in these two thanas, the average increase in the Sadar subdivision is only 1'59 per cent., whereas it is 6'73 per cent. in the Rampur Hat subdivision. The latter is one of the most progressive tracts in West Bengal, and is now more populous by 29 per cent. than it was in 1881, whereas the population of

The Sadar subdivision has increased by 44 per cent. As in 1901, the Muzambari is the extreme village in the immigration of Santhal people, and it is chiefly followed by Rampur Hat and Nalhati, which are fast becoming agricultural areas traversed by the railway.

204. The district of Birbhum has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000.

POPULATION IN 1921				
DISTRICT TOTAL				
1921	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
1911	950,000	950,000	950,000	950,000
1901	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000
1891	600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
1881	450,000	450,000	450,000	450,000
1872	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000
Vishnupur Subdivision				
1921	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000
1911	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
1901	150,000	150,000	150,000	150,000
1891	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
1881	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000
1872	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Sadar Subdivision				
1921	950,000	950,000	950,000	950,000
1911	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000
1901	600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
1891	450,000	450,000	450,000	450,000
1881	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000
1872	150,000	150,000	150,000	150,000

the district of Birbhum has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000. The district of Birbhum has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000.

205. The district of Bardhaman has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000. The district of Bardhaman has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000.

206. The district of Hooghly has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000. The district of Hooghly has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000.

207. The district of Medinipur has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000. The district of Medinipur has had a considerable growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1921 shows an increase of 26 per cent. and by 1931 the population had increased to 1,200,000.

increased by 24 per cent., while that of the Vishnupur subdivision declined by more than 8 per cent. Only once, viz., in 1901, has the latter had any increase of population since the census operations began. The inhabitants of the headquarters subdivision are, moreover, to a large extent aboriginals or semi-aboriginals, who do not suffer from disease as much as the better castes of Hindus, owing probably to the healthier lives they live, to their residence in the dry uplands, and to their more nourishing diet. They are prolific races, in whose villages swarms of children may be seen. Had it not been for the fact that they supply most of the emigrants from the district, the increase of population would have been even greater. In spite of emigration, the Khatra and Raipur thanas, where they are most numerous, have developed most rapidly.

204. The population of Midnapore declined by 1 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 owing to the ravages of Burdwan fever, which first appeared in 1871 and raged till 1877, causing an estimated mortality of a quarter of a million. During the

MIDNAPORE.	Population 1911	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION	
		1901—1911	1891—1901
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,821,401	+ 1 15	+ 5 99
Sadar Subdivision	1,300,080	+ 1 75	
Midnapore	74,171	+ 0 19	+ 9 07
Kharagpur	132,877	+ 19 69	+ 10 01
Jharguon	80,351	+ 5 59	+ 7 10
Birpur	112,770	+ 6 44	+ 2 41
Saibani	59,174	+ 2 09	+ 9 70
Debra	66,793	- 1 58	- 1 26
Sabang	147,590	+ 4 04	
Narayangarh	123,324	+ 4 13	+ 0 55
Garhbeta	126,313	- 3 04	+ 7 29
Keshpur	83,317	+ 3 72	+ 3 33
Dantia	126,236	+ 2 14	+ 2 28
Gopiballabhpur	163,172	+ 0 01	+ 7 36
Ghatal Subdivision	301,396	7 26	- 0 90
Ghatal	83,341	- 9 49	- 0 48
Daspur	123,117	- 7 75	- 2 37
Chandrakona	94,938	+ 7 19	+ 0 64
Tamluk Subdivision	601,502	+ 3 13	
Tamluk	151,572	+ 2 67	
Maslandpur	102,323	+ 5 03	+ 9 27
Sutthata	74,246	+ 5 10	+ 11 50
Panskura	143,391	+ 0 44	+ 4 07
Vandigram	129,070	+ 3 50	+ 12 57
Coutai Subdivision	618,223	+ 2 50	+ 10 59
Khajuria	57,366	- 0 35	+ 14 74
Coutai	177,708	+ 2 93	
Ramanagar	76,007	+ 1 32	
Bhagwanpur	126,731	+ 4 97	+ 8 59
Barra	78,379	+ 0 57	+ 7 43
Pataspur	102,042	+ 2 81	+ 6 16

district, was rife in the water-logged areas, and the outturn of the crops was poor for several years.

206. The census discloses an increase of 32,087 or 1.15 per cent. The volume both of emigration and immigration has increased owing to the extension of the railway, the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway being opened in 1901 and the Jherria extension in 1903. The emigrants, however, outnumber the immigrants by 96,000. All the subdivisions have a growth of population except Ghatal, which was also the only subdivision that sustained a loss in 1901. The reasons for its decadence are not far to seek. It is an alluvial tract with a fertile soil, but it is liable to floods, and the people suffer from constant malaria and periodical epidemics of cholera. The inundations affect the public health in two ways. On the one hand, the flood water scours out holes and ditches, and carries off surface filth and rotting vegetation, depositing a protective layer of silt. On the other hand, the stagnant water, slowly drying up, affords a congenial breeding ground for malaria-bearing mosquitoes. There are thus two divergent effects. At first, the flood water cleanses the country and cholera disappears. After the floods are over,

the next twenty years there was a steady growth, representing 4.6 per cent. in 1891 and 5.99 per cent. in 1901. The increase was rapid along the sea-coast and the estuary of the Hooghly. There was a fair natural development in the healthy, but barren and sparsely inhabited uplands in the west of the district. Stagnation or decline prevailed in the ill-drained depression that intervenes between these two extremes.

205. Conditions during the decade 1901-1910 were not favourable to a further advance. In 5 years only did the death rate exceed the birth rate, the only really healthy years being 1903, 1904 and 1908-10. This was the result mainly of epidemics of cholera, which were particularly widespread in 1901, 1902, 1906 and 1907; in 1902 there was also an epidemic of smallpox, which was responsible for 17,000 deaths. Fever, the most important factor in the health of the

[illegible]

209. Since 1901, there has been a gain of 41,056 or 3·91 per cent., part of which is due to the influx of immigrants rather than to natural growth. There was an excess of recorded deaths over births during the decade amounting to nearly 36,000, and the birth-rate surpassed the death-rate in only 3 years, viz., 1904, 1909 and 1910. Fever is rife and is a natural consequence of the natural configuration of the country. It is for the greater part a semi-aquatic rice plain traversed by large and small rivers, with low-lying depressions between them; many of the rivers have more or less silted up, and no longer drain the land, which remains swampy and water-logged. Malarial fever," writes Lieut. Col. D. G. Crawford, I. M. S., formerly Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, "is still the prevailing disease of the Hooghly district, though fortunately it is no longer the scourge that it was 50 to 30 years ago. Something has been done since that time to alleviate its ravages, particularly the flushing of some of the 'dead' rivers of the district since the construction of the Dankini drainage channel in 1873 and the opening of the Eden canal in 1881. Still, however, the physical conditions of the district remain much as they were half a century ago; and thus they must always remain, for no human agency can alter them. The district is little above sea-level, it has a heavy rainfall, it is traversed by numerous 'dead' or silting up rivers, and it is chiefly devoted to the growth of rice, a crop which requires the ground to be a swamp during several months of the year for its cultivation. These conditions necessarily lead to its being water-logged in the rains. Practically, every house built in the district necessitates the excavation of a small tank or pit (*doba*) to get the earth, which forms a plinth, to raise the house above flood-level. Efficient drainage is an impossibility, as there is not sufficient fall. The tanks which abound in the towns—in the Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality alone there are 700—the drains, with their inefficient fall, forming chains of stagnant pools instead of running streams, and the vast expanses of rice cultivation, all supply ample breeding grounds for the mosquito by which malarial fever is spread."

The population is still nearly 30,000 less than it was in 1872, and if, as observed by Mr. Gait in the Census Report of 1901, it is very doubtful whether the district will ever fully recover its losses until the drainage problem is solved, that consummation appears a very remote contingency.

210. Emigration is fostered not merely by the industrial, but also

HOOGHLY.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	555,823	531,274	524,179	520,462
Immigrants ...	103,047	78,222	81,823	57,891
Emigrants ...	88,123	81,045	70,290	52,551
Natural population ...	538,159	517,137	516,616	515,622

by the agricultural demands of the district. The mills, factories and brick-fields along the Hooghly create a constant, and the needs of cultivation a periodic, demand for labour, which is supplied by outside districts, mainly the districts of Orissa, Chota Nagpur

and Bihar. The larger industries have developed steadily—the average daily number of operatives in registered factories rose by 10,000 between 1901 and 1911—and the increasing wealth of the cultivators enables them to employ outside labour instead of tilling their fields themselves. Agricultural labourers from the Sonthal Parganas and Chota Nagpur have consequently settled in the villages, and some have become cultivators on their own account. The number of persons from outside districts who were enumerated in Hooghly is now 46,000 more than in 1901. Part of the increase is due to an extra number of coolies being at work on the construction of the Hooghly-Katwa Railway at the time of the census, but even so the number exceeds that returned in 1891 by 86 per cent. On the other hand, the number of those born in the district who were enumerated elsewhere has increased by 27,000 since 1901—the number in Howrah alone has risen by 13,000. So much, however, of the migration, whether inwards or outwards, is of a temporary character, that its effect on the population cannot be gauged with any precision. A large proportion of the immigrants only come for the agricultural season, or work in the mills and brickfields during the cold weather, after which they return to their homes. The emigrants, again, consist, to a large extent, of clerks and others who have to work in Calcutta

and elsewhere, but keep up homes in this district, to which they return at intervals. They number 37,000 less than the immigrants enumerated in the district, but the figure returned for them is still 7,000 less than in 1891.

211. The only progressive part of the district is the Serampore subdivision, where the increase (18,000) exceeds the total gain of the district. This subdivision has grown steadily since 1881, and owes its prosperity to its marshes having been reclaimed by the Bankim and Rajapur drainage schemes, to the establishment of jute mills along the river bank, to its connection with the main system of the East Indian Railway by a branch from Tarakeswar to Seoraphul, and to the opening of the Howrah-Shabkhal Railway in 1897, which has linked it up with Howrah. The population of the headquarters subdivision is stationary. The two inland thanas of Pandua and Phansabhat have a small increase, which is ascribed to the influx of agricultural labourers; the other three thanas have been declining since 1891. The Arrabagh subdivision has sustained a loss of population in every thana, the decrease being greatest in Foghat, a tract difficult from malaria, which is also common in the other two thanas, where the land is swept by the annual floods of the Damodar and Dwarkaeswar. Their drainage is defective and the flood water remains stagnant in depressions choked with weeds, which foster the propagation of fever-bearing mosquitoes.

212. The history of the last 40 years in Howrah has been one of continued progress. It suffered severely from the famine which, it was estimated, had caused 50,000 deaths by 1881, but the census of that year brought to light an increase of 6 per cent, the result partly of defective enumeration in 1872 and partly of immigration. The proportional growth rose to 1.5 per cent, at the next census, and another increase of 1.38 per cent, was recorded in 1901. The rate of progress has been slower during the last decade, the census just concluded bringing to light a gain of 92,988 persons or 10.93 per cent.

HOWRAH.		POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE.	
		1911.		1901-1911.	
DISTRICT TOTAL					
...	...	943,502	+ 10.93	+ 11.38	
Sagar Subdivision					
Bah...	...	62,231	+ 6.74	+ 14.14	+ 17.73
...	...	22,635	+ 1.11		
...	...	172,292	+ 13.22		
...	...	16,043	+ 10.72		
...	...	22,221	+ 7.52		
Uttara Subdivision					
...	...	451,277	+ 7.61	+ 5.52	
...	...	157,192	+ 6.15		
...	...	107,971	+ 12.72		
...	...	8,212	+ 2.76		
Amra Subdivision					
...	...	...	+ 3.21		
...	...	...	+ 8.74		
...	...	...	+ 2.98		

213. Agricultural conditions were, on the whole, favourable, and the number of births exceeded the deaths by a little under 17,000. These criteria, however, are not of such importance as in other districts. No district in West Bengal is so little dependent on the output of its crops—the special industrial census shows that one-seventh of the total male population is at work in manufacturing or industrial concerns employing 20 persons or more. The ratio of births is, moreover, unusually small, because a large proportion of the people consist of male immigrants and of persons living in the towns of Howrah and Bally. The former leave their wives at home and those townspeople who have wives with them, send them home to their villages before confinement; in many cases these villages lie in other districts, and the births are consequently excluded from the returns for Howrah. Immigration has been stimulated during the past decade by the development of commerce and manufactures. The dull state of the jute trade led to a partial stoppage of work in some jute mills, but at the time of the census they had a labour force of over 41,000. The list of other concerns is a long one, e.g., cotton mills, jute presses, iron foundries, machinery and engineering works, brick-fields, railway workshops, oil mills, flour mills, etc. The extension of the tramway from Calcutta and the improvement of the service of ferry steamers between the two cities have further induced persons who formerly resided in Calcutta to cross to this side of the river: the number of persons born in Calcutta but enumerated in Howrah has increased by over 7,000 since 1901. The result of these combined influences is an increase in the number of immigrants by 15,000. This, however, only accounts for less than a half of the total gain, and there is a loss of 17,000

by emigration to be set off against it. A considerable part of the increase must therefore be attributed to natural growth. The immigrants congregate in the neighbourhood of the mills along the river bank from Bally on the north to Uluberia on the south. The inland area in the north of the district has been opened up by the Howrah-Amta and Howrah-Shiakhala

Light Railways, while the execution of the Howrah, Barajol and Rajapur drainage schemes has done much to reduce water-logged and uncultivable areas in thanas Dumjor and Jagatballabhpur. The south of the Uluberia subdivision is not so water-logged and is generally healthier. The city of Howrah accounts for nearly one-fourth of the total increase, but all parts of the district are progressive. The rate of growth is twice as rapid in the Sadar subdivision, which is the centre of industrial activity, as in the Uluberia subdivision, where the population is mainly agricultural. Of the rural thanas, Uluberia has the highest ratio of increase (13·9 per cent.), while the percentage is least in Amta, where much of the land is water-logged and fever is prevalent.

CENTRAL BENGAL.

214. Though the 24-Parganas, as a whole, has steadily added to its population since 1872, the growth has not been uniform. In 1881 there was a net increase of 7 per cent., but the Barrackpore subdivision declined by 9 per cent. owing to the prevalence of malaria.

24-PARGANAS.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,434,104	+ 17·12	+ 9·89
Sadar Subdivision ...	756,348	+ 12·67	+ 11·83
Baruipur ...	100,309	+ 10·49	+ 4·63
Matla ...	92,637	+ 13·49	+ 41·87
Jaynagar ...	123,666	+ 14·72	+ 18·62
Bhangar ...	87,470	+ 14·36	+ 12·58
Behala ...	50,482	+ 0·93	...
Tollygunge ...	66,487	+ 19·42	...
Sonarpur ...	47,355	+ 8·17	...
Vishuapur ...	91,768	+ 9·26	+ 6·21
Budge Budge ...	95,974	+ 16·54	+ 13·93
Diamond Harbour Sub-division. ...	515,725	+ 11·93	+ 14·36
Magra Hat ...	140,019	+ 7·36	+ 4·80
Falta ...	57,301	+ 9·35	+ 5·20
Diamond Harbour ...	78,535	+ 11·11	+ 11·44
Sulpi ...	152,224	+ 12·68	+ 26·80
Mathurapur ...	87,646	+ 21·50	+ 23·02
Barrackpore Subdivision ...	292,524	+ 41·69	...
Biranagar ...	43,910	+ 13·62	+ 12·75
Barrackpore ...	72,259	+ 102·80	+ 28·12
Noapara ...	25,236	+ 48·59	+ 7·88
Khardaha ...	22,465	+ 13·66	+ 7·3
Dum-Dum ...	26,887	+ 13·98	...
Naihati ...	101,767	+ 35·18	...
Barasat Subdivision ...	292,791	+ 10·84	...
Habra ...	74,390	+ 5·21	+ 0·90
Deganga ...	62,232	+ 12·72	+ 1·02
Barasat ...	156,239	+ 12·96	...
Basirhat Subdivision ...	429,476	+ 15·39	+ 7·22
Baduria ...	141,940	+ 7·34	+ 4·56
Basirhat ...	98,720	+ 13·57	+ 10·66
Haroa ...	68,433	+ 11·18	+ 1·96
Hasnabad ...	120,383	+ 31·61	+ 15·29
Suburbs of Calcutta ...	147,240	+ 45·28	+ 15·82
Cossipore—Chitpur ...	48,178	+ 18·23	+ 29·68
Manicktollah ...	53,767	+ 66·01	+ 15·01
Garden Reach ...	45,295	+ 60·36	+ 1·03

215. Conditions between 1901 and 1911 were in favour of a further growth of population. The public health was good, the births exceeding the deaths by 100,000. The outturn of the crops was well up to the average during the first half of the decade. In 1905 they were short owing to heavy but unevenly distributed rainfall, while the

rainfall next year was deficient and the outturn was again poor. Consequently, in 1907 there was distress, to meet which agricultural loans and

24. PANDHARAS.			
1911.	Male.	1,303,200	...
	Female.	1,134,101	...
1901.	Male.	1,002,916	...
	Female.	945,412	...
1911.	Male.	1,003,353	...
	Female.	860,017	...
1901.	Male.	1,000,390	...
	Female.	970,372	...

[illegible]

16

affected about 800 square miles, comprising the whole of the Meherpur subdivision and parts of the Sadar and Chuadanga subdivisions. 222. It may be added that the land appears to be of low fertility. "The soil," reports the Collector, "is universally a light sandy loam possessing but little fertilizing power. The light manuring which is applied is generally insufficient, and there is no doubt that the soil is getting less and less fertile. The average yield of crops is low, as will be seen from the fact that the average yield of winter rice is 805 lbs. per acre, and of autumn rice 835 lbs., while in Jessore it is 1,145 and 870, and in 24 Parganas it is 943 and 1,011 respectively. Another noticeable feature is that it is becoming necessary to allow the land to lie fallow for longer periods between croppings. During the five years from 1904-05 to 1908-09 only about 40 per cent. of the total cultivable area was actually cropped. The corresponding percentages in the two sister districts of Khulna and Jessore were about 74 and 89 respectively. It can safely be concluded that the soil in Nadia is not sufficiently fertile to enable the same percentage of the population to depend upon agriculture as in other districts.

223. A light railway connecting Ranaghat and Krishnagar was opened in 1898, and the Murshidabad branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway in 1904-05. All the subdivisions, except Meherpur, are traversed by at least one branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The Meherpur subdivision is cut off from the railway and has no water communications, for the only river which traverses it, the Bhairab, is silted up. Emigration is more active than in any other district of the division, and the number of persons leaving it, in order to escape its unhealthy climate or for the sake of employment elsewhere, has risen by 11,500 since 1901. On the other hand, the number of workmen grants has increased by 11,000, owing largely to the number of workmen required for the construction of the Lower Ganges Bridge at Damukdia. There is therefore a net gain from migration of 2,500.

224. Only five thanas, viz., Kaliganj, Chapra, Krishnagar and Hanskhali in the Sadar subdivision, and Ranaghat in the subdivision of the same name, have an increase of population. Krishnagar and Chapra are among the thanas classed by the Drainage Committee as among the least malarious in the district. The other two placed under this category, viz., Chakdaha and Meherpur, are so far fortunate, that they have not lost population but are stationary. The increase of the Ranaghat thana is due to the fact that it contains the town of Ranaghat, an important railway junction where labour is attracted by work on the line and in the brick-fields. The malarious thanas mentioned by the Drainage Committee have all lost population at a rate varying from 1 to 13 per cent. The Karipur thana, in particular, shows a gradual decrease of about 6,000 during each of the two decades since 1891. Apart from malaria, the decrease is partly due to the fact that a portion of the north of the thana has been subject to diluvion by the river Padma, necessitating migration to the northern districts of Pabna and Rajshahi.

Every subdivision has lost ground, but the loss in the Kushtia subdivision is greater than the figures indicate, because at the time of the census, a labour force of 3,117 was employed on the construction of the Lower Ganges Bridge, many of whom were immigrants from outside. The falling off in the Chuadanga and Meherpur subdivisions, on the other hand, must be discounted by the fact that, at the time when the census was taken, a number of labourers had migrated temporarily to the adjacent districts of Jessore, Khulna, etc., where labour is required for harvesting winter rice. The main crop of Nadia is *aus* or early rice, whereas in these districts winter rice predominates. When therefore the *aus* crop has been harvested, a large number of agricultural labourers find employment in reaping the winter crop of other districts.

225. Owing to the ravages of Burdwan fever, the increase of population between 1872 and 1891 was very small (barely 3 per cent.), but a good recovery was made between 1891

NADIA.	1911.		1901.		Change.
	M.	Female	M.	Female	
Actual population	412,501	405,766	322,227	322,227	90,274
Immigrants	37,610	32,543	33,257	33,257	4,353
Emigrants	11,206	61,913	21,163	33,257	22,094
Natural population	438,905	376,396	269,807	255,713	169,098

and 1901; the proportional growth recorded in the latter year being 6.6 per cent. The increase was far from uniform, for in the low-lying water-logged tracts to the east it was only 3 per cent, whereas in the higher and better drained thanas to the west it averaged 12.9 per cent.

It was as high as 26 per cent. in Sagardighi and Nabagram, two sparsely populated thanas which attracted immigrants from Birhm and the Southal Parganas.

226. The decade 1901-1910 was one of chequered prosperity. In 1904 there were severe floods by which a considerable area was submerged. Next year there was an epidemic of cholera, which caused over 8,000 deaths, and this was followed by an epidemic of small-pox in 1907. In that year too the Lalitkurni embankment in the Lalbagh subdivision gave away, and there was a partial failure of the winter rice crop. Taking the average of the whole decade, however, crops were almost normal, and a demand for labour was created by the construction of three new railway lines, viz., the Ranghat-Murshidabad branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway, and the Barharwa-Azimganj-Katwa and Onal-Sainthia branches of the East Indian Railway. The effect of these lines being opened is already apparent in an increasing exodus of labourers during the cold weather. The number of persons enumerated inside the district is now nearly 29,000 more than in 1901, and the district has lost nearly 25,000 by migration more than it has gained.

227. The west and east of the district are clearly differentiated by their physical conformation. The portion lying to the west of the Bhagathi is a continuation of the (hota) Nagpur plateau; its general level is higher than that of the rest of the district, and the climate is comparatively dry. The eastern portion is a deltaic tract in which the land is still being gradually raised by the deposition of silt from the rivers which traverse it. Here, however, the action of nature has been interfered with by the marginal embankment along the left bank of the Bhagathi, which prevents the inundation which would otherwise occur.

228. The healthiness and unhealthiness of different parts are described as follows by the Drainage (Committee):—"Taking the average annual district death-rate from fever (1901-1905) as 29.7 per mille, it may be concluded that the thanas which exhibit a rate of 25 and under are fairly healthy and those in excess of 40 noticeably the reverse. The healthy thanas of Khargao, Kandi, Barwan, Gokaran and Bharpur (constituting the Kandi subdivision) occupy a compact block in the south-west corner, while Raghuathang and Alivapur, along with Shamsingur, Suti and Sagardighi (the rates for which are only slightly higher), lie to the north-west—all (except Raghuathang) to the west of the Bhagathi. The only other thanas on that side of the river are Nobogram, which is neither specially healthy nor the reverse, and Asampur, which falls within the area of high rates. The feverish thanas group themselves in a well-defined tract, running north to south along the east bank of the Bhagathi from Bhagwanpola, through Manikpala, to the

MURSHIDABAD.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	624,593	624,593	624,593	624,593	624,593
Immigrants	11,304	11,304	11,304	11,304	11,304
Natural population	613,289	613,289	613,289	613,289	613,289

MURSHIDABAD.		1911.		1901-1911.	
		Population.	Proportion of	Variation.	
DISTRICT TOTAL					
...	1,372,274	...	2.93	+	6.57
Sadar Subdivision					
...	517,723	...	0.65	-	...
Lalbagh Subdivision					
...	195,128	...	2.73	+	...
Rangpur Subdivision					
...	357,930	...	7.10	+	5.36
Kandi Subdivision					
...	301,493	...	9.75	+	...
...	+	...
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Shahanagar, Daulatabad, Asampur west of the Bhagnathi, Sujaganj and Gouabazar. The average annual mortality from fever (1901-1905) in these thanas runs higher than any rate in either Jessore or Nadia, with the one exception of the Gangul thana in the latter, which exceeds the rate of Bhagwangola only. Haridharpura adjoining to the east is only slightly less unhealthy. The eastern portion of the district, Gowar, Jalangi and Nonda, stands midway in point of health between the two areas above defined. The variations in the total population recorded in the three censuses, especially during the decade 1891-1901, the figures for the earlier ten years were affected by epidemic fever, corroborate these conclusions in a marked manner. The district as a whole showed a fair increase in population at the last census, 16.6 per cent., but all the noticeably unhealthy thanas, with the exception of Bhagwangola and Haridharpura, and Gouabazar and Asampur, which were practically stationary, showed a falling off, although it is to be remarked that the declining prosperity of the trade which used to centre around Munshidabad and Gouabazar has also contributed to this result. The only other decrease, in Suti, which is a healthy area, was due to emigration, not illness. The facts then may be summarised as follows:—*a* Some portions of the district are extremely unhealthy more so than Jessore or Nadia; other portions are comparatively healthy. *b* Fever is similarly distributed. *c* Local investigation has shown that the fever is malarial, but the presence or absence of Leishman-Donovan infection is an open question. *d* The most malarious thanas are Bhagwangola, Manullalpur, Shahanagar, Daulatabad, Sujaganj, Haridharpura, Asampur and part of Jalangi. *e* The least malarious areas are comprised in the whole of the Kandi subdivision, and the thanas of Shamsinganj, Suti, Raghunathganj, Muzapur and Sagardighi.

The conclusions of the Drainage Committee are confirmed by the results of the present census. The Kandi subdivision has developed at the rate of 9.75 per cent., and all the other thanas mentioned as least malarious have an increase except Raghunathganj, where the population is stationary. Shamsinganj, which made the greatest progress between 1872 and 1901, is still growing rapidly and has added another 16 per cent. to its population. Of the eight thanas mentioned as most malarious, six are distinctly decadent.

220 Jessore, like Nadia, is a land of moribund rivers and obstructed drainage, and its history during the last half century is also one of recurring epidemics of disease and declining population. It forms a flat alluvial plain inter-

1901		1891	1872
DISTRICT TOTAL		1,754,264	1,503,000
Sadar Subdivision		462,305	312,000
Bagmara	1,100	1,100	1,100
Bonga	1,100	1,100	1,100
Dubouga	1,100	1,100	1,100
Mahla	1,100	1,100	1,100
Karailpur	1,100	1,100	1,100
Jhenida Subdivision		362,518	613,000
Salkheta	1,100	1,100	1,100
Bhola	1,100	1,100	1,100
Karailpur	1,100	1,100	1,100
Magura Subdivision		265,948	412,000
Magura	1,100	1,100	1,100
Muhammadpur	1,100	1,100	1,100
Saltanpur	1,100	1,100	1,100
Narail Subdivision		360,509	251,000
Tuazara	1,100	1,100	1,100
Narail	1,100	1,100	1,100
Barakata	1,100	1,100	1,100
Bangaon Subdivision		306,984	327,000
Mahespur	1,100	1,100	1,100
Bangaon	1,100	1,100	1,100
Gadgaon	1,100	1,100	1,100

sected by several rivers debouching from the Ganges, and by numerous lesser channels, and *khalas*, many of which have lost their connection with feeder streams, and have become merely channels for local drainage. Some rivers, such as the Garai and Madhumati and a portion of the Chitra in the Narail subdivision, though they have degenerated considerably, still have flowing streams. Others have practically no current for the greater part of the year. Except in the rains, when they maintain a languid vitality, these so-called rivers are merely a chain of long stagnant pools overgrown with weeds. In the south, however, the lower reaches of the rivers are affected by the tide. After the rainy season a portion of the country is under water, either from the over-flowing of neighbouring rivers or from the local rainfall. When the land dries up, extensive *bils* are left, some of which remain stagnant throughout the year.

230. In 1817 the district suffered from a virulent epidemic of cholera, and in 1836 there was the first outbreak in epidemic form of that malignant type of fever which was first known as Nadia and then as Bhirdwan fever.† It lasted for seven years, and seemed to disappear in 1843. In 1846, however, it broke out again, and in the next two years spread over the whole district. After a temporary cessation the fever re-appeared in 1854-56, and about this time began to spread westward to Nadia and the 24 Parganas. This epidemic ceased in 1864, but between 1880 and 1885 there was another serious epidemic, for which the Nadia Fever Commission of 1881-82 could discover no specific cause. It held, however, that it had its source in the siltling up of the main rivers and the general insanitary condition of the villages. Since 1891 fever of a less virulent type has been prevalent and formed the subject of a special inquiry by the Dyamage Committee in 1906-07. The conclusions at which the Committee arrived were—“(1) The whole district is extremely unhealthy; (2) malarial fever prevails extensively everywhere; (3) by a rather arbitrary comparison, the thanas of Jhenida, Gaighata, Balikha and Bagharpara are the most malarious; (4) the least malarious are thanas Barkala, Lohagara, Kotehandpur and Gadkhal.”

231. The only census at which there has been any increase of population

231. The only census at which there has been any increase of population is that of 1881, but the apparent increase then recorded must be attributed to incomplete enumeration at the preceding census. In 1891 there was a decline of 2.6 per cent., and this was followed by a further decrease of 4 per cent. in 1901. In the latter year the south-eastern corner was the only tract which showed even a nominal improvement, and the loss of population was greatest in the country running west and south-west from the Muhammadpur thana on the eastern boundary. The unhealthiness of the district was no less conspicuous during the decade 1901-1910, in which the total number of deaths exceeded the births by 70,000, while the death-rate was above the birth-rate in all but three years (1901, 1909 and 1910). This drain on the population is not counterbalanced by an influx from outside. The immigrants, it is true, are more numerous by nearly 13,000 than in 1901, but still fall short by 13,500 of the number of those born in Jessore who, owing either to necessity or choice, were resident elsewhere at the time of the census. All but five thanas have lost population. Three of these fortunate

[illegible]

thanas, viz., Barkahā. Lohagāra and Jikaragāhā, are among those mentioned by the Drānaḡa Committee as the least malarians in the district; Barkahā and Lohagāra form part of the Nārāi subdivision, which is the only tract which has made any progress.

NORTH BENGAL.

232. Kajshahi is covered with recent alluvium, except in the north-west, where the elevated tract known as the KASHMIR. Barind has a quasi-laterite soil. With the exception of the Padma, which forms the southern boundary of the district, and

"It is commonly believed that 1817 was the first year and Jessore the first place in which cholera broke out in a violent epidemic form, and that it had appeared before only in a mild endemic form. This belief does not appear to be justified, for there are historical references to earlier cholera epidemics. Not to multiply instances, Hickey's Bengal Gazette of 22nd April 1781 refers to an outbreak in Calcutta as follows:—"The plague has now broken out in Bengal and rages with great violence; it has swept away already about 4,000 persons. Two hundred or upwards have been buried in the different Portuguese churches within the last few days." See also Jessore Gazetteer, p. 61.

† It was reported on in 1863 by Dr. Elliott, who traced it back as far as 1824 and noted that "a peculiar type of fever was prevalent in Jessore for many years previous to its first appearance in the district of Nadia."

‡ Now the Shikargahia thana.

CHAPTER II.—MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

the Mahananda, which runs for a short distance along its western border,

DISTRICT TOTAL			
1,440,347	1,337	1,338	
264,224	1,441	1,227	
317,401	1,221	1,213	
222,712	1,02	1,114	

the river system consists of a network of moribund streams and water-courses. The district slopes slightly from west to east, and its drainage, instead of being carried off by rivers, flows into a chain of marshes and swamps, the neighbourhood of which is malarious and unhealthy. Rajshahi is, in fact, one of the most malarious districts in North Bengal, and had a higher death rate during the past decade than any district in the division except Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur. Nator is the most malarious, and Naogaon the least malarious subdivision in the district, the Sadar subdivision occupying

an intermediate place between the two. 233. Between 1872 and 1901 the population of the district, as a whole, was almost stationary, and in the next ten years there was a small increase of 1.6 per cent. During the 30 years the south and centre of the district were decadent, the thanas concerned by 25.6 per cent. in the Barind, and by 50.3 per cent. in the rich ganja-growing thanas of Naogaon and Panchupur in the Naogaon subdivision. The Barind has developed owing to the immigration of Santals, Mundas and Oraons, who find congenial employment in clearing it for cultivation, while the Naogaon subdivision has benefited by the movement of the inhabitants of unhealthy water-logged areas to the healthier and more prosperous thanas included in it. 234. The history of the last decade has been uneventful. Fever has continued unabated, and the reported births exceeded the deaths by only 31,266, representing an increase of 2.14 per cent. on the population of 1901. The actual increase of the population according to the census is 20,003 or 1.4

	1872	1881	1891	1901
Male	621,814	621,814	621,814	621,814
Female	621,814	621,814	621,814	621,814
Total	1,243,628	1,243,628	1,243,628	1,243,628

per cent. only, a result which is practically unaffected by the variations in the number of immigrants and emigrants since 1901. Both are now more numerous than they were in that year, but the increase of the former (15,888) is nearly counterbalanced by the rate of growth in the natural population. Small as the increase of the latter (15,114). The rate of growth in the population indeed closely corresponds with that of the actual population. While they have increased in numbers, the Hindus have decreased by 2.79 per cent. 235. The deterioration of the Nator subdivision, which is the chief centre of malaria, has continued, and a further loss of 7 per cent. is now recorded. Singra is, as in 1901, the only thana that has gained population, but the gain is under one-half per cent. The Sadar subdivision has a slight growth of 1.2 per cent. The most progressive thana in this subdivision, or indeed in the whole district, is Golagari, which lies within the Barind and has added 17 per cent. to its numbers. Elsewhere, there has been a small increase of 3½ to 4½ per cent., but Puthia and Charghat have again decreased. Naogaon subdivision, where two thanas (Manda and Mahadebpur) lie in the Barind and two (Naogaon and Panchupur) in the ganja area, is by far the most

progressive part of the district, all its thanas contributing to the increase. It is now more populous by 22 per cent. than it was in 1891, whereas the Sadar subdivision has remained practically stationary, the increase at this census not having made up entirely for the loss in 1901. The Nator subdivision is steadily declining and has lost 11 per cent. of its population the last 20 years.

236. The district of Dinajpur is a flat alluvial plain broken in the south by the Barind, which rises in low undulating ridges, and in the north-west by low hills along the Kulik river. It is well drained, and the rainfall is abundant and well-distributed; but these advantages are minimized by the prevalence of fever of a malarious type. A comparatively thinly peopled district, its population has been steadily growing, though the ratio of increase, though never very great, rising at each successive census. Conditions between 1901 and 1910 were generally favourable to a further increase. The death rate was the highest in North Bengal, but was surpassed by the birth rate (43.7 per mille), the result being an excess of 45,626 of births over deaths. There was some scarcity during 1908 and 1909 in the west of the district and in the south-east corner in Chorghat, which was met by the distribution of loans and relief works. All distress disappeared with the bumper crops reaped next year, and it does not seem to have affected the growth of population, for during these two years there were 17,000 more births and 11,500 less deaths than in the two preceding years.

DISTRICT.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		
	1911.	1901-1911.	1901-1901.

POPULATION.		1911.		1901-1911.		1901-1901.	
DISTRICT.		1911.		1901-1911.		1901-1901.	
DISTRICT TOTAL		1,647,863	772	570	694,954	904	404
Sadar Subdivision		217,712	404	106	116,520	106	436
Dinajpur (Kotwa)		116,520	106	106	116,520	106	436
Kalyans		84,520	106	106	84,520	106	436
Bakulhat		208	106	106	208	106	436
Pabulhat		92,692	106	106	92,692	106	436
Nawabganj		1,014	106	106	1,014	106	436
Balrughat Subdivision		447,343	1577	1421	447,343	1577	1421
Patalma		110,191	1730	1903	110,191	1730	1903
Fara		62,603	1530	1903	62,603	1530	1903
Gaurhat (Balam)		104,591	1623	1903	104,591	1623	1903
Bakulhat		208	106	106	208	106	436
Thubhat (Chittagong)		21,370	1693	1693	21,370	1693	1693
Thakurgaon Subdivision		545,566	046	220	545,566	046	220
Thakurgaon		223,621	163	133	223,621	163	133
Pirganj		104,503	611	047	104,503	611	047
Dinajpur		141,411	047	047	141,411	047	047

237. The increase disclosed by the census is far greater than is apparent from the vital statistics, amounting to 121,018 or 7.7 per cent. The difference is due to the largely enhanced number of immigrants, of whom there are 65,000 more than in 1901, while emigrants have only increased by 6,000. The immigrants are mainly found in the Barind, where they are fast reclaiming the waste: they are nearly all aboriginals, such as Santals, Mundas and Oraons, who have increased from 90,345 to 131,668. Owing mainly to their presence, all the thanas in the Barind, viz., Kaliganj, Bamsihari, Farbatpur and Nawabganj of the Sadar subdivision and the whole of the Balrughat subdivision, have increases of over 10 per cent. The Thakurgaon subdivision, which grew by 2 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, is now practically stationary, one thana only (Pirganj) having gained population. This subdivision suffers severely from malaria, and the loss it thereby sustains is not compensated for by immigration, as in the Sadar and Balrughat subdivisions.

DISTRICT.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	859,874	727,937	823,833	743,223
Emigrants	119,502	77,341	80,759	51,214
Immigrants	11,008	12,134	8,430	8,713
Net population	781,480	722,870	751,183	700,532

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238. Between 1872 and 1891 there was a continuous growth of population in Jalpaiguri due to the development of the tea industry (which was introduced in 1874) and to the influx of labourers and cultivators. The increase was, however, almost

entirely confined to the Western Duars, *i.e.*, the country lying along the foot

JALPAIGURI.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1911.	1901—1911. 1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	902,660	+ 14.79	+ 15.70
Sadar Subdivision	699,959	+ 4.95	+ 9.85
Jalpaiguri	85,783	+ 4.20	- 0.70
Raiganj	75,450	+ 4.08	- 3.31
Boda	163,401	- 0.97	- 0.82
Patigram	38,024	+ 4.93	- 5.28
Mainaguri	200,638	+ 9.23	+ 31.17
Dandim	116,035	+ 7.87	+ 28.20
Alipore Subdivision	202,701	+ 69.83	+ 64.75
Alipore	126,580	+ 81.40	+ 70.01
Falakata	76,121	+ 53.45	+ 57.87

of the Himalayas between the Tista and Sankos rivers, which comprises the Alipur subdivision (thanas Alipur and Falakata) and two thanas in the Sadar subdivision, viz., Mainaguri (with the Dhupguri outpost) and Dandim. In this area there was a remarkable increase, the tea gardens having attracted labour, while new settlers came in from other districts and the Cooch Behar State, as well as from the west of

the district. With regard to the condition of the district during the past decade, the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Lees) writes:—"The chief feature of the history of the past ten years is the great expansion of cultivation, especially in the Alipur subdivision. There are now few jungle blocks in the district outside the reserved forests. The rapid development of the tea industry between 1881 and 1891, when the area under tea rose from 35,683 acres to 76,158 acres, suffered some check owing to the depression of the tea industry, but the area under tea has now risen to 88,000 acres. Almost all the available land which is suited for tea cultivation in this district has now been taken up, and further expansion of tea cultivation cannot be very great. The decade was a period of prosperity without any serious flood or other calamity." There were, it is true, severe floods in 1902, 1906 and 1910, but comparatively little damage was done to the crops. Epidemics of cholera broke out in the two last years, and also in 1908, a year of deficient rainfall, carrying off altogether 5,000 persons. Fever, which is endemic in this Tarai district, continued unabated. Of all the districts in North Bengal only Dinajpur had a higher death-rate, and the excess of births over deaths was only 4,646.

239. The census shows a reported increase of 14.8 per cent., for which im-

JALPAIGURI.	1911. Population at		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	490,228	412,432	222,330	363,976
Immigrants	153,309	111,959	4,914	83,309
Emigrants	9,677	11,322	555	9,871
Natural population	346,596	311,795	191	290,538

migration is mainly responsible, the natural population having increased by only 7 per cent. There are now no less than 265,268 immigrants in the district, their number having risen by 77,045 or 41

per cent. since 1901: the emigrants have also increased, but only by 3,573, leaving a balance of 73,472 in favour of the district. The population in the Western Duars has continued to grow at a rate of 26 per cent., the percentage of increase

CENSUS.	INCREASE IN—	
	District.	Western Duars.
1891	100,250	103,661
1901	106,703	114,238
1911	116,334	108,766

being 26 per cent. of these marginal table sufficiently shows the effect of development has had on the expansion of the district. While, however, the Alipur subdivision to the east has grown by no less than 70 per cent., the percentage of increase in Mainaguri and Dandim, in the west, is only 9 and 8 per cent., respectively, whereas it was 31 and 28 per cent. in 1901. These two thanas, lying nearest to the old settled tracts, were

naturally the first to attract new cultivators. They filled up rapidly, and there is now little waste land available for new settlers. In the Alipur subdivision, however, cultivation is extending in every direction, and there is a constant stream of immigrants attracted by the fertility of the land and the lowness of the rents. In the rest of the district there has been a

small natural growth of population, varying only from 1 to 5 per cent., except in the Boda thana, which records a slight loss; this thana is an old settled tract, with a fairly high density of population, which offers no prospects to immigrants, and is decadent, having lost population at each census since 1881.

210. No district in either Province exhibits more clearly the effect of settled peace than Darjeeling. Writing in 1854, Sir Joseph Hooker said that there were not a hundred inhabitants under British protection when Darjeeling was first transferred, but that, during the two years in which he witnessed its development, its progress resembled that of an Australian colony not only in the amount of building, but also in the accession of native families from the surrounding countries.

PERCENTAGE OF VARIOUS PARTS OF THE DISTRICT.			
1851-1854.			
1854-1857.			
1857-1860.			
1860-1863.			
1863-1866.			
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1929-1932.			
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1935-1938.			
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2247-2250.			
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2511-2514.			
2514-2517.			

242. To turn to the variations of population in different parts of the

DARJEELING.	1911.		1901	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	117,091	123,456	133,003	116,112
Immigrants	87,102	50,056	71,249	53,102
Emigrants	3,893	4,553	3,129	2,566
Natural population	86,855	77,953	64,844	65,579

district, the most progressive thanas are Jorbungalow and Kalimpong. The former grew by 21·5 per cent. between 1891 and 1901 and now records a further increase of 20·9 per cent. In the latter the rate of growth has fallen from 55·9 per cent. to 19·3 per cent., a result due to the check imposed on immigration by the small proportion of cultivable land that is left. As stated in the District Gazetteer (1907):—"Whether the volume of immigration will be so great in the future is very doubtful. The best lands have been taken up, those now being developed consist of the poorer and more remote lands, which have been the last to attract settlers, though they are largely taken up by those who can get no good land elsewhere, and there are only 30 square miles of reclaimable jungle left." The growth in the Darjeeling thana is normal and calls for no remarks. The Kurseong subdivision, which was almost stationary in 1901, has now sustained a loss. In that year it was shown that the tea garden population was slightly reduced, but this loss was more than counterbalanced by the access of new settlers for ordinary cultivation, and to some extent by the development of the town of Kurseong. The result of this census seems to show that the limit which the land can support has been reached, and it appears probable that some of the cultivators have moved to Kalimpong and Jorbungalow. The Tarai (Siliguri subdivision) has a slight increase, but it has not yet entirely made good the loss that occurred between 1891 and 1901, and the number of its inhabitants is still slightly less than it was 20 years ago.

243. The population of Rangpur declined at each census until 1901, when an increase of 4·3 per cent. brought back the number of its inhabitants to the same figure as in 1872. The improvement in 1901 was due in great measure to

RANGPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,385,330	+ 10·73	+ 4·30
Sadar Subdivision	683,127	+ 3·77	+ 1·84
Rangpur (Kotwall)	147,792	+ 3·70	+ 7·53
Mahiganj	102,027	+ 4·02	+ 3·41
Kailganj	159,161	+ 4·29	+ 1·69
Badarganj	93,219	+ 3·74	+ 7·98
Mithapukur	94,813	+ 5·53	+ 5·73
Irgauj	77,386	+ 10·28	+ 2·79
Nilphamari Subdivision	491,860	+ 6·38	+ 3·01
Nilphamari	168,798	+ 5·13	+ 9·57
Dimala	139,692	+ 3·98	+ 2·52
Jaidhaka	183,372	+ 9·50	+ 1·78
Kurigram Subdivision	589,520	+ 15·29	+ 1·31
Kurigram	65,534	+ 14·13	+ 4·62
Laimanrhat (Barabati)	131,580	+ 4·80	+ 4·27
Nageswar	153,137	+ 10·18	+ 0·85
Ulipur	237,249	+ 26·43	+ 1·83
Gaibandha Subdivision	620,823	+ 18·91	+ 12·22
Gaibandha	231,731	+ 19·24	+ 14·98
Gobindganj	206,512	+ 17·49	+ 15·98
Sundarganj	106,089	+ 24·49	+ 1·60
Shaghatta	76,491	+ 14·38	+ 15·35

immigration; if this were left out of account, the increment would barely have exceeded 1 per cent. Immigration was stimulated by the extension of railway communications, for the Gaibandha subdivision was rendered more accessible by the line running from Santahar to Fulchhari on the Brahmaputra, the Cooch Behar Railway was opened to traffic, and the Tista river was bridged. The earthquake of 1897, moreover, appears to have had beneficial effects on the public health; for by changing the levels of a great part of the district, it facilitated its drainage, and consequently malaria seems to have been less prevalent.

244. The improvement in the general condition of the people continued between 1901 and 1910. The crops were good and the people prosperous except in 1908-09, when there was scarcity in parts of the Sadar and Gaibandha subdivisions, which was relieved by means of loans and does not seem to have affected the growth of population to any appreciable extent. The Kaunia-Bonarpura line has been opened, and, as it touches the town of Gaibandha, has done much to open out that subdivision, while the extension

increase. The least progress has been made by the Sheipur thana, an unhealthy tract lying along the moribund Karatoya river : here the deaths during the decade exceeded the births, and there would have been a loss of population but for the immigration of aboriginals and others, who are bringing the jungle under cultivation. The higher ratio of increase (5·7 per cent.) in thana Dhunot, a fertile area which is the most densely populated part of the district, is due to natural growth and not to immigration. In the other thanas, which are mostly healthy and dry, the increase is due to the combined effect of natural causes and immigration. One noticeable feature of the increase is that the Hindus, who were practically stationary between 1891 and 1901, have now increased by 8·24 per cent. The Muhammadans, who form the bulk of the population, show still greater improvement, the ratio of increase among them having risen from 5·6 to 16 per cent.

247. Between 1872 and 1881 the population of Pabna increased by 8·3 per cent., but part of the increase is attributable to the incompleteness of the first census. In 1891 there was a gain of 3·85 per cent., while in 1901 there was a further addition

PABNA	Population, 1911	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION	
		1901—1911	1891—1901
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,438,586	+ 0·51	+ 4·34
Sadar Subdivision	599,266	+ 2·04	+ 2·10
Saluthia (Dulai)	169,900	+ 2·08	+ 7·20
Pabna	201,064	+ 2·30	+ 6·21
Mathura	91,636	+ 7·0	+ 6·33
Chatmohar	130,496	+ 1·80	+ 3·89
Sirajganj Subdivision	829,320	- 0·57	+ 9·42
Sirajganj	270,168	+ 2·27	+ 10·93
Shalialiapur	206,336	+ 2·31	+ 8·76
Raiganj	104,370	+ 1·96	+ 11·46
Ullapara	194,446	+ 1·29	+ 7·17

of 4·3 per cent. Between 1901 and 1910 the growth of population was retarded. Crops were poor in the first four years and the jute trade slack in the last three. High floods occurred in 1903, 1906 and 1910, of which that of 1906 did considerable damage to the crops, while the inundation of 1910 caused some temporary distress. In four of the ten years the reported deaths exceeded the births, and in the decade as a whole there was a loss, the deaths outnumbering the births by 11,238. "Malaria," writes the District Magistrate "is a permanent scourge and has its strongest hold in thanas Sainthia (formerly Dulai) and Chatmohar of the Sadar subdivision and in Raiganj and Ullapara in the Sirajganj subdivision. Thana Pabna in the Sadar subdivision is not free from its ravages. This is due mostly to the existence of a number of *bils* of various sizes in the interior, in most of which the water lies stagnant almost all the year round except in years of excessive flood."

248. There has, according to the recent census, been an increase of 7,191, or only one-half per cent. No less than 7,151 persons however were employed on the Lower Ganges bridge works at Sara, of whom the majority were newcomers from outside districts : if they are left out of account, the increase is entirely wiped out. The returns for birth place show that since 1901

PABNA.	1911		1901.	
	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.
A total pabna	723,91	74,996	723,914	711,417
Immigrants	11,119	21,129	31,124	14,882
Emigrants	24,812	43,879	22,207	24,384
Native	737,793	724,796	710,677	721,053

immigrants have increased from 19,040 to 61,900 and emigrants from 61,305 to 102,667. The loss by emigration thus considerably exceeds the gain by immigration, the net loss being 22,502, which added to the excess of deaths over births, should have caused a considerable decrease of population: it is therefore open to question whether the vital statistics are correct. There was an increase of 12,515 or 2 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision, of which more than half was due to the employees enumerated in the Lower Ganges bridge works : without them the Pabna thana would have sustained a loss. In Chatmohar, a malarious area, there is a slight decrease, and in Sainthia a slight increase, while Mathura, which has a better climate and more fertile soil, has a substantial growth. The population declined in all the thanas of Sirajganj subdivision, except the Sirajganj thana, where there was a very small

increase. The loss in Raiganj and Uliapani is due to the ravages of malaria. As regards the decrease in this subdivision, the Subdivisional Officer writes, "It is difficult to account for the fall in population shown by this census, but I am of opinion that the ravages of malaria have had a serious effect. The jute trade appears also to have reached its high water-mark as regards the number of persons employed. No attempt has been made to revive or rebuild the jute mill at Sirajganj, which fell in the earthquake of 1897 and used to employ about 2,000 hands. The immigration of Banas into Raiganj thana has gone on steadily, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the emigration of cultivators from the riparian tracts to the districts of Kangpur and Gopalpur, where they find more land for settlement." But for emigration the subdivision as a whole would have shown an increase instead of a decrease.

219. Malda consists of two distinct tracts separated by the river Mahananda. The western portion is composed of recent alluvium, a part of it being still subject to the fluvial action of the Ganges. The eastern portion lies in the

M.A.D.A.	POPULATION, 1911.	PER CENTAGE OF INCREASE.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,004,159	+13.88	+8.49
Gopalpur	67,111	+11.77	+6.81
English Bazar	91,457	+4.61	-0.23
Nawalpatti	21,254	-0.31	-1.83
Kalichak	15,401	+12.50	+11.01
Shibpur	14,371	+14.30	+10.41
Haridwar	12,003	+2.16	+4.13
Thakur	27,003	+19.90	+0.32
Old Malda	41,232	+16.41	+22.90
Gajol	56,763	+21.05	+23.00

populated areas where Santals settled in large numbers. There were also large increases in Kalachak and Sibganj to the south-west, where new alluvial formations attracted a number of Musalman cultivators from Murshidabad on the other side of the Ganges, as well as from English Bazar and Nawabganj in this district: the two latter thanas consequently sustained a loss.

250. Since 1901 the district has made steady progress. The births exceeded the deaths in every year but 1907, the result being a net excess of 98,484 or 11.2 per cent. on the population of 1901. The crops were good except in 1908-09, when short rainfall led to a failure of the winter rice crop—the principal crop in the Barind area—and some distress was experienced, which was remedied by the issue of loans and the opening of relief works. In the rest of the district, however, good *dhado* and *rad* crops were obtained and, owing to the high prices of food-grains, the condition of the people was, if anything, more prosperous than in other years. The severity had no deterrent effect on the growth of population: on the contrary, the birth-rate in 1909 (52 per mille) was higher and the death-rate (29.4 per mille) lower than in any other year of the decade. The most important feature in the economic history of the decade was the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway, which traverses the district from north to south. The railway has already done much to develop the district. The Collector reports—"At every railway station a bazar has sprung up, and the cultivator has profited largely by the competition of traders in jute, rice and other country produce. Growers of the mango fruit are now able to reach markets at a greater distance and command better prices. Another result has been to facilitate immigration into the thinly populated areas in the east of the district."

251. The outcome of the above conditions is a gain of 122,425 or 13.9 per cent. This increase is to be attributed to natural causes, for though there has been a greater influx of immigrants, the outward movement of the people has resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of emigrants. The immigrants consist chiefly of Santals, who are reclaiming waste lands in the Barind, and of Musalmans who cultivate the new alluvial formations

in the *diara* tract, besides Bilhari settlers who come into the northern thanas of the district and into Manikchak. The Santals alone have increased by 14,394 during the past decade. Population increased in every thana except Nawabganj, in which there was a small decrease owing to the diluviation of their lands having compelled a certain number of the people

to move to other thanas in the district. English Bazar, in which there was a decrease of 6·23 per cent. in 1901 (attributed to declining trade, unhealthiness and migration to adjoining thanas) now shows an increase of 4·61 per cent. The proportional growth in all the remaining thanas exceeds 10 per cent. As in other districts of North and East Bengal, the Muhammadans have a larger share in the increase than the Hindus, owing to their numerical superiority as well as to their greater procreative capacity.

252. From 1881 to 1901 Cooch Behar suffered from persistent unhealthiness, and both the census of 1891 and that of 1901 showed a declining population, the decrease recorded being 3·9 per cent. and 2 per cent., respectively. Conditions during the decade ending in 1910

COOCH BEHAR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
TOTAL	592,952	+ 4·58	- 2·05
Kotwali	130,602	+ 7·10	- 1·1
Tufanganj	80,117	+ 2·11	- 1·2
Dinhata	168,329	+ 3·22	- 2·0
Matabhanga	142,604	+ 1·73	- 3·3
Mekliganj	31,313	+ 2·67	- 1·0
Haldibari	39,525	+ 5·01	+ 9·9

from which the north of the Matabhanga subdivision suffered most, but otherwise there were no seasonal calamities. Cultivation expanded, the cultivators benefited by the rise in the price of agricultural produce, and there was an increasing demand for labour, which was met by the import of coolies from up-country. The Gauhati extension of the Eastern Bengal State Railway (from Gitaldaha to Gauhati) was built during the decade and has already helped to open out the south-east of the State.

253. The result of the census is to show an increase of 25,978 or 4·6 per cent., part of which is due to immigration, the immigrant population being greater by over 10,000 than in 1901, while the number of emigrants has risen by a little under 4,000. These immigrants are mostly temporary, and the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. All parts of the district share in the increase, but the most progressive is Tufanganj, a sparsely-inhabited area, where there has been a rapid extension of cultivation. It is closely followed by the Cooch Behar (Kotwali) thana, which has gained by immigration from Mekliganj. Haldibari, a thriving jute-centre, has a normal increase of 5 per cent. The least progress has been made in Matabhanga, which suffered from the floods of 1906, and is reported to be the most unhealthy part of the State. The small increase in Mekliganj is due to the fact that it lost to the Cooch Behar thana, while Dinhata was visited by a severe epidemic of cholera in 1909.

COOCH BEHAR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	316,548	276,404	301,342	265,592
Immigrants	38,293	18,849	27,894	16,939
Emigrants	19,121	17,115	16,781	15,782
Natural population	299,376	274,870	290,250	294,415

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EAST BENGAL.

254. The Khulna district was created in 1881, when the census showed a small increase of 3·2 per cent. This was followed by a further increase of 9 per cent. in

KHULNA.

1891, but the percentage of growth was reduced to 6·7 per cent. in 1901.

This latter census disclosed considerable variations in different parts. While the Sadar subdivision in the centre of the district had an increase of 17·7 per cent. the ratio was only 6·6 per cent. in the Bagherhat subdivision to the east, while there was a falling off of 1·5 per cent. in the Saktiura subdivision to the west, where, however, the decrease was practically confined to the two unhealthy thanas of Kalara and Assami.

255. The condition of the people was generally prosperous in the decade succeeding the census of 1901. The east of the district benefited by the construction of a light railway from Barasat to Basirhat, which was opened in 1905-06, while the deepening and widening of the Madaripur Khal, so as to make it navigable throughout the year, were of immense advantage to the jute trade. The health of the people was on the whole good, the births during the decade exceeding the deaths by 93,000. The crops were fair, and though the poorest classes felt the pinch of high prices from 1906 to 1909, the cultivators benefited by the enhanced value of their crops. There was a severe cyclone in October 1909, accompanied by a tidal wave which carried all before it along the waterways near the sea-face. Cattle were destroyed in thousands (the estimated loss was 80,000), trees blown down on all sides, *Litchia* buildings levelled to the ground, and the rivers swept clear of country boats. Fortunately, however, there was very little loss of human life, and only slight damage was done to the rice crop. The rainfall in the previous part of the year had moreover been copious and well distributed, and next year bumper crops were reaped.

256. The increase of population disclosed by the census is 113,723 or 9 per cent.—a result due to natural growth, rather than to any large accretion from outside districts. Though the immigrant outnumbered the emigrant population, the excess is only 15,000, whereas in 1901 it was nearly 40,000, the change being due to emigrants increasing by 14,000 and immigrants falling off by 11,000. All parts of the district have progressed in a major or minor degree. The variations seem to depend on two factors, viz., the relative healthiness and unhealthyness of different parts, and the reclamation of cultivable land on the former of the Sundarban. On the former point the conclusions of the Bengal Drainage Committee were—“(a) The district is not conspicuously unhealthy in any part; (b) malaria is prevalent, but not especially so; (c) the most malarious thanas are Kalara, Mollahat, Magura and perhaps Saktiura; and (d) the least malarious are Kaliganj, Baikachha, Assami and Ranpal.”

257. On the whole, the most unhealthy part is the northern tract adjoining Jessore, and the central portion of the district is not so insalubrious, as it is more open and the jungle less dense. In the Sundarban, to the south of this cultivated belt, there are few permanent inhabitants, the land being low and subject to inundation, and fresh water scarcely obtainable. It is on the northern edge of this latter tract that cultivation is advancing most rapidly. To this cause and to their comparative healthiness must be ascribed the uniformly large increase (16 to 23 per cent.) in Kaliganj, Baikachha and Assami, which all lie along the central line of the Sundarban. The three thanas, which were classified by the Drainage Committee as malarious, viz., Kalara and Magura on the north-west and Mollahat on the north-east, have advanced very slightly. The ratio of increase in the two

KHELNA.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	709,270	30,914	23,416	633,470	299,273
Emigrants	20,113	12,732	14,064	11,415	11,115
Natural population	689,740	63,103	62,841	552,054	287,058

DISTRICT TOTAL		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Sadar Subdivision	441,245	129,820	84,624	320	252
Saktiura Subdivision	547,380	75,661	93,241	267	337
Bagherhat Subdivision	378,441	111,749	201,367	830	2137
Kalara	...	...	...	...	...
Magura	...	...	...	...	...
Saktiura	...	...	...	...	...
Kaliganj	...	...	...	...	...
Assami	...	...	...	...	...
Mollahat	...	...	...	...	...
Bagherhat	...	...	...	...	...
Ranpal	...	...	...	...	...
Morichanj	...	...	...	...	...

former being under 3 per cent., while Mollahat is stationary. Satkhira, about the unhealthiness of which there was some doubt, has added 8·9 per cent. to its population, owing mainly to its development by the light railway: at the previous census it decreased by 1·75 per cent., in consequence of bad health and the loss of trade caused by the diversion of its boat traffic.

Considering the variations in the population of each subdivision, the rate of advance has been rapid in the Satkhira and Sadar subdivisions, but comparatively slow in the Bagerhat subdivision. It was noticed in the last census report that the clearance of jungle in the Sundarbans was proceeding at a relatively slow rate in this last subdivision, and the same feature is now even more marked. This is partly due to the cyclone of 1909, which killed off the deer, and consequently led to an increase in the number of man-killing tigers in this part of the Sundarbans: how serious an obstacle these brutes are to the expansion of cultivation is familiar to all having a knowledge of the Sundarbans.

258. Hemmed in on three sides by the Jamuna, Padma and Meghna,

Dacca.

Dacca is subject to all the vicissitudes of alluvion and diluvion, as well as to the periodic inundation and silt fertilization characteristic of Eastern Bengal. These great rivers, as

Dacca.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,960,402	+ 11·95	+ 10·61
Sadar Subdivision	1,013,619	+ 14·99	+ 11·45
Dacca (Kotwali)	113,086	+ 21·33	+ 12·02
Keraniganj	242,047	+ 16·89	+ 10·76
Kapasia	220,008	+ 23·13	+ 22·33
Nawabganj	173,803	+ 1·73	+ 0·09
Sodhar	264,675	+ 12·17	+ 13·72
Narayanganj Subdivision	779,564	+ 17·99	+ 15·00
Narayanganj	187,791	+ 18·84	+ 14·32
Raipura	37,094	+ 18·88	+ 13·70
Rupganj	62,709	+ 16·30	+ 14·63
Munshiganj Subdivision	692,407	+ 9·34	+ 9·86
Munshiganj	315,221	+ 8·58	+ 10·23
Sitmagar	377,186	+ 11·10	+ 9·32
Manickganj Subdivision	474,812	+ 1·25	+ 4·46
Manickganj	221,377	+ 1·25	+ 3·87
Seabo (Gheor)	158,046	—	+ 7·31
Harirampore	95,389	—	+ 1·11

towards Mymensingh, which is higher and more undulating, is somewhat sparsely populated, but is now being rapidly cleared out, on account of the pressure on the soil in other parts of the district. Between 1872 and 1901 there was an increase of over 10 per cent. at each census, and in the year last named the population was greater by 45 per cent. than it was 29 years before.

259. During the past decade there has been nothing to retard the further

Dacca.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Total population	1,477,690	1,482,712	1,309,733	1,334,702
Immigrants	74,640	39,981	56,767	24,532
Emigrants	124,545	53,338	94,842	33,612
Natural population	1,527,595	1,496,089	1,317,608	1,339,815

growth of the people. It was a period of general prosperity and good health, the only year in which there was any interruption to the even tenor of development being 1906, when unusually high floods led to a failure of crops in part of the district; the distress, however, was temporary and not sufficient to call for relief measures. The census shows an increase of 315,967 or 12 per cent., which is due entirely to natural growth, for, compared with 1901, the balance of migration is against the district, causing a loss of 20,000. Both emigration and immigration are more active than in 1901, but while the number of immigrants has risen by 29,322, the increase of emigrants is 49,416. The latter number 177,903, but the excess of males over females shows that 45 per cent. are temporary absentees.

has been rapidly growing, the ratio of increase exceeding 12 per cent. at every census. Between 1901 and 1911 there was nothing to cause a check to the development of the district. The public health was good, and even in 1905, when there was a virulent epidemic of cholera causing a mortality of 10½ per cent., the deaths were outnumbered by the births. The agricultural seasons were also good. Some distress was caused by severe floods and high prices in 1906, but their effects did not last long. Both emigration and immigration have been stimulated by the extension of the railway to Fulchhari.

262. The addition of population now returned is 608,320 or 15½ per cent. It would have been even greater but for emigration, for though immigrants have increased by 46,000 since 1901, there has been even greater rise in the number of the district-born who were enumerated outside the district. The latter are now more numerous by 76,000, and their aggregate (156,993) is very little less than that of immigrants (161,395). There would be a net loss of 30,000 if the whole of the migration were permanent, but the excess of the males shows that the majority of the emigrants are temporary absentees; immigrants are, to an even greater extent, only temporarily resident in the district.

MYMENSINGH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	2,339,603	2,186,819	2,016,393	1,901,709
Immigrants	111,178	50,219	82,760	32,250
Emigrants	83,957	71,036	45,971	34,504
Natural population	2,314,344	2,207,636	1,979,664	1,904,053

In the Sadar subdivision, which includes extensive cultivable wastes, the population has increased by 21·3 per cent.: in no thana is the increase less than 14 per cent. The increase in all the other subdivisions also exceeds 14 per cent., except in

Tangail. This sub-division suffers from malaria and lost heavily from the cholera epidemic of 1905: this was so virulent that in many places the villagers, being unable to dispose of their dead by ordinary means, either threw the bodies into the rivers or left them to rot on the ground. It has, moreover, lost from the emigration of Musalmans to the *chars* of the Brahmaputra in the Goalpara district, where they can obtain land on easy terms. Owing to these causes, the percentage of increase has fallen to 2·8 and 5·9 per cent. respectively in thanas Tangail and Nagarpur. Both these thanas are liable to malaria, both are very densely populated, and it is from them that the Musalmans have chiefly emigrated to the higher reaches of the Brahmaputra. All the remaining thanas in the subdivision have a gain of over 10 per cent. In spite of emigration there is an increase of 18·8 per cent. among the Musalmans, or 12 per cent. more than among the Hindus, though the latter are reinforced by immigrants from upcountry.

263. Faridpur is bounded on three sides by the Meghna, the Padma and the Garai, and is intersected by numerous smaller streams. In the north and east the land is comparatively well-raised, but the level sinks towards the south, and on the

FARIDPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,121,914	+ 8·71	+ 6·20
Sadar Subdivision ...	546,499	+ 5·20	+ 6·14
Faridpur ...	113,194	+ 6·81	+ 9·37
Bhanga ...	232,632	+ 8·83	+ 13·33
Nagarkanda ...	110,488	+ 6·62	+ 1·29
Bhushua ...	90,185	- 6·17	- 6·45
Goalundo Subdivision ...	328,963	- 0·003	- 9·05
Goalundo ...	124,073	+ 2·54	- 5·21
Baliakandi ...	81,902	- 7·43	- 9·47
Pangsha ...	122,988	+ 2·92	- 12·33
Madaripur Subdivision ...	816,203	+ 15·04	+ 11·82
Madaripur ...	245,363	+ 12·00	+ 12·85
Falong ...	373,332	+ 16·60	- 0·62
Sibchar ...	213,308	+ 16·09	+ 35·91
Gopalganj Subdivision ...	430,249	+ 9·20	+ 11·82
Gopalganj ...	121,693	+ 10·35	+ 14·32
Kotalpara ...	102,345	+ 10·72	+ 15·28
Makulpur ...	112,277	+ 7·46	+ 8·77
Kashiani ...	93,929		

confinues of Backergunge the whole country is practically a marsh intersected by strips of high land, the remains of rivers that have at various times flowed through this tract. The district is malarious, the mortality from fevers during the past decade being exceeded in Eastern Bengal only by that of Chittagong. Since 1872 the population has made steady progress, there being a total increase of 37·65 per cent., which is almost evenly distributed between the four decades ending in 1911.

264. In the last decade there has been an increase of 169,971 persons or 8.71 per cent. Births exceeded deaths by 101,560, but there would have been a greater excess had it not been for epidemics of cholera in five years, which carried off nearly 37,000 persons. The number of immigrants has increased from 73,483 to 96,333 and of emigrants from 75,810 to 81,469, there being therefore a balance of about 17,000 in favour of the district. Much of the migration is temporary, as is apparent from the proportion of the sexes, for males exceed females by 17,345 among immigrants and 23,769 among emigrants. In the Sadar subdivision there has been an increase of 5.2 per cent, which is shared in by all the thanas, except Hishua, where there is a decrease of 6.17 per cent. The high percentage of increase (15 per cent.) in the Aladarpur subdivision is due partly to natural causes and partly to immigration, for the fertile alluvial formations in that subdivision attract Musalman settlers from the adjoining districts. In the Gopalganj subdivision there is a fair increase of 9.2 per cent, but the Gopalganj subdivision is stationary; the latter is notoriously unhealthy, and the deaths during the decade exceeded the births considerably.

265. Backergunge is a part of the alluvial delta formed by the river systems of Eastern Bengal, and consists partly of islands and partly of mainland and part of the mainland forms an unbroken plain, intersected by a network of tidal rivers and channels. Along the coast the Sundarbanas, a semi-aquatic area of forests, swamps and tidal creeks, in which cultivation is gradually extending. The soil is extremely fertile, being annually enriched by the silt brought down by the rivers. Owing to its low level, and the peculiar character of its river system, the district is practically protected against drought by natural irrigation, but it is exposed to the devastation of cyclones and tidal waves. The more fertile tracts in the lower levels, which are exposed to tidal waves and infested by wild animals, offer few attractions to the people of other districts. They cannot stand the climate of the Sundarbanas as well as the natives of Backergunge, and the new settlers are mainly people from other parts of the district, who have either lost their old homes by division are attracted by low rentals. Even the Maghs, who take up lands in this area, are chiefly colonists from other localities in the district, from which they have been ousted by Bengalis. "There is no doubt," writes the Collector, "that the average Backergunge cultivator could, if he would take the trouble, be a wealthy man. In all but the most exceptional years his lands give him an abundant crop of rice with the minimum of exertion, and, in addition, his coconut and betelnut trees can nearly always be depended upon to give him a plentiful and valuable crop of nuts without any labour on his part beyond that of picking them."

FAMILY.		1911.		1901.	
Actual population	Immigrants	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
...	...	1,074,829	1,016,933	974,353	974,358
...	...	36,832	39,491	46,673	28,810
...	...	32,819	34,190	21,620	20,389
...	...	1,070,839	1,038,311	944,883	899,389

PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		1901-1911.		1901-1901.	
Population.	1911.

DISTRICT TOTAL		...	2,423,911	...	5.98	...	6.40
Sadar Subdivision		...	985,184	...	4.21	...	7.53
Barisal	...	...	132,327	...	6.84	...	7.66
Gournall	...	...	263,306	...	10.32	...	14.79
Moulvibazar	...	...	174,124	...	3.12	...	6.10
Jhalakati	...	...	167,605	...	3.93	...	6.44
Nichit	...	...	84,335	...	7.10	...	5.53
Backergunge	...	...	144,397	...	1.26	...	2.10
Pirozpur Subdivision		...	550,418	...	-0.56	...	6.52
Barisal	...	...	122,333	...	6.04	...	3.33
Satpur	...	...	201,669	...	0.70	...	13.71
Medan	...	...	133,005	...	7.71	...	4.32
Bhandra	...	...	98,809	...	2.48	...	7.99
Patuakhali Subdivision		...	574,972	...	10.01	...	5.22
Barisal	...	...	208,470	...	3.67	...	1.45
Patuakhali	...	...	140,232	...	8.73	...	0.41
Amoli	...	...	101,293	...	12.42	...	13.79
Dakshin Shabazpur		...	318,337	...	17.80	...	4.56
Barisal	...	...	167,032	...	11.04	...	4.34
Barisal	...	...	131,243	...	26.30	...	4.96

natives of Backergunge, and the new settlers are mainly people from other parts of the district, who have either lost their old homes by division are attracted by low rentals. Even the Maghs, who take up lands in this area, are chiefly colonists from other localities in the district, from which they have been ousted by Bengalis. "There is no doubt," writes the Collector, "that the average Backergunge cultivator could, if he would take the trouble, be a wealthy man. In all but the most exceptional years his lands give him an abundant crop of rice with the minimum of exertion, and, in addition, his coconut and betelnut trees can nearly always be depended upon to give him a plentiful and valuable crop of nuts without any labour on his part beyond that of picking them."

266. Between 1872 and 1881 the development of the district was checked by the disastrous cyclone of 1876, but in the next decade it recovered from its effects and grew rapidly, an increase of 133 per cent. being recorded in 1891. A further advance of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was made in the decade ending 1901, the greatest growth of population taking place in the areas where reclamation was most active, viz., in the northern thanas of Gaurnadi (118 per cent.) and Swampkati (137 per cent.) and in two of the Sundarban thanas, Antali and Galachipa (113 and 138 per cent.). The first half of the decade ending in 1901 was a prosperous period, but in 1905 a partial failure of the early paddy, followed by a general failure of the winter crop, resulted in scarcity. Relief operations had to be started and help given in the shape of loans. Some suffering was also felt in 1909, when a cyclone, accompanied by floods, swept over the country. All parts of the district suffered more or less, but the southern portion of the Dakshin Shahabazpur, Patuakhali and Pirojpur subdivisions were especially affected. The effect of these conditions is seen in the returns of vital occurrences. In the first half of the decade the births exceeded the deaths by nearly 111,000; in the second half there was a reduced birth rate and an enhanced death rate, resulting in the excess of births being only 18,000. In the decade, as a whole, the excess amounted to 132,788, an increase of 58 per cent. on the population of 1901.

267. The actual increase shown by the census corresponds very closely

THERA.	POPULATION.			
	1872	1881	1891	1901
A. C. S. S. S.	1,10,000	1,19,000	1,37,159	1,43,000
B. S. S. S.	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000
C. S. S. S.	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000
D. S. S. S.	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000

with this figure, being 137,159 or 5 per cent. This increase is the result of natural growth, for migration has increased very little since 1901, and the immigrants outnumber the emigrants by only 16,000. The greatest development has taken place in the Dakshin

Shahabazpur subdivision 178 per cent., where the large increase is due to the settlement of immigrants on newly formed *chars*. The rate of growth has been slower in Patuakhali (10 per cent.), but the two Sundarbans thanas of Antali and Galachipa have large gains owing to the expansion of cultivation and colonization. The same cause accounts for the increase in the Matharia thana of the Pirojpur subdivision. All the other thanas in the latter subdivision have lost ground. It appears to have become more malarious: complaints are made that the water in the tidal creeks has become more brackish, and in the last five years of the decade deaths exceeded births. Conditions were more favourable in the Sadar subdivision, where the population increased by 1 per cent. Here the most progressive tract is the swampy Gaurnadi thana, where reclamation is steadily going on as fresh deposits of silt gradually replace the water and extend the cultivable area.

268. Tippera consists of a flat alluvial plain broken only by the

TIPPERA.

TIPPERA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,430,138	+ 1474	+ 1879
Sadar Subdivision ...	1,099,050	+ 1476	+ 1661
Cowilla (Kotwall) ...	194,058	+ 1181	+ 1234
Daulkanth ...	243,487	+ 1706	+ 1937
Muradnagar ...	234,612	+ 1461	+ 1572
Chandlia ...	130,981	+ 1830	+ 1861
Chandigram ...	148,025	+ 978	+ 1446
Laksham ...	145,237	+ 6038	+ 2074
Brahmanbaria Subdivision. ...	757,283	+ 1784	+ 1474
Brahmanbaria ...	335,480	+ 1448	+ 1045
Kashiba ...	159,463	+ 1102	+ 1202
Nabinagar ...	262,340	+ 1283	+ 1635
Chandpur Subdivision ...	573,805	+ 1875	+ 3005
Chandpur ...	247,036	+ 1823	+ 3876
Hajiganj ...	167,300	+ 3070	+ 2681
Mafaganj ...	159,469	+ 1708	+ 2393

bring down silt from the hills to the east. In the tract watered by the Meghna the soil is admirably suited to the cultivation of jute, while the remainder of the district forms one of the most important rice producing tracts in Bengal. In point of climate Tippera occupies the first place in North and East Bengal, its death rate from fever being the lowest in these two divisions. The population increased rapidly between 1872 and 1901, the rate of growth increasing at each successive

TIPPERA.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	...	1,243,091	1,147,057	1,033,099	1,033,002
Immigrant	...	3,863	21,097	37,093	19,657
Emigrants	...	54,737	37,090	30,367	25,162
Natural population	...	1,263,435	1,207,060	1,079,261	1,037,507

being comparatively small. The greatest advance has been made by the Chandpur subdivision to the south and the least by the Brahmanbaria subdivision to the north, the Sadar subdivision, which lies between them, having an intermediate position. In Tripura, as elsewhere, the Muslims are multiplying more rapidly than the Hindus, the rate of increase of the latter (8 per cent.) being less than half what it is among the former.

NOAKHALL.	Population, 1911.	1901—1911.	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIATION.
		1891—1901.	

DISTRICT TOTAL	Sadar Subdivision	Taluk
1,502.090	961.527	131.685
+ 14.05	+ 16.85	+ 10.35
+ 13.08	+ 14.42	+ 3.80
		+ 18.93
		+ 22.74
		+ 17.84
		+ 20.44
		+ 13.93
		+ 36.30
		+ 12.55

For Subdivision	...	...	...	...	...
340,563	133,292	202,271	...	...	...
6.81	2.20	10.72	...	...	...
9.74	8.87	10.39	...	...	...

16 per cent.: the limits within which further extension has increased by since 1901 the area under cultivation has increased by 15 per cent.: the limits within which further extension has been reached. Rice covers about three-fourths of the district and the annual yield is estimated at ten million maunds, of which about six millions are required for local consumption, leaving a balance of four millions for export. The area under jute has risen from 7,000 acres to over 30,000 acres since 1901, and the profits derived from its sale are considerable: it is reported that in 1911 about 400,000 maunds of jute were exported, and that the cultivators obtained at least 24 lakhs of rupees from its sale. Besides this, betelnut and cocanutt plantations cover a large area and yield a handsome profit, the value of their produce being estimated at 25 to 30 lakhs of rupees. These resources place the peasantry above the margin of want, and they are, in fact, in easy circumstances.

271. When the census of 1881 was taken, the population of the district had been reduced by the disastrous cyclone of 1876, when the island of Hatia lost a quarter and Sandip a sixth of its inhabitants. This cyclone was followed by a terrible epidemic of cholera, and the mortality from both causes was estimated at 100,000. The result was a decrease of 23 per cent., but since 1881 the population has been growing very rapidly, an increase of 23 per cent. being recorded in 1891 and of 13 per cent. in 1901. Since 1901 there has been a series of prosperous years, except 1906, when there was a failure of the crops and relief operations had to be undertaken. Some damage to the crops was also caused by heavy floods in 1909, when fever broke out in a virulent form, causing a mortality of 33,817 as against 26,670, the average for the decade. In the whole decade the reported births exceeded the deaths by 165,751, representing an increase of 145 per cent. on the population of 1901.

272. The census shows that the population is greater by 160,362, or 14

per cent., than it was at the last census, in spite of a slight loss by emigration. Emigrants are now more numerous by 15,000 than in 1901, but nearly half are temporary absentees, males being in excess of females by 23,212. The Sadar sub-

SEX AND AGE	1901		1911	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 15	1,01,020	91,032	1,09,717	97,401
15-25	1,11,767	1,01,485	1,21,336	1,09,600
25-35	1,11,034	1,01,093	1,21,339	1,09,600
35-45	1,01,030	91,032	1,09,717	97,401

division, which is less fully developed than the Feni subdivision, has grown more than twice as fast as the latter. There are, however, some remarkable variations in the rate of growth, for while Sandip has an addition of less than 1 per cent., the abnormal figure of 36½ per cent. is reached in Hatia. Such variations, extraordinary as they may appear, are due to the changes wrought by the constructive and destructive powers of the great rivers and the consequent shifting of the population. Chhagshuina, a densely populated thana, which in 1901 had 1,043 persons per square mile, has only a slight increase—2 per cent., but the pressure on the soil has been no check to growth in Beganganj or Ramganj, of which the former had 861 and the latter 1,023 persons to the square mile in 1901; they now have a gain of 18 and 20 per cent. respectively.

273. Chittagong consists of a long narrow strip of coast, valleys and low ranges of hills lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Chittagong Hill Tracts; its average breadth is only about 15 miles, while its length is 165 miles. The soil is

fairly fertile, but malaria is more prevalent than elsewhere in East Bengal: between 1901 and 1911 it had the highest death rate from fever of all the districts in the Division. It is also exposed to cyclones, and its census history is one of fluctuation, caused by disastrous cyclones and epidemics of cholera consequent on the pollution of the water supply. The first cyclone occurred in 1876, and was accompanied by a storm-wave, which swept the sea board: 12,000 persons were drowned, and

CHITTAGONG	1901	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION	
		1901-1911	1911-1901
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,503,433	+ 11.47	+ 4.59
Sadar Subdivision	1,259,842	+ 9.26	+ 4.62
Chittagong (Kotwad)	113,137	+ 13.82	+ 10.73
Miraraj	112,514	+ 10.42	+ 9.31
Satkhari	76,514	+ 3.10	+ 3.72
Hatia	29,775	+ 4.46	+ 3.72
Phakphard	117,401	+ 4.37	+ 7.44
Madan	177,314	+ 7.73	+ 7.91
Barisal	224,672	+ 7.82	+ 7.17
Satkhari	172,268	+ 10.43	+ 1.02
Barisal	152,312	+ 18.76	+ 0.79
Oox's Bazar Subdivision	248,591	+ 24.19	+ 6.47
Cox's Bazar	88,300	+ 16.32	+ 9.21
Misakhi	47,371	+ 37.37	+ 7.55
Chakaria	61,314	+ 29.76	+ 1.51
Tetari	50,946	+ 21.20	+ 21.29

15,000 perished in the cholera epidemic which followed. The loss of population caused by this calamity, by the ravages of disease in other years, and by emigration, reduced the growth of population to less than one-half per cent. in

1881. The next ten years, however, were healthy and prosperous, and a considerable increase of population was recorded in 1891, the number of inhabitants being 13·9 per cent. more than in 1881. In the next decade again the district suffered from a destructive cyclone, which burst in October 1897. A series of storm-waves swept over the island of Kutubdia and the villages on the mainland, drowning many thousands of men and cattle, sweeping away homesteads and destroying standing crops: the loss of life by drowning alone was estimated at 14,000 souls. Cholera broke out in a severe form, and in Kutubdia alone it was estimated that more than one-tenth of the population died during the epidemic. The result was that in 1901 an increase of only 4·9 per cent. was recorded, which is about half what it would have been but for the cyclone and its after effects. The greatest growth occurred in the thanas along the coast which escaped the brunt of the cyclone, viz. Teknaf and Cox's Bazar in the south, and Chittagong, Sitakund and Mirsarai in the north.

274. Since 1901 the district has been free from any such calamity. There was, however, a partial failure of the rice crop over the lowlying tracts of the district, which were affected by heavy floods in 1906. "The people generally," writes the Collector, "are prosperous. In normal years, they get two crops of paddy from their fertile soil, and can obtain house materials and fuel from the neighbouring hills at a nominal price. Those who have no lands of their own and are not so well off go down in thousands in December to cut paddy in Aracan, where they earn a rupee a day, and return in February and March with large sums of money." "The effect of these favourable conditions is seen in the addition of 155,183 persons or 1½ per cent., a result which is not due to the accession of population from outside, for the number of immigrants is only 18,701 or about 7,000 more than in 1901. There has also been a small gain from a slightly diminished exodus of the district-born, the number of whom has fallen from 106,037 to 99,627. In 1901 the figures were inflated by the outward movement of the people after the cyclone, and also by a poor rice crop in some parts. The emigration is moreover of a temporary character, and does not represent a permanent loss, most of the emigrants being engaged in the eastern trade, who leave their wives at home: the excess of males over females in the emigration population is no less than 81,733.

CHITTAGONG.			
1911.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Actual population	722,837	784,396	1,507,233
Immigrants	12,618	6,083	18,701
Emigrants	90,640	8,917	99,557
Natural population	804,809	784,400	1,589,209
	720,167	750,167	1,470,334
	720,167	750,167	1,470,334

labourers engaged in cutting rice crops in Burma, or larvae on steamers engaged in the eastern trade, who leave their wives at home: the excess of males over females in the emigration population is no less than 81,733. 275. The local variations exhibit very clearly how completely the tracts affected by the cyclone have recovered from its effects. Malskhal, which in 1901 had a decrease of 7 per cent., has now gained 37 per cent. Chakaria and Banskhali, which were stationary, have an increase of 30 and 19 per cent. respectively. Satkania, where the loss was partly due to the cyclone and partly to enhanced emigration, has advanced by 10½ per cent. Of the two subdivisions, Cox's Bazar has made most progress, this being a sparsely populated area, which is fast developing as cultivation expands. Here the growth has been greatest in the two thanas Malskhal and Chakaria, which suffered from the cyclone, but Cox's Bazar and Teknaf have also large increases. In the Sadar subdivision the most progressive thanas are those that have recovered from the cyclone and the two northern thanas of Chittagong and Mirsarai. Chittagong owes its expansion largely to the development of Chittagong town, while Mirsarai has a more fertile soil than the inland thanas and has benefited from railway communication. The remaining thanas have a more or less uniform rate of growth, varying from 3 to 8 per cent.

276. The greater part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts consists of hills and ravines covered with dense jungle. The aboriginal tribes, who constitute over 94 per cent. of the population, live chiefly by *jhuming*, and plough cultivation has not made much progress. The area so cultivated is not more than 1 per cent. of the

total area, while the net cropped area only slightly exceeds 5 per cent. Reserved forests alone extend over 1,020 square miles or one-fifth of the district. The district being sparsely inhabited, and the people consisting of hardy aboriginals, they have been steadily adding to their numbers. A phenomenal increase of 46 per cent.

was recorded in 1881, but this is merely a proof of the incompleteness of the first census. It is, in fact, known to have been vitiated by the fact that, the Chief's revenue being based on capitation tax, it was to his interest to return a small population. With improved enumeration, the rate of increase was reduced to 5·6 per cent. in 1891, but rose again to 16·3 per cent. in 1901. Since 1901 the history of the district has been uneventful. The health of the people was good, and the only year in which there was any shortage of the crops was 1906, when there was some scarcity necessitating the grant of loans.

277. The rate of increase according to the present census is 23·3 per cent., the actual increment being 29,068. The returns of birthplace are not altogether reliable: such as they are, they show very little variation compared with 1901, and the increase must therefore be attributed to natural growth. The local variations are extraordinary. Chakma, which both in 1891 and

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACT.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	82,605	71,133	69,239	58,524
Immigrants ...	5,030	1,245	6,337	527
Emigrants ...	680	591	1,109	782
Natural population ...	78,925	70,478	63,010	56,739

1901 increased by 7 per cent., has now a sudden rise of 58 per cent. Mong, which declined by 40 per cent. between 1891 and 1901 and increased at the same rate in 1901, has now a loss of 13 per cent. Bohmong has an increase of 11 per cent., which is very nearly the same as was recorded in 1901. These variations are ascribed to the nomadic habits of the people, who move from place to place as they *jhum*: it is reported that that a large number migrated from the Mong circle to the Mioni valley in the Chakma circle. It is further reported that there has been immigration from Hill Tippera, though this is not apparent in the returns of birthplace. It is possible that the changes may be due, in part at least, to differences in the dividing line between the circles as drawn at different censuses.

278. The State of Hill Tippera consists of several ranges of hills, running north and south with an average interval of 12 miles, and increasing in height towards the east.

The hills are clothed for the most part by bamboo jungle, while the low ground is covered with tree jungle, cane bush and thatching grass. The nomadic cultivation known as *jhuming* is almost universal in the hills, plough cultivation being confined to the plains, and in particular to the narrow strip adjoining British territory. The first census of the State was admittedly incomplete, and that of 1881 was also probably inaccurate, so that the abnormal increase of 171 per cent., recorded in 1881 and the very high rate of 44 per cent. returned in

HILL TIPPERA.	Population, 1911.		PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, 1901—1911.
	Male.	Female.	
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	229,613		+32·48
Sadar Subdivision ...	74,672		+13·80
Kallashanar ...	31,609		+52·90
Khawal ...	21,398		+107·85
Dharmasagar ...	19,056		+87·37
Sanamura ...	18,062		+48·30
Udaypur ...	40,114		
Bilouia ...	19,187		-9·65
Subram ...	5,516		

1891 must be discounted. The first reliable census was that of 1901, according to which the number of inhabitants was 26 per cent. more than ten years before.

279. Since 1901 uniform and steady progress has been made. The revenue has been doubled, communications improved, and the reclamation of cultivable waste has proceeded rapidly, attracting numerous new settlers. There were no epidemics of disease, and crops were on the whole good. The census recently concluded shows that the population has increased by 56,288 per cent. or 32½ per cent. Large as this increment is, it is accounted for partly by the natural growth of the people, but mainly by the influx of immigrants; who are more numerous by 37,769 than they were 10 years ago: They include a large number of Muhammadans from the adjoining British districts of Tippera and Sylhet: owing to this addition to their numbers, the Muhammadans have increased by 43.3 per cent., a ratio double that of the previous decade. The increase in population is shared by all parts except Bhojia and Sabrum, the decrease in which is attributed to the movement of the people to Udaypur and across the border into the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

HILL TRIPPERA.		1911.		1901.	
Actual population	121,420	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Immigrants	30,761				
Emigrants	704				
Natural population	71,767				
		187,193	92,493	177,553	87,733
				664	88
				21,624	19,066
				61,629	61,629

SOUTH BIHAR.

280. The census of 1881 disclosed an increase of 12.6 per cent., but this apparently large increase was due, in part at least, to the incompleteness of the first census held in 1872. In 1891 the population was found to be stationary, the recorded increase being barely 1 per cent., while in 1901 there was a decrease of 8.4 per cent. This decrease was directly due to the direct and indirect losses caused by plague, viz., mortality, the flight of the district-born, the absence of those who had homes in other districts and the disorganization of the census staff, which led to a defective enumeration. Plague appeared in epidemic form in January 1900, broke out again in the next cold weather and was at its height at the time the census was taken.

PATNA.		Population, 1911.		1901—1911.		1901—1901.	
PATNA CITY.		1911.		1901—1911.		1901—1901.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,609,631	—	0.93	—	8.4	—	—
PATNA CITY SUBDIVISION	140,063	—	0.65	—	21.76	—	—
Barahat	60,006	—	1.46	—	9.94	—	—
[Bakerganj] "	112,137	—	0.67	—	11.37	—	—
Barahat Subdivision	201,193	—	0.29	—	10.45	—	—
Barahat	60,006	—	1.46	—	9.94	—	—
Barahat Subdivision	314,644	—	0.33	—	10.36	—	—
Barahat	60,248	—	7.67	—	11.67	—	—
Barahat	69,238	—	4.01	—	11.19	—	—
Barahat	122,068	—	5.17	—	9.36	—	—
Barahat Subdivision	378,621	—	3.64	—	10.52	—	—
Barahat	74,257	—	2.96	—	18.66	—	—
Barahat	187,814	—	1.01	—	4.51	—	—
Barahat	106,050	—	9.45	—	15.10	—	—
Barahat Subdivision	575,110	—	4.30	—	0.95	—	—
Barahat	181,264	—	4.81	—	0.00	—	—
Barahat	77,607	—	2.65	—	2.30	—	—

281. Conditions during the ten years which have since elapsed were not such as to give any hope of recovery. Plague continued to levy a heavy toll year after year: in three years only was the mortality ascribed to it, under 3,000, and in four years (1901, 1904, 1905 and 1907) it was over 20,000. Altogether, over 140,000 deaths have been caused by this

* For municipal purposes not of the Patna City subdivision but are excluded from those for the figures relating to it are therefore included in those for Patna City.

scourge, representing a death-rate of 8·7 per cent. on the population of 1901: it is probable that the actual number was even greater owing to deaths from plague being returned under the comprehensive head of fever. Epidemics of cholera have also been frequent, that of 1910, which caused nearly 14,000 deaths, being specially virulent: the aggregate number of deaths due to this disease during the decade was over 50,000. Altogether, the number of deaths from all causes exceeded the number of reported births by no less than 111,632. The birth-rate has risen, the average being a little under 41 per mille as compared with 38 per mille in the preceding five years. But it has failed to keep pace with the death-rate, the average for which is 47·50 per mille, the highest ratio in either Province: only twice, and then only slightly, have the births in any one year outnumbered the births. There has, moreover, been no commercial or industrial development which would attract population from outside. The Bihar-Bakhtiyarpur Railway has, it is true, helped to open up the south-west of the district, but, on the other hand, the towns are decadent and the river-borne trade, on which they largely depended, is dwindling. There were partial failures of crops in four years, and in 1901, 1905 and 1909 there were floods. That of 1901, which inundated the country all along the Ganges, was the greatest within living memory, but it subsided rapidly and did very little damage. The inundation of 1909, however, had serious effects on the *bhadoi* crops of the Masaurhi thana.

282. The census discloses a decrease of 15,111, or a little under

PATNA.	1911		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	809,774	739,433	801,450	720,221
Immigrants ...	34,241	33,463	32,262	50,175
Emigrants ...	93,439	74,436	73,942	64,334
Natural population ...	749,576	698,460	757,250	706,062

1 per cent. That the decrease should be so small in view of the adverse circumstances sketched above is partly due to the fact that at the time of the census there was a large influx of labourers from other districts, who came to cut *rabi* crops in the low-lying lands in the Mokameh thana.

Owing largely to this accession, the number of immigrants is 10,000 more than in 1901, but it is still 43,000 below what it was in 1891. The volume of emigration has increased to a far greater extent, the number of persons born in the district who were enumerated outside it rising in the last ten years by 31,000. There was a widespread epidemic of plague from December until after the census was taken—8,000 deaths from plague were reported in January and February 1911—and there was a certain amount of desertion on that account. It did not, however, interfere with the completeness of the census, for those enumerators or supervisors who fled from their villages either provided substitutes—the well-to-do paid for their services—or returned to assist both in the preliminary enumeration and the final census. There was, in fact, only one case in which a breakdown of the census organization seemed imminent. Patna city had been free from plague till the first week in March, when it broke out in two wards. Some of the enumerators in one of these wards absconded a few days before the final census, but their schedules were recovered and a special staff deputed to fill their places. The census organization stood the strain put upon it, and no part of the decrease can be ascribed to a failure in the enumeration.

283. All parts of the district share in the decrease or are stationary, except the Barh subdivision and the Masaurhi thana in the south of the Sadar subdivision. In the former, however, the increment is mainly due to the influx of labourers already referred to, as a result of which the Mokameh thana has an increase of over 9,000, or over three-fourths of the increase of the whole subdivision. The Masaurhi thana is a fertile tract traversed by the railway, and it is noticeable that the adjoining thana of Jahanabad is the most progressive area in the Gaya district. Taking the district as a whole, the population is now 8 per cent. less than it was in 1881, and there seems, under present conditions, but little hope of recovery.

284. Between 1881 and 1891 the population of Gaya was practically stationary, the increase recorded in 1891 being only 0·6 per cent. The reason for this slow

Jo sseñvau eht wouy pəreynus tseɪtsɪp eht tʃuɪt əb oɪ sɪvədde ɪpɪwɔɪs

PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		Population, 1911.	
		1901—1911.	1901—1901.
GAYA.			
DISTRICT TOTAL		2,159,498	3.67
Sadar Subdivision		785,334	9.68
Gaya Town		191,454	11.31
Gaya		94,275	6.55
Arif		16,010	14.88
Tekari		113,908	10.78
Sheikhatt		169,076	2.35
Jahanabad Subdivision		422,287	1.85
Jahanabad		289,190	3.05
Arwal		133,091	3.75
Aurangabad Subdivision		490,881	10.2
Daudnagar		152,304	6.00
Nabganj		101,421	0.50
Amrohaabad		207,066	4.15
Nawada Subdivision		460,996	3.25
Nawada		293,063	4.63
Rayal		77,290	0.46
Kartiknagar		88,613	1.04

fewer and that emigration increased greatly, while immigration fell off. The result of the census of 1901 was even more satisfactory, for the population decreased by over 78,000 or 3.7 per cent. Not only was the decade 1891—1901 an unhealthy period, but there were two years of severity. A violent epidemic of plague also broke out towards the end of 1900, causing heavy mortality, and a general panic, which drove large numbers from their homes. In one thana alone (Tekari) it was found that 11,000 people had fled outside its boundaries be-

285. The plague epidemic of 1901 caused over 10,000 deaths, and since then there have been severe epidemics in the four years 1904—1908, the worst year on record being 1905, when there was a death-roll of over 16,000. In the other five years of the decade the district has been almost free from the pestilence, the aggregate mortality being under 1,400. Gaya has thus suffered far less than Patna, the total number of plague deaths being only a little over 41,000, or less than one quarter of those recorded in the latter district. There have, moreover, been no serious epidemics of cholera: the number of cholera deaths in each year has been under 1,000. The total number of recorded births has exceeded the deaths by 70,000. Except in the three years 1906-08, when deficient or unevenly distributed rainfall resulted in poor harvests, the output of the crops was fair. There has been no noticeable development of industries, but the interior of the district has been opened out and emigration stimulated by two new lines of railway, viz., the Grand Chord and Baran-Dalitganj lines.

286. The present census discloses an increase of 99,665 or 4.83 per cent., the result of natural growth and a return to normal conditions.

GAYA.		1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Actual population ...	1,061,291	39,200	1,011,271	1,018,662	1,018,662
Immigrants ...	22,104	18,875	18,875	27,229	27,229
Emigrants ...	116,911	87,053	1,068,929	1,068,929	1,068,929
Natural population ...	1,156,093	1,146,570	1,088,929	1,088,929	1,088,929

elsewhere, this is a fertile canal-irrigated area, where the population is steadily growing. Arwal and the adjoining thana of Daudnagar were the only thanas outside the Nawada subdivision (which was then free from plague) which had any increment in 1901. The Jahanabad subdivision, in which the Arwal thana is included, is the most progressive part of the district. The least progressive is the Nawada subdivision, which was the only subdivision with any increase of population in 1901. Here there is a slight decline in the Nawada thana, which may be ascribed to the fact that in 1901 its population was temporarily swelled by plague refugees. The only other thana with a falling off is Nabinagar in the south-west, an infertile tract, where the soil is poor and there is practically no irrigation, so that the crops are scanty at the best of times.

287. Between 1872 and 1891 the population of Shahabad grew steadily, owing largely to the development of cultivation and the influx of immigrants caused by the opening of the Son Canals. If, however, immigrants are excluded, the district actually lost

SHAHABAD.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,865,660	- 4'94	- 4'8
Sadar Subdivision	631,226	- 9'82	- 5'87
Arrah Town	38,349	- 16'51	- 9'40
Arrah	235,564	- 11'38	- 5'43
Shahpur	161,804	- 11'33	+ 2'83
Piro	195,309	- 4'05	+ 2'83
Buxar Subdivision	382,971	- 8'10	- 5'02
Buxar	148,840	- 4'85	- 6'02
Dumraou	234,131	- 10'05	- 4'42
Sasaram Subdivision	544,374	+ 0'88	+ 1'18
Bikramganj	192,631	+ 3'24	+ 2'27
Khargahar	99,581	+ 2'92	+ 6'59
Sasaram	160,583	- 3'41	+ 1'33
Dehri	91,699	+ 1'70	+ 8'14
Bhabhua Subdivision	307,089	+ 0'22	- 11'16
Mohania	136,587	- 2'39	- 13'66
Bhabhua	170,522	+ 2'39	- 8'92

as a whole rather than gained in the decade ending in 1891, owing to persistent fever which was never absent since the year 1879. During the next decade the district was visited by famine, while fever continued to cause great mortality. The census of 1901 disclosed a decrease in the population amounting to 97,883 or 4'8 per cent., which was partly the result of the adverse conditions of the preceding years. and partly due to the loss of temporary immigrants. An epidemic of plague broke out in the north-east of the district shortly before the census, and the fact that the number of foreign-born males enumerated in the district decreased by over 45,000 must, in part at least, be ascribed to the panic it caused. The falling off was most marked in the Bhabhua subdivision, where it was due to the unhealthiness of the climate and to the migration of the people to more favoured parts of the district, especially during the famine of 1896-97. Elsewhere the decrease was greatest in the Arrah thana, where it was ascribed to the exodus on account of the plague. The only thanas that gained ground were Sasaram, Bikramganj and Dehri, three of the four thanas forming the Sasaram subdivision. The area under irrigation is greater here than in other parts of the district, and the construction of the Mughalsarai-Gaya Railway caused an influx of labour. On the other hand, Piru thana in the headquarters subdivision, which borders on this tract and which also has a plentiful supply of canal water, was practically stationary.

288. The decade 1901-1910 was a very unhealthy period in Shahabad. Plague was present throughout the ten years, carrying off 68,000 persons, and there were also virulent epidemics of cholera in no less than six years, the mortality being 18,000 in 1910 alone and over 60,000 in the whole decennium. Fever prevailed and was especially virulent in 1905, when the death-rate returned as due to it was no less than 37'8 per mille: the total death-rate for this year reached the appalling figure of 58'65 per mille. Owing to these epidemics, the natural growth of the population was retarded, and the returns show that the net excess of births over deaths was less than 20,000. The agricultural classes, moreover, had to contend against a succession of bad harvests. The decade opened unfavourably, the outturn of crops being less than half the normal, and the strain on the cultivators' resources was all the greater because this was their second bad season in succession.

Good or fair harvests were reaped during the next four years, but in 1906-1907 they were again short, and in the two years 1907-1909 the failure was serious, the output of rice being only half the normal. The good rainfall of 1910 however improved the situation and averted a threatened scarcity.

SIKHAHO.			
1911.		1901.	
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
901,350	980,710	938,344	1,056,152
14,642	41,063	38,477	57,028
99,841	78,613	82,579	77,131
...	...	932,216	1,016,280

SHIVABAD.			
1911.		1901.	
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
901,850	980,710	938,344	1,026,152
14,642	41,983	26,877	57,028
59,641	76,613	77,131	1,016,880
843,889	903,860	992,216	
Immigrants			
Emigrants			
Natural population			

1891 showing an advance of 3·4 per cent. The greatest gain was in the Begusarai subdivision, but in the Jami subdivision

MONTHLY.		POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1911.		1901-1911.	
DISTRICT TOTAL		2,132,893	+ 310	181	+ 161
Sadar Subdivision		1,094,563	+ 416	44	+ 044
God	422,839	601	+ 235	23	+ 235
Longur	144,417	1878	+ 921	21	+ 921
Jamapur	50,256	831	+ 131	16	+ 131
Burakach	74,740	1283	+ 25	2	+ 25
Laksharad	129,233	931	+ 35	4	+ 35
Kharsagur	149,092	525	+ 55	6	+ 55
Shekhpura	143,356	172	+ 172	120	+ 172
Bogusgarh Subdivision		651,765	+ 137	17	+ 517
Teyra	220,522	136	+ 136	1	+ 136
Deogarh	421,243	243	+ 243	2	+ 243
Jamui Subdivision		386,565	+ 303	49	+ 049
Sikandaria	107,418	066	+ 2017	160	+ 2017
Jamui	143,292	292	+ 292	162	+ 292
Chakul	131,852	176	+ 176	136	+ 176

[illegible]

tract, which attracts immigrants and was free from plague in 1901. The portion south of that river sustained a small loss, an increase in four thousands having been more than offset by a heavy loss in the areas where plague had appeared, viz., the town of Longhyr and its environs, and two thousands in the west, to which the epidemic spread from the Patna district. 291. The result of the census of 1911 is an increase of 64,089 or 3.10

MONGOLIA.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	...	1,013,477	1,039,416	1,011,380	1,037,224
Immigrants	...	38,311	69,798	37,824	44,545
Emigrants	...	129,630	116,034	96,344	87,675
Natural population	...	1,136,786	1,149,672	1,070,600	1,096,224

per cent. The preceding decade was, on the whole, healthy. The births outnumbered the deaths in every year except 1907, the net excess being 137,000, or double that returned for any other district in South

Bihar. Plague was present throughout these ten years and affected nearly all parts except some tracts north of the Ganges. but the mortality never reached such a high figure as in other districts of South Bihar. The maximum number of plague deaths was 11,000 in 1905, and the aggregate for the decade was 43,000, or 4,000 less than the number of deaths caused by cholera. Plague also prevailed in the early part of 1911, causing 3,300 deaths in January and February, and was raging in parts of the Sadar and Begusarai subdivisions (particularly in the Sheikhpura, Surajgarh, Gogri, Lakhisarai, Begusarai and Teghra thanas) at the time of the census; but in spite of the great difficulties it caused, the final census was carried out smoothly, and no loss was caused by omissions from the returns. The people have now become accustomed to this disease, and it no longer inspires the same wild terror. They move out of their villages and encamp near the affected area, but do not fly far and wide as they did when it first appeared. The harvests were, on the whole, fair, though the south of the district, particularly the Janui subdivision, suffered from drought in some years. Though the northern portion of the district is not, as a rule, liable to suffer much from short and unseasonable fall, it is exposed to floods from the overflowing of the Ganges and its affluents. Severe floods occurred in 1904 and 1906, but fortunately that of 1901 took place when most of the *bhadoi* crops had been harvested, and in 1906, when considerable damage was caused in the Gogri and Khagaria thanas, it was not found necessary to institute relief measures, the people being enabled to tide over their losses by means of agricultural loans. The north of the district benefited by the opening of the Mansi-Bhaptiali line in 1908, and in the same year the Peninsular Tobacco Company opened a factory at Monghyr for the manufacture of cigarettes. This factory employs over 1,000 hands and is the only new industrial concern of any importance.

292. The increase now recorded must be attributed to natural growth. The population has received a comparatively small accretion from outside. On the other hand emigration has developed to a remarkable extent: the number of the district-born who were temporarily or permanently resident outside its limits has risen by nearly 55,000 or 30 per cent. since 1901. At the time of the census there was a large influx of temporary labourers engaged in cutting crops in the *tals* of the Lakhisarai thana. These are low-lying areas which are covered with water during the rains, but are brought under cultivation in the winter season when the water dries up. The crops are ready for harvest about the end of February or beginning of March, when crowds of labourers come and reap them, encamping out in the open until the harvest is complete. Over 8,000 such temporary labourers were enumerated in the Lakhisarai thana, where their presence mainly accounts for the increase of 9 per cent.

293. The Sadar subdivision has a net increase of 4·16 per cent., but its development is by no means uniform. The Kharagpur thana has declined by over 5 per cent., but this decline is more apparent than real, for in 1901 it harboured a considerable number of plague refugees from Monghyr thana, which is now more populous by nearly 19 per cent. than it was in that year. On account of the partial depletion of the latter thana and the temporary addition to the population of the former at the last census, the figures of 1901 are misleading, and it is necessary to go back to 1891 to see how far they have advanced or stood still. Such a comparison shows that Monghyr has grown by 8 per cent., while Kharagpur is practically stationary. Surajgarh to the east of Monghyr shows a falling off of a little under 13 per cent., which is partly due to the incidence of plague and partly to the migration of labourers to the *tals* in Sheikhpura. In the Janui subdivision to the south the Janui thana has expanded rapidly owing to the spread of cultivation, but Chakai has lost population, for which emigration is partly responsible, while the Sikandra thana, which was decadent from 1881 to 1901, is stationary. The Begusarai subdivision exhibits only a slight advance, for though the Begusarai thana has developed, Teghra, which has suffered from plague, has lost ground.

NORTH BHAIR.

294. The population of Saran grew steadily until 1891, there being an increase of 10½ per cent. in 1881 and a further advance of 7½ per cent. in 1891. The next decade witnessed a set-back, for in 1901 the population declined by 2½ per cent.

SARAN.		Population.		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE.	
		1901.	1901-1911.	1901-1911.	1901-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL					
Sadar Subdivision	894,248	-5.94	-2.3	-6.64	-5.53
Manjhi	121,257	-1.07	-3.12	-1.07	-3.12
Chhapra	284,008	-1.15	-2.70	-1.15	-2.70
Chhapra Town	12,313	-2.76	-1.70	-2.76	-1.70
Barh	212,081	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00
Manjhi	121,257	-1.07	-3.12	-1.07	-3.12
Saran Subdivision	758,699	-7.15	-0.13	-7.15	-0.13
Saran	22,550	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00
Darbhanga	212,313	-2.76	-1.70	-2.76	-1.70
Barh	212,081	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00
Dopganj Subdivision	636,831	+0.28	+0.07	+0.28	+0.07
Manjhi	121,257	-1.07	-3.12	-1.07	-3.12
Chhapra	284,008	-1.15	-2.70	-1.15	-2.70
Chhapra Town	12,313	-2.76	-1.70	-2.76	-1.70
Barh	212,081	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00
Manjhi	121,257	-1.07	-3.12	-1.07	-3.12

was general in the Sadar subdivision and greater in those thanas where plague was worst. The Darbhanga thana also declined, but the rest of the district had the same population as in 1891. The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Gait was that, while the general want of progress was due to the adverse balance of migration and to the fact that Saran was unable to support a much greater population than it already possessed in 1891, plague was to blame for the greater part of the decrease that had occurred in the southern part of the district.

295. The most noticeable feature of the last ten years in Saran has been the great increase in mortality, the average death-rate being 10.50 per mille, whereas in the preceding nine years it was under 8.00 per mille. For this increase plague is partly responsible. This disease is now an annual visitation and never leaves the district altogether except for a short period in the rains. It increases all through the cold weather and reaches its height in May and a further considerable decrease in June. During the ten years the average number of deaths returned as due to plague was 100,000 or nearly a fifth of the total mortality. Plague alone, however, will not account for the enhanced mortality, unless, as is quite possible, a large number of deaths from plague were returned as due to other causes. The returns under the head of fever account for two-fifths of the total mortality and a similar type of fever was prevalent in 1903, 1905, 1906 and 1907. In each of these years it carried off over 40,000 persons. The death-rate was also high, averaging 17.15 per mille, but it was held to keep pace with the death-rate and the low mortality during the decade preceding the plague by nearly 1,000. The general opinion, which the Collector, during the district survey, 1900, is that the death-rate during the decade preceding the plague was 10.50 per mille, but it was held to keep pace with the death-rate and the low mortality during the decade preceding the plague by nearly 1,000. The general opinion, which the Collector, during the district survey, 1900, is that the death-rate during the decade preceding the plague was 10.50 per mille, but it was held to keep pace with the death-rate and the low mortality during the decade preceding the plague by nearly 1,000. The general opinion, which the Collector, during the district survey, 1900, is that the death-rate during the decade preceding the plague was 10.50 per mille, but it was held to keep pace with the death-rate and the low mortality during the decade preceding the plague by nearly 1,000.

August 1906 were followed by a drought in September and October, and their effect on the crops was disastrous. The distress caused by their destruction was accentuated by the poor output of the preceding year, and famine ensued. The rainfall in 1907 was about normal, well distributed and timely, but the year 1908 was a year of protracted drought, which injured almost all the crops of the year, and famine had again to be declared. The last year of the quinquennium was the only one in which the people were free from the pressure of scarcity, the output of almost all crops being good and prices almost down to the level of 1905-06. The effect of the famines on the birth-rate and the rapidity with which the people recovered are sufficiently apparent from the marginal figures, which also show the number of deaths in each year of the quinquennium and in 1911. The period of greatest distress was in the latter half of 1906, when the first famine broke out: the births next year fell by over 17,000, but quickly rose in 1908 and 1909 to a figure exceeding that attained in 1906. The second famine lasted till the 31st July 1909, distress being most acute in the first five months of the year, and another drop of 19,000 occurred, but next year there was an extraordinary rise of over 31,000. No deaths were caused by starvation, and it is noticeable that from 1906 to 1908 the deaths steadily decreased, the number recorded in 1908 being the minimum of the decade. On the other hand, the maximum was reached in 1909, when the people had to bear the brunt of the second famine.

Year.	Births.	Deaths.
1906	104,313	96,723
1907	90,482	90,934
1908	118,531	123,323
1909	129,576	133,784
1910	99,716	100,310
1911	131,147	91,891

Year.	Deaths.
1906	104,213
1907	90,882
1908	113,331
1909	118,676
1910	99,716
1911	131,147

310. The net excess of births over deaths during the decennium was 190,000, but the increase disclosed by the census is less than one-tenth of this figure, being only 17,071 or a little over one-half per cent. The difference between the two figures is due to migration, and in particular to the greatly enhanced number of those born in Dakhnaga who were enumerated elsewhere. The exodus of the natives from the now affluant large dimensions, rising by more than 65,000

DARHANGA.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,412,669	1,517,013	1,116,474	1,166,137	1,066,137
Immigrants	27,160	29,888	23,413	27,107	23,069
Emigrants	103,641	103,641	23,413	23,413	23,413
Natural population	1,484,184	1,539,816	1,111,441	1,142,699	1,092,699

311. No definite conclusions can be drawn as to the effects of famine in different parts, but some broad and general inferences can be made on a survey of the statistics during the period 1901-1906. Since 1901, the number of male migrants alone has been nearly doubled. Owing both to the outward movement of the people, and also to their movements from thana to thana inside the district, it is difficult to gauge the actual effect of the two famines of the decade on the population of the affected areas. The whole of the south and west of the district has a diminution of population, while throughout the north-east and north (except in Phulpur in the extreme north-west) there is an increase. The Darbhanga and Benapur thanas, which suffered in a major degree during the first famine and also, though less severely, during the second famine, have substantial increases. The thanas of Bahera and Roseah, in the Sadar subdivision, where famine prevailed in both years, have a decline, but so also have Samastipur and Dalsinghsarai in the Samastipur subdivision, which remained immune. Owing mainly to epidemics of plague and the loss of population caused by emigration, the decline in the two latter thanas is greater than in Warisnagar, the only thana in the Samastipur subdivision in which famine prevailed.

SUBDIVISION.		VARIATION PER CENT.			
Madhubani
Sadar
Samastipur

survey of the variations during the last 30 years, as shown in the margin. At each of the three censuses the Madhuhani subdivision to the north has gained population, but in a diminishing degree: the Sadar subdivision in the centre had become stationary by 1901, and is now decadent. In the Samastipur subdivision in the south the census of 1901 showed that the loss of population had been temporarily checked, but the downward tendency is now again pronounced. The density of population in these three tracts has much to do with the variations in the

rate of progress. The Samastipur subdivision is the most fertile but densely populated part of the district, and its surplus population are seeking relief by emigration. In the Sadar subdivision, which, unlike Samastipur, is practically dependent on one crop (winter rice), the pressure on the soil has become so great that it does not appear capable of supporting a greater population, while Madhubani is approaching the same condition.

312. The progressive decline of the rate of increase, which has been observed in the case of Darbhanga, is equally noticeable in the case of Bhagalpur. In 1881 there was an addition of 7·8 per cent., but the rate of progress was reduced to

		1881-1891		1891-1901	
		Population		Population	
		1881	1891	1891	1901
DISTRICT TOTAL		2,132,113	2,241	2,277	
Sadar Subdivision		122,377	2,24	3,97	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
Supaul Subdivision		423,471	3,17	4,03	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
Madhipura Subdivision		402,410	3,22	2,31	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
Banka Subdivision		437,460	0,26	2,40	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	
" " "		11,000	1,1	1,1	

3·3 per cent. in 1891 and to 2·8 per cent. in 1901. The increase in the latter year was mainly the result of the development of the Supaul and Sadar subdivisions, for there was only a small advance in the Banka subdivision and the Madhipura subdivision lost ground. The result of the census of 1911 is to show that the district, though still continuing to grow, is developing even less rapidly than in the preceding three decades, the net increment of population being only 50,565 or 2·4 per cent.

313. The decade 1901 to 1910 was fairly healthy, for the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate in all but three

years, viz., 1905, 1906 and 1907, and there was a net excess of births over deaths amounting to 103,000. In the three years above mentioned the death-roll was swollen by epidemics of cholera, small-pox and plague, and especially by cholera, which carried off 17,000 persons in 1906. Its ravages were most severe in the Madhipura and Pratapganj thanas, which lost over 15 per cent. of their population from cholera mortality; here the Kosi river has caused extensive water-logging of the soil, and, wells being scarce, the people resort to the numerous old channels of the Kosi for their drinking water. In the first part of the decade good harvests were reaped and a fair degree of prosperity prevailed, except in 1902 when there was scanty and ill-distributed rainfall. In 1906 floods swept the country round Supaul and Madhipura, and in 1908 the failure of the monsoon brought about one of the worst years of scarcity known in this district. The distress was relieved by the liberal grant of loans—over 20 lakhs were advanced—and by the institution of village relief works, while the readiness of the people to leave their homes for tracts where there was a demand for labour did much to mitigate their difficulties. The scarcity was acutely felt in the western part of the Madhipura and Supaul subdivisions, where famine conditions prevailed and relief works were started. There was also a severe drought in the country south of the Ganges where, however, the harvests of the previous year had been good and the people migrated freely from the affected areas. "The landless labourers cleared out in thousands to look for employment elsewhere. The luxuriant crops in the east of Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions north of the river attracted many: large numbers went into the lands on the Purnea side of the Kosi, and many others went eastwards to get employment in the rice-lands of Bengal proper. It was computed that in August and September about 70,000 people crossed the Ganges from south to north in search of work."² Next year the rainfall was ample and well distributed, the result being excellent crops, but it is reported that the people generally had not fully recovered from the effects of the scarcity by the time the census was taken.

314.

The movements of the people do not appear to have affected the

As in other districts of North Bihar, the people are availing themselves more freely of the facilities for travel, and the number of emigrants now exceeds that returned in 1901 by over 13,000. On the other hand, settlers from outside have also come into the district in increasing numbers: there are 28,000 more than 10 years previously, so that the net loss to the district is only 15,000. The Supaul subdivision, which was the most progressive part of the district between 1881 and 1901, is the only part of the district which has sustained a loss. Both the thanas included in this subdivision suffered from the scarcity of 1908-09, and as already stated Pratapganj, in which the loss is greatest, had a heavy mortality from cholera in 1906. Both, moreover, suffer from a severe type of malaria; low-lying areas are inundated in the rains, and the subsidence of the floods is followed by outbreaks of fever and cholera. In the Madhipura subdivision, immediately to the south, there is a decline in the Bongaon thana, which adjoins the dead-end portion of Darbhanga, but there is a fair growth in Madhipura, which is partly the sequel of its being opened out by the railway. and Kishengganj to the west had a remarkable increase. This thana borders on the water-logged area, but owing to the fact that the river Kosi has for some years past not shown any marked tendency to shift its channels, there has been a rapid expansion of cultivation in its south-eastern portion, which was till recently a desolate tract of swamp and jungle. Apart, however, from this, the number of persons enumerated in this thana was swollen at the time of the census by the influx of *dohatwars*, i.e., non-resident cultivators, who came with their labourers to cut the crops. Owing to their presence the male population outnumbered the females by over 7,000, this being the only thana in either the Supaul or Madhipura subdivision in which males were in excess. In the Sadar subdivision there is only a slight development, but thana Bihpur has increased by nearly 15 per cent. owing chiefly to the spread of cultivation in an area which previously lay waste. There is a small increase in Colgaon, but Bhagpur has decreased in consequence of plague and the dislocation of trade it has caused, while Sulainganj is stationary. The Banka subdivision has advanced slightly, but the Katoria thana, a sparsely populated tract in the extreme south, has lost ground.

315. The population of Purnea, a sparsely peopled district in which the soil is fertile and in which there are still large areas awaiting development, grew steadily between 1872 and 1891, an increase of 7.8 per cent. being recorded in 1891, an increase of 5.2 per cent. in 1891. The next decade witnessed a set-back, the result of the unhealthy conditions prevailing and of virulent epidemics of disease. In 1901 it was found that the population had diminished by 3.6 per cent., the only thanas in which there was any progress being Katihar and Dandahia.

316. In the past decade conditions have been far more favourable, and the number of births exceeded that of deaths in every year except 1905.

BHAGALPUR.]		1911.		1901.	
Actual population	Immigrants	Male	Female	Male	Female
1,077,978	1,077,978	1,077,978	1,077,978	1,077,978	1,077,978
62,954	62,954	62,954	62,954	62,954	62,954
1,015,024	1,015,024	1,015,024	1,015,024	1,015,024	1,015,024
1,078,932	1,078,932	1,078,932	1,078,932	1,078,932	1,078,932
1,091,443	1,091,443	1,091,443	1,091,443	1,091,443	1,091,443
1,038,050	1,038,050	1,038,050	1,038,050	1,038,050	1,038,050
1,063,700	1,063,700	1,063,700	1,063,700	1,063,700	1,063,700

PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		1901-1911.		1891-1901.	
Population.					

DISTRICT TOTAL		1,989,637	+ 5.98	- 3.6
Sadar Subdivision		942,716	+ 13.30	- 2.65
Purnea	...	130,704	+ 2.34	- 0.61
Kasba Aamar	...	126,202	+ 5.93	- 2.73
Dandahia	...	178,802	+ 19.81	+ 1.68
Korah	...	118,082	+ 7.97	- 2.51
Gopabpur	...	80,810	+ 3.37	- 2.30
Kadwa	...	149,855	+ 12.82	- 7.54
Katihar	...	131,641	+ 33.91	+ 3.83
Kishanganj Subdivision		606,638	- 1.90	- 4.85
Purnea	...	145,623	- 0.90	- 2.01
Madhupur	...	506,281	- 1.47	- 2.15
Madhupur	...	234,002	- 3.91	- 4.39
Araia Subdivision		440,233	+ 5.58	- 3.57
Madhupur	...	80,603	+ 5.22	- 2.22
Madhupur	...	138,032	+ 7.74	- 2.96
Madhupur	...	211,672	+ 5.20	- 4.80

1906 and 1907, the aggregate excess being 34,000. From 1905 to 1907 heavy mortality was caused both by fever and cholera, the latter causing 43,000 deaths between October 1905 and June 1907. Next year (1908) the premature cessation of the monsoon led to a partial failure of the crops, and some distress ensued among the small cultivators and field labourers, but, as the Collector remarked :—"The regularity and abundance of the rainfall, the natural moisture of the soil, and, consequent on these conditions, the comparative ease with which the soil is prepared and the crops grown, have all tended to make the typical cultivator of this district a most fortunate being. Well irrigation and the unceasing toil of the typical Central Bihar cultivator are not necessary for him. With such antecedents it is clear that the economic condition of the cultivators in the affected area before the scarcity could not be anything but satisfactory in spite of high prices prevailing." The population generally has reached a high standard of prosperity as compared with other districts of Bihar. Rents are low, for much of the land has been recently brought under cultivation and cultivators are in demand. The soil is fertile, being inundated and enriched by silt nearly every year. The cultivation of jute has expanded steadily, to the profit both of cultivators, middlemen and merchants, and the district generally is being developed by the extension of railway communications. Two new lines have been opened since 1901, one from Forbesganj to Jogbani on the Nepal border and the other from Katihar to Godagari, the latter being an important line which gives direct communication with Lower Bengal.

317. The census shows that since 1901 there has been an addition to

PURNIA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,016,421	973,216	932,723	917,606
Immigrants ...	117,690	81,179	69,032	31,973
Emigrants ...	20,503	17,943	20,615	16,803
Natural population ...	912,238	909,950	911,306	895,436

the population of 112,308 persons or 6 per cent. A large part of this increase is due to the influx of new settlers. The actual number of immigrants has now risen to 200,000. the increase since 1901 being no less than 84 per cent. That most of the new immigrants have come to the district for permanent settlement will be apparent from the close

correspondence between the figures for male and females, the increase in the number of the former being a little under 49,000, while in the case of females it is 42,000. The influx of immigrants has led to very large accretions of population in some thanas, notably Katihar and Damdaha. Katihar, which owes its growth very largely to the development of the railway junction of Katihar, has added 34 per cent. to its population since 1901 and is now more populous by 72 per cent. than in 1891. Damdaha thana in the south-west has grown less rapidly, but has an increase of 20 per cent., the result of cultivation being rendered possible now that the Kosi has swung to the west and the thana is no longer swept by its floods. Here waste land is fast disappearing: what used to be a vast jungle area is now a fertile and well cultivated tract. There is a general increase throughout the west and south of the district, and the only decadent portion is the Kishanganj subdivision in the north-east. This a notoriously unhealthy Tarai tract, which has been steadily losing population since 1891, but even here the Bahadurganj thana, which is an important jute-growing centre, has advanced slightly since 1901.

ORISSA.

318. As in many other districts, the census of 1881 showed a very large

addition to the population of Cuttack (16.2 per cent.), but it has been estimated that at least 100,000 persons escaped enumeration in 1872. and that the real rate of

growth was 13.6 per cent. A further increase of 7.9 per cent. was registered

in 1891, which was followed by an advance of 6.5 per cent. in 1901. Through- out these 29 years the district developed steadily, its growth being most rapid in the first decade, when it was recovering from the effects of the famine of 1866. Its development was retarded to some extent in the next decade by the terrible cyclone of 1885, but between 1891 and 1901 there was steady progress, throughout the district.

319. There would probably have been a similar growth of population during the decade ending in 1910, had it not been for a succession of bad agricultural seasons leading to a large increase of emigration. Owing to floods in 1900 and to drought in 1901, the two opening years of the decade were years of short crops. In the next two years excellent harvests were reaped, but the course of the seasons in 1904 was a repetition of 1901, and the outturn was again poor. In 1907 again there were severe floods early in the rains followed by a drought towards their close. The floods caused great distress in the Jajpur and Kendrapara subdivisions, and when the water receded, a severe outbreak of cholera supervened. The damage to the crops caused by the floods was completed by subsequent drought, and it became necessary to institute relief measures. In the following year severity continued, and floods, followed by drought, again reduced the outturn of the crops. The last two years of the decade, however, were exceptionally prosperous, and by the time of the census the people had completely recovered from their distress. The effect of the failure of the harvests on vital occurrences is very marked. In the first two years of the decade the birth-rate was below 38 per mille : it then remained above 42 per mille for five years, but suddenly dropped as the result of scarcity, falling to 36 per mille in 1908 and reaching the minimum (32 per mille) in 1909. In the last year of the decade, with reviving prosperity, it as suddenly rose to the high ratio of 46 per mille. Except in the three years 1901, 1907 and 1908, the birth-rate was always in excess of the death-rate, though there were epidemics of cholera in all but two years, which carried off altogether 100,000 persons : the mortality in 1907 and 1908 alone, when there were epidemics synchronizing with floods, drought and scarcity, accounted for very nearly half the number.

320. Altogether, the births outnumbered the deaths by 96,610, but the census shows that the addition to the population is only about half that number, viz., 48,826 or 2.4 per cent. The difference is due to the exodus of the district born, the number seeking employment elsewhere having risen by no less than 56,000, or 48 per cent, since 1901. The growth of the volume of emigration is due partly to the facilities of communication with the outside world, which the railway has afforded within the past decade, and partly to the stress caused by repeated crop failures. The scarcity of 1907 and 1908 gave a further stimulus to migration. In 1908 the Subdivisional Officer of Jajpur took a rough census and found that 50,000 persons from that subdivision alone had left their homes under the pressure

CUTTACK.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,109,139	+ 2.37	+ 6.46
Sabar Subdivision	1,068,772	+ 3.24	+ 5.43
Cuttack ...	229,193	+ 2.03	+ 4.97
Batali ...	78,604	+ 6.26	+ 7.30
Sijapur ...	291,852	+ 7.10	+ 4.48
Titil ...	187,339	+ 1.90	+ 6.78
Jagatsinghpur ...	286,884	+ 0.71	+ 5.40
Kendrapara Subdivision	485,918	+ 4.37	+ 8.33
Kendrapara ...	250,406	+ 7.91	+ 7.09
Pitumundi ...	120,322	+ 1.15	+ 10.66
Adi ...	113,160	+ 2.90	+ 9.83
Jajpur Subdivision	554,449	- 0.89	+ 6.38
Jajpur ...	270,050	- 0.60	+ 4.76
Dhamsala ...	284,399	- 2.27	+ 6.77

CUTTACK.		1911.		1901.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	...	1,001,175	1,107,864	994,168	1,068,147
Emigrants	...	13,349	22,903	11,668	21,338
Natural population	...	1,118,277	1,130,456	1,003,893	1,080,885

of scarcity and the pinch of high prices.* The emigrants are mostly able-bodied men, and the males are more than twice as numerous as the females. One indirect result is that while the female population has grown by 4 per cent. since 1901, the increase among males is under 1 per cent.

321. There has been a slight loss of population in two thanas, viz., Patamundi in the east and Dharmsala in the north-west, where the loss is due to emigration. In both thanas there has been an increase of the female population, but the males in Patamundi are less by 3,000 than in 1901, and in Dharmsala, which is traversed by the railway, the decline in their number amounts to 7,000. The same feature is noticeable in the neighbouring thana of Jajpur, and it is on this account that the Jajpur subdivision is stationary. In the south-east of the district also there is little or no progress. Here, too, emigration is responsible, for both the thanas concerned (Tirtol and Jagatsinghpur) have lost part of their male population, while the female population has increased. The greatest advance has been made by the Salepur and Kendrapara thanas, which have enjoyed a considerable amount of prosperity on account of the steady expansion of jute cultivation and the facilities for irrigation, which make them fairly independent of seasonal variations. The increase is all the more noticeable in Salepur, because in 1901 it was already the most densely populated thana in the district. After them, comes Banki, a somewhat thinly populated thana, which has been steadily developing since 1891.

322. When the first census was taken, the people of Balasore were recovering from the famine of 1866, which had decimated their numbers. In 1881 an increase of 23 per cent. was recorded, which was due partly to improved enumeration and

partly to a recovery from the losses caused by the famine. The next decade witnessed a greatly diminished rate of progress, the total number of persons recorded in 1891 being only 5 per cent. more than in 1881. The increase was very evenly distributed all over the district except the Jellasore and Chandbali thanas. In the former thana, where malarial fever of a malignant type had prevailed, the population was practically stationary ;

BALASORE	Pop. 1911	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION	
		1901-1911	1891-1901
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,055,568	+ 1.68	+ 7.69
Sadar Subdivision	594,936	+ 0.40	+ 8.35
Jellasore	41,468	+ 3.65	+ 7.91
Bahadur	1,15,222	+ 3.65	+ 5.67
Bahadur	97,224	+ 3.21	+ 5.00
Bahadur	121,626	+ 0.74	+ 5.20
Bahadur	25,611	+ 1.16	+ 8.11
Dhadrakh Subdivision	460,632	+ 4.25	+ 7.44
Bahadur	1,45,322	+ 3.75	+ 5.46
Bahadur	75,222	+ 2.90	+ 12.0
Bahadur	121,626	+ 3.21	+ 0.72
Bahadur	61,131	+ 0.77	+ 10.0

in Chandbali there was an increase of 11 per cent. due to the development of trade and the reclamation of waste land. During the next decade the public health was good and the condition of the people prosperous, owing to a succession of good harvests. The result was a further increase of 7.7 per cent., in which all parts of the district shared except the Dhamnagar thana, where the destruction of crops by floods shortly before the census had driven a number of the males to seek employment elsewhere. The Chandbali and Basudebpur thana had the greatest expansion ; in other parts of the district the rate of growth was remarkably uniform.

323. During the first half of the decade ending in 1910 the crops were below the average except in 1903-04, while there was a serious failure in 1901-02. Though the births exceeded the deaths by 21,000, the quinquennium witnessed a falling off in the birth-rate as compared with the previous five years, the ratio of births declining from 40 to 39 per mille, while the death-rate rose from 31 to 34 per mille. After 1905 the district entered on a period of female baby years. In three years, viz., 1906, 1907 and 1908, the deaths exceeded the births, especially in 1908 when the number of deaths was nearly double the number of births. For a number of years

occurred in these three years, the first breaking out in 1907 and being responsible for 11,000 deaths, while the second, which broke out next year, was a terrible visitation which carried off 28,000 people. These epidemics were the result partly of scarcity and high prices, which compelled the poorer classes to resort to dietary of a coarser kind than usual, and partly of the failure of winter and spring rains, which greatly reduced the water-supply.

32f. The resources of the people were also severely tried by a succession of bad harvests. The rainfall was scanty in 1905 and 1906, and the crops were consequently short. In 1907 a high flood destroyed the rice crop in the greater part of the Bhadrach subdivision, and the inundation was followed by a prolonged drought. The combined effect of flood and drought was scarcity, which necessitated the opening of relief works and the distribution of gratuitous relief. The year 1908 also was not a prosperous one. The winter rice over a large part of the Bhadrach subdivision and (Chandabail) was again damaged by floods, while scanty rainfall in October, when the crop was in the ear, seriously affected the output over a great part of the district. The damage caused by alternating floods and droughts in these successive years was intensified in its effects by the fact that the district is practically dependent on one crop, viz., winter rice. The distress of the poorer classes is, however, relieved by migration, which has been facilitated by the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in 1899 and of the Mayurbhanj State Railway in 1901: a third railway connecting Balasore with the capital of the Nilgiri State has also been opened recently, but there is as yet practically no passenger traffic.

32g. Taken as a whole, the decade was unfavourable to any growth of

BALASORE		MAYURBHANJ		CHANDABAIL	
1901	1906	1901	1906	1901	1906
2,06,112	2,02,222	2,15,264	2,15,264	2,15,264	2,15,264
1,52,012	1,52,012	1,52,012	1,52,012	1,52,012	1,52,012
54,100	50,210	63,252	63,252	63,252	63,252
22,090	22,210	22,210	22,210	22,210	22,210
22,090	22,210	22,210	22,210	22,210	22,210

percentage. For this decrease three factors are responsible, viz., migration, the prevalence of epidemic disease, and failure of crops resulting in scarcity. The two latter factors have already been referred to, and it will suffice to say that the greater activity of migration is evidenced by the fact that the number of persons who sought employment outside the district has risen by 21,000 since 1901, and that whereas in that year the excess of females over males in the district was 36,000, it is now 46,000.

32b. The only thannas which show any increase are Jellasure and Ballapal in the north, a result which is at first sight somewhat surprising, as they are reported to be the home of malaria and the most unhealthy part of the district. (In the other hand, this area is one of the most prosperous parts of the district. It is for the most part a permanently-settled tract, and the land revenue demand is very light. The agricultural classes are more prosperous than in the centre and south of the district, and not only was the pinch of scarcity less felt, but the ravages of cholera were not so widespread. Even more important, however, is the fact that there is very little migration from these thannas. (In the contrary, they attract settlers. Labourers come to Ballapal from the adjoining subdivision of Contai in the Midnapore district to reclaim waste land and jungle, while Santals and other aborigines come to Jellasure from the Mayurbhanj State in search of work. In thanna Bastia, which lies to the south of Jellasure, and Ballapal, the population is practically stationary, while thanna Balasore, which is to the south of Bastia, shows a small decrease. This decrease is to be attributed mainly to migration, which has brought down the excess of males over females by about 1,000. So, the remaining thanna of the Sadar subdivision, has also a small loss, which is due to death by disease and migration. It was the chief sufferer from the cholera epidemic already referred to, and migration has been active. The Bhadrach subdivision in the south is mainly responsible for the decrease of population in the district.

Every thana has lost ground. the percentage of decrease varying from 2·9 per cent. in Dhamnagar to 6·8 per cent. in Chandbali. This part of the district suffered most from scarcity, the floods of the Baitarani river having destroyed the crops over a great part of the subdivision in 1907 and 1908. Emigration is also more active than it is to the north, Chandbali being the only thana which does not contribute to the stream of emigrants. Though, however, it has not lost by emigration, this thana has the heaviest decrease owing to the fact that it suffered more than any other from floods, which caused widespread destruction of the crops and were followed by scarcity and virulent epidemics of cholera and other diseases.

327. As in other districts of Orissa, the census of 1881 brought out a large increase of population in Puri amounting to 15·4 per cent. The growth of population was sustained during the ensuing ten years, at the close of which a further advance of 6·3 per cent. was recorded.

PURI.	Population 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,023,402	+ 0·60	+ 7·65
Sadar Subdivision	655,798	— 0·34	+ 7·25
Puri	222,642	+ 2·54	+ 3·75
Puri Town	40,011	— 18·90	+ 71·33
Pipli	278,164	+ 0·33	+ 14·81
Gop	114,931	+ 0·55	— 14·69
Khurda Subdivision	367,604	+ 2·33	+ 8·39
Khurda	281,181	+ 2·71	+ 8·34
Banpur	106,423	+ 1·41	+ 9·53

actual increase was 7·6 per cent., but part of this was due to the fact that a religious festival was in progress at Puri at the time when the census was taken, the foreign-born population exceeding that of 1891 by more than 13,000. The Sadar and Pipli thanas had the smallest rate of increase, while in the Gop thana and the two thanas of the Khurda subdivision the addition to population varied from 6 to 8½ per cent.

328. Conditions during the ten years ending in 1901 were no more favourable than in the preceding decade. In 1901 there was a partial loss of the winter rice crop in parts of the Khurda subdivision and also in the country on the borders of the Chilka lake. necessitating relief measures in the latter tract. The crops were good in the following three years, i.e., 1902 to 1904, but the outturn was much below the normal in the years 1905 and 1906. and there was a serious loss of crops in 1907 owing to the early cessation of the monsoon and heavy floods in the north-east. Throughout the year 1908 distress. deepening into famine conditions in limited areas, prevailed, and relief operations had to be carried on in the north-east of the district and in the neighbourhood of the Chilka lake. Fortunately. in the last two years of the decade the harvests were excellent and the prosperity of the people revived. The effect of these years of depression is reflected in the statistics of vital occurrences. In four years (1901, 1902, 1907 and 1908) the deaths outnumbered the births, and in the decade as a whole the excess of births over deaths was only 10,000. The mortality was especially great in 1908, a year of scarcity when the distress of the people was aggravated by an epidemic of cholera, which helped to bring the death-rate to the appalling figure of 59 per mille.

329. The combined effect of disease, scarcity and the stimulus given to emigration by poor harvests was to check the growth of the population, and

PURI.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population	506,570	516,832	506,570	516,832
Immigrants	17,667	25,573	20,419	32,114
Native and	16,152	19,397	11,487	17,501
Natural population	503,428	510,155	474,697	475,217

the actual increase brought to light by the census is only 6,000 or only 0·6 per cent. The increase would have been greater had it not been for the adverse balance of migration. As compared with 1901, 6,000

more of the native population were enumerated outside the district, and 9,000 less persons from other districts were present at the time of the census. As already explained, there was a large body of pilgrims in the district in 1901, as the date of the census was synchronous with the Goid Dwasasi festival, the number in Puri town alone being over 17,085. Special care was taken at this census to separate the pilgrim population from others, and it was found that it only amounted to 7,139, of whom 5,293 were returned for Puri town. The decrease in the number of pilgrims alone may be taken as at least 10,000. This accounts for the apparently large loss returned for Puri town. If the pilgrims at both censuses are excluded, the town has grown at the rate of 77 per cent. There has been a small advance in the Khurda subdivision, which was comparatively free from seasonal calamities and should therefore a *priori* have grown more rapidly. The decline in the rate of growth is more than double the addition to males, and in Raipur the male population is a little less than in 1901, whereas the females have added nearly 2,000 to their numbers. In the Puri subdivision there is a slight advance in the Puri thana (excluding the town), but the Pipli and Chop thanas are stationary.

CHOYA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

330. The centre of the Hazaribagh district consists of a small plateau about 2,000 feet high, which slopes down abruptly on all sides except the south-west, where it stretches out into a long ridge as far as the boundary of the Patna district. The central plateau, which corresponds to the Hazaribagh thana, is surrounded by a lower ring-shaped plateau, which forms the drainage area of a number of rivers. This lower plateau is broken up by small ranges of hills into several main valleys and numerous ravines. The rainfall and country is much broken by ravines, it is covered with forests which retain moisture, and suffers comparatively little from deficient rainfall. To the south-west is the Parkagaon thana, which comprises some broad valleys; Simara and Chhata in the west consist partly of ridges and uplands, partly of ravines; Hunterganj thana to the north-west is a valley sloping down to the Gaya district, but the Pratapgar police station in its extreme west is an area of ravines and jungle. To the south-east thanas Mandu and Gumman are full of ravines, but Bagodar and Ramgarh are broad valleys. In the Giridih subdivision Dumri lies below and receives the drainage from the Paresnath range, while Giridih, Khargaddha, Jhannwar and Gumman are undulating uplands. 331. The increase of population between 1881 (when the first reliable census was held) and 1891 amounted to 5.4 per cent, but this was not evenly distributed, for the whole of the north-west of the district lost ground, except the Hunterganj thana, while there was a large growth elsewhere, especially in the Giridih subdivision. During the next decade there was famine in 1897, when distress was general over a broad belt running north and south through the district, the thanas most affected being Barhi, Kodari, Gumman, Ram Hazaribagh.

Hazaribagh.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1901-1911.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,288,609	+ 9.39	+ 1.17
Sadar Subdivision	835,953	+ 9.97	- 0.31
Barhi	22,632	+ 4.68	- 2.31
Hazaribagh	101,111	+ 8.81	- 0.36
Khargaddha	27,109	+ 11.92	- 4.91
Patnagaon	61,478	+ 17.76	- 1.41
Manikpur	32,032	+ 19.32	- 2.67
Manikpur	36,450	+ 21.53	- 2.18
Elkhar	69,998	+ 21.53	- 3.26
Chopra	67,790	+ 3.21	- 3.26
Chhata	32,191	+ 4.18	- 2.88
Chhata	37,046	+ 0.87	- 3.69
Kodari	87,277	+ 10.74	- 2.22
Giridih Subdivision	452,656	+ 8.34	+ 3.98
Gumman	61,121	+ 7.32	+ 4.08
Khargaddha	90,403	+ 3.66	+ 0.61
Dumri	129,389	+ 10.60	+ 2.26
Dumri	94,805	+ 12.16	+ 2.35

the Puri.

1901 represented only 1·2 per cent., the smallness of the increase being attributable to the growing volume of emigration and also to the heavy death-rate following the famine of 1897.

332. Between 1901 and 1910 the health of the people was on the whole good. The birth-rate maintained a high level except in the years 1908 and 1909, and the births outnumbered the deaths by no less than 170,000. Good or fair crops were reaped until 1907, when the rainfall was unfavourably distributed, there being a heavy fall early in the season and a premature cessation in September. The rice crop was almost entirely a failure on high lands, and its outturn was diminished in the low lands. The yield both of *rabi* and of the important *mahua* crop was also only about a quarter of the normal. Distress ensued, which amounted to scarcity in some parts, viz., in the Barkagaon thana, the eastern half of the Hazaribagh thana, and the uplands of Simaria and Chatra. Gratuitous relief had to be given, mainly to old people, women and children left without means of support by the labourers and small cultivators, who migrated in large numbers to the coal-fields and elsewhere. Others were provided with loans, with the help of which they were able to tide over their difficulties. The rainfall next year was favourable, and good crops were reaped. By October 1909 all signs of scarcity had disappeared, and normal conditions were re-established.

333. The material condition of the people appears to have improved considerably during the last 20 years. It is reported: "Labourers and petty agriculturists formerly found it very difficult to get the bare necessities of life. They have now got over the stage of actual want, and in many instances, after defraying all expenses, they are able to live up to a fairly high standard and to indulge in small luxuries previously unknown to them. This change is very noticeable among the aborigines. Whereas formerly they depended solely upon the edible fruits and roots of the jungles for their subsistence for at least two or three months in the year, they now never, ordinarily, miss their food grain diet." The mica mines at Kodarna and the coal mines of Giridih furnish employment to many thousands, and the wages obtained there alleviate distress arising from the shortage of the crops in their neighbourhood. The demand for labour, it should be added, varies very largely according to the state of the market: the average labour force in the mica and coal mines was 18,000 in 1901, rose to 52,000 in 1906, and fell to under 7,000 in 1910. Except in the neighbourhood of the commercial and industrial centres, the people are poor, and the margin between sufficiency and exigency is often narrow.

334. The increase of population disclosed by the census is 110,648 or 9·4 per cent., which is due to natural growth among a people largely composed of prolific semi-aborigines. It cannot be said that the movements of the people have affected the census results to any appreciable extent. The number of immigrants is almost exactly the same as in 1901, while the emigrant population has fallen off by only 6,000. The number of those

HAZARIBAGH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	629,103	659,506	570,122	607,839
Immigrants	21,375	20,276	19,469	22,414
Emigrants	77,496	67,047	82,572	66,794
Natural population	685,224	708,295	634,225	652,209

born in the district who left it in order to find employment elsewhere reached a very high figure in 1901, and emigration has since been facilitated by the opening of the Grand Chord line. The drain on the available labour varies from year to year according to the outturn of

the crops, the exodus being stimulated by bad harvests and checked by good crops; there is no doubt that it would have been greater at the time of the census had it not been for agricultural prosperity. A good index to the extent to which the latter influences emigration is afforded by the returns of coolies recruited for Assam, which show that in 1910-11 the number was only 684, whereas it was 3,465 in 1907-08, a year of scarcity. Every thana in the district has increased its population, except Chatra and Simaria in the west: acute distress was experienced in the upland tracts of these two thanas in

341. During the ten years ending in 1910 a great stimulus was given to the progress of the district by the development of the coal mines. During the first part of the decade the number of labourers in the mines was more than doubled, and in the second it rose again by two-thirds. High-water mark was reached in 1908, after which there was a falling off due to the state of the coal market. In spite of this, the industrial census shows that nearly 80,000 persons were employed in the collieries at the time of the census. There was also a "boom" in the lac trade, which was followed by a "slump" in 1908. but notwithstanding this the number of factories increased from 52 in 1900-1901 to 118 in 1909-10, when they gave employment to nearly 6,000 persons. The bulk of the people are agriculturists, who are compensated more or less for a failure of their harvests by the lac crop. Their harvests were good during the first half of the decade, but owing to deficient rainfall were very short in 1907-1908. The outturn was, however, excellent in the remaining years. The public health was, on the whole, good except for epidemics of cholera, which swept over the Jheria coal-field during several years. In 1908 there was a particularly virulent epidemic, which caused no less than 12,000 deaths; even this figure probably falls far short of the actuals, as the coal-field area in the Jheria and Topchanchi thanas was for some time reduced to a state of panic, and the returns were defective. The disease spread rapidly through the field, and panic-stricken coolies hurrying away from the infected collieries spread the disease into all parts of the district. The total death-rate during the decade was low, the average being only 26·5 per mille, and the net excess of births over deaths was 167,000.

342. The census shows that the number of inhabitants is now 246,212, or 18·9 per cent. more than in 1901. The increment is partly due to the natural growth of population and partly to migration being in favour of the district. A very remarkable change in the flow of migration inwards and outwards

MANBHUM.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	788,537	739,039	653,336	648,028
Immigrants ...	82,606	60,170	37,391	24,728
Emigrants ...	50,465	65,027	64,915	71,057
Natural population ...	756,396	763,866	680,860	694,357

has taken place in the last ten years, owing mainly to the influx of outside labour to the collieries and to the fact that local labourers prefer the good wages offered there to the prospects of distant employment. The number of persons who have come into

the district has risen by 80,000 and is now more than double what it was in 1901, while the number of emigrants has diminished by 21,000. The result of the tide of migration setting into the district instead of away from it, is that, whereas in 1901 emigrants outnumbered immigrants by nearly 74,000, the latter are now in excess by 27,000.

No less than two-fifths of the total increase is accounted for by the two thanas of Jheria and Topchanchi, which contain most of the collieries. Their expansion in the last 20 years, during which the bulk of them were opened, has been extraordinary. for Jheria has trebled its population, while Topchanchi has an increase of 88 per cent. Excluding these two thanas, Manbhumi has had a proportional growth of a little under 13 per cent. since 1901. This advance has been general and fairly uniform, for no thana has an increase of less than 10 per cent. or of more than 18·3 per cent.

343. The census which has recently been concluded shows that the population of Singhbhum is more than 50 per cent. what it was 30 years ago. The recorded growth would have been even greater but for emigration to the Feudatory

SINGHBHUM.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	694,394	+ 13·17	+ 12·48
Chakradharpur ...	112,154	+ 9·34	+ 17·96
Ghatsia ...	255,731	+ 16·10	+ 13·26
Chaibasa ...	271,924	+ 8·59	+ 9·26
Monoharpur ...	54,385	+ 35·29	+ 15·69

States of Orissa and also to the tea districts of Assam and Jalpaiguri. In spite of this drain, there was an increase of 20 per cent. in 1891 and another advance of 12·5 per cent. in 1901.

The effects of scarcity in 1900 lingered for a little

to, the birth-rate being as low as 30 per mille in 1901, but it rose to 46 per
 in 1903. Until 1907 the condition of the people continued to be prosper-
 ous, but in that year there was a partial failure of the crops and some stress was
 felt, in 1908, when cholera, that common concomitant of scarcity, broke out.
 The ten years under review were not only prosperous from an
 industrial point of view, but also ushered in an era of industrial develop-
 ment. The Tata Iron and Steel Company opened large works at Sakchi in
 1881, a railway being at the same time built from Kailash to
 the Buda and Noh hills of the Kolhan by the Bengal Iron and
 Steel Company. A light railway being constructed for the carriage of ore
 from the hills to the main line at Manoharpur. "There is," reports the
 Deputy Commissioner (Mr. A. W. Cook), "a constant stream of coolie labour to
 the railways, mines and iron works, and among the coolies are included a
 proportion of raiyats with small holdings. The off-season is spent at
 the centres, and at sowing and harvest time the workers return to their
 villages. The importance of this boon to the labourers and the poorer classes of
 the district cannot be over-estimated. They are provided with money to tide over
 the period from sowing to harvest, and, as a consequence, are no longer
 obliged to have recourse to *mahajans* for their living expenses during this
 period."

344. The increase of population now recorded, viz., 80,815 or 13.2 per
 cent, must be attributed to the natural fecundity of a people with a large
 original element, the opening out of the district by the railway, and its
 recent industrial development. There has been, it is true, an influx
 of hoppers and artisans to the iron works, mines and railways, and
 a concentration of labour in large centres has been accompanied
 by an increase in the number of traders who supply their wants. Owing
 to this cause, the number of immigrants has increased by 13,000, but
 the increase is more than counterbalanced by the greater exodus from the
 district. The security of 1907-08 drove many out of the district—the
 war of coolies recruited for Assam in this and the next year was greater
 than the aggregate for the preceding six years. Apart from this, the
 immigrants can be carried elsewhere, have learnt the habit of temporary
 migration. Immigrants are now more numerous by 42,000 than in 1901, and
 the increase is by no means uniformly distributed and varies very

1911.		1901.	
Males.		Females.	
311,207	323,187	302,452	311,154
21,027	29,431	18,538	18,044
30,432	31,523	32,027	32,027
370,812	372,508	312,182	323,027

ents between the two thanas. It is reported that on the census
 taken at the works of the Bengal Iron and Steel Company, as well as in
 its neighbourhood. In Ghatsila (Dhalbhum) the rate of
 it has slightly fallen off. The explanation is that a number of
 from the Kolhan left for employment in the iron works at Sakchi in
 as well as at Gurumahisani in Mayurbhanj.
 The census of the Southal Parganas both in 1872 and 1881 was
 admittedly incomplete—in 1881 an army of 4,500
 men had to be sent into the district to prevent an
 increase of only 3.2 per cent, but it was estimated
 that Parganas, and the first reliable census was that of 1891. The census of 1901
 ration there would have been an advance of at least 7 per

The decade opened with bright prospects for the cultivators, for average

SOUTHAL PARGANAS.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,882,973	+ 4.05	+ 3.19
Dumka Subdivision	416,004	- 0.21	+ 3.1
Dumka ...	377,713	- 2.25	+ 6.5
Dumka Damin ...	38,291	+ 25.67	- 26.77
Godda Subdivision	387,160	- 0.81	+ 1.39
Godda ...	122,657	- 11.06	+ 12.32
Poreya ...	61,668	+ 3.90	- 2.27
Mahagama ...	93,015	- 0.47	+ 6.22
Godda Damin ...	109,829	+ 10.67	- 12.27
Deoghar Subdivision	306,477	+ 3.05	+ 4.68
Deoghar ...	103,941	+ 0.29	+ 2.86
Sarwan ...	11,275	+ 8.37	+ 4.21
Madhupur ...	83,025	+ 2.95	+ 8.79
Sairath ...	74,196	+ 2.95	+ 8.79
Jamtara Subdivision	205,646	+ 8.35	+ 9.25
Pakaur Subdivision	257,635	+ 7.95	+ 3.6
Pakaur ...	84,891	+ 14.92	+ 8.24
Pakuria P. S. ...	33,234	+ 4.96	+ 2.13
Maheshpur I. O. P. ...	63,931	+ 4.63	+ 1.1
Pakaur Damin ...	68,559	+ 4.63	+ 1.1
Rajmahal Subdivision	310,051	+ 12.05	+ 0.11
Rajmahal ...	67,165	+ 18.95	- 6.66
Bairawa ...	10,094	+ 6.92	- 2.19
Sahibganj ...	24,516	+ 44.89	- 2.19
Rajmahal Damin ...	174,286	+ 3.88	+ 4.83

or good crops were reaped during the first four years, but from 1905 to 1907 the harvests were deficient. The ensuing distress culminated in 1908; when the people, whose staying powers had been severely tried by three bad years, were on the verge of famine in the Dumka and Godda subdivisions. Some relief was obtained by the high prices obtained from lac, but the aborigines squandered their profits in drink: on this account, the scarcity in 1908 actually coincided with an abnormal increase in the consumption of country spirit. A more substantial mitigation of the distress was furnished by the readiness of the able-bodied Santals to leave their homes in search of labour and wages. Owing to the exodus of the males, and also to the lowered vitality of those left

behind, the birth-rate fell from 44 per mille in 1904 to 34 per mille in 1908, and sunk to 31 per mille next year; but after this, good crops and the fall of prices brought about a rapid recovery. In spite of these adverse conditions, there was, according to the returns, an excess of 190,669 of births over deaths during the whole decade.

347. The census shows that the total addition of population is only 73,236 or 4 per cent. To repeat the remarks made in the last census report regarding the ratio of increase recorded in 1901:—"This is a surprisingly small rate of development in a healthy district with a prolific population. The statistics of migration supply the necessary explanation." In that year the number of persons born in the Southal Parganas but enumerated elsewhere was 226,008: it has now reached the astonishing figure of 321,283, an increase of 95,000 in 10 years. There are, moreover, 5,000 less immigrants in the district than in 1901, and the emigrants outnumber the immigrants

SOUTHAL PARGANAS.	1911.		1901	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	933,425	949,544	896,373	913,364
Immigrants ...	48,366	18,331	53,191	58,334
Emigrants ...	162,161	159,182	115,894	110,114
Natural popul. tie ...	1,047,160	1,050,399	959,076	963,144

by 215,000. There is, in fact, an army of emigrants pouring forth from the district year by year, and spreading over the Barind in Malda and Dinajpur, the rice-fields in other Bengal districts, and the coal-mines in Manbhum and Burdwan.

348. The Dumka and Godda subdivisions, which suffered most from the succession of bad years (1905-1908), show a slight decrease, the result of emigration. The decline in both is confined to the thanas outside the Damin (except the hilly area of Poreya), while there has been a substantial addition to the inhabitants of the Damin. The Deoghar subdivision was also affected by scarcity, but to a smaller degree, and has grown slightly: thanas Deoghar (with Sarwan) and Madhupur, which suffered most, are practically stationary, but Madhupur thana is more populous by 8.4 per cent. The Jamtara and Pakaur subdivisions, which were still less affected by poor harvests and high prices, have a normal growth (8.35 and 7.95 per cent. respectively), in which all parts share. The Rajmahal subdivision is the most progressive part of the district: the greater part of its increase (12 per cent.) is due to natural growth, but part is due to the fact that there was a large labour force, mainly of up-country coolies, employed in the Lower Ganges Bridge quarries in 1911, and that Sahibganj, the increase in which appears *primā*

fact abnormal, was partially deserted in 1901 on account of an epidemic of plague.

319. The increase in the Damin since 1901 amounts to 11.9 per cent, whereas in the remainder of the district it is only 2.8 per cent. A certain amount of growth in the Damin may be expected, for the population consists of prolific aborigines, mainly Santals, who have been benefited by special agrarian legislation. To that legislation is due the unhampered extension of cultivation, the controlled cultivation of rice, and the general protection of weak and ignorant cultivators, who would otherwise have sunk into the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the more advanced races round them. On the other hand, a large percentage of increase is not to be expected in the Damin, which keeps heavily by emigration and which consists mainly of hills, where cultivation is neither so advanced nor so widespread as in the plains. The cultivated area has, it is true, increased by 55 per cent, in 36 years, but the increase in the unimproved estates amounts to 81 per cent. When the figures for different tracts are examined, there are the most remarkable variations, as shown in the marginal table. In the Pakur and Rajmahal subdivisions the increase in the Damin is less than in the country outside it, as is only natural, for the latter tract except for part of Maheshpur and Pakuria thames consists of fertile alluvial soil. The population of the Pakur and Rajmahal thames was, moreover, temporarily swollen by the presence of imported coolies and muscins working in the lower ranges Bridge quarries near Tadkapat, Rajmahal, and Pakur, while the addition in the Sahibganj thames is already explained, is due to its being partly evacuated in 1901. In the Purnea and Goida subdivisions, however, the results are exactly the reverse. In the former subdivision, the Damin lost 26.77 per cent, though between 1891 and 1901, and now has a gain of 25.67 per cent, though the rest of the subdivision has a decrease. In Goida, the Damin lost 12.27 per cent, at the last census and now has advanced by 10.67 per cent, whereas there is a decrease of 1.77 per cent, outside the Damin. In both subdivisions, emigration from the Damin is active, and a priori large increases in this area are not to be expected. The explanation appears to be that there was some confusion about the boundaries of the Damin in 1901 and that part of its population was included in the country outside it. It is safer therefore to compare the present results with those of 1891, according to which the Purnea and Goida Damin have a decrease of 8.6 and 3 per cent, respectively. The result chiefly of emigration, while the country outside the Damin has an increase of 11 and 2 per cent, respectively.

TABLE NO. 13.

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE DAMIN SINCE 1901.

Subdivision	1901-1911	1901-1906
Purnea	11.9	2.8
Goida	11.9	2.8
Rajmahal	11.9	2.8
Pakur	11.9	2.8
Sahibganj	11.9	2.8
Damin	11.9	2.8

320. In August the census of 1901 showed an increase of 12.85 per cent, but while the August subdivision added 23 per cent, to its population, the Khondmals lost 3 per cent. There had been some distress in the August subdivision in 1897 owing to the partial failure of the crops. After this, the people had a series of bad years, which exhausted their resources and culminated in general scarcity in 1900-01. This was most felt in the Khondmals, especially by those who depended for their sustenance on jungle produce. There were again short harvests in 1902-03, but next year, with bumper crops, all signs of distress disappeared. The prosperity of the people continued till 1908, when there was again scarcity. The failure of the rains, in the latter part of 1907 caused great damage to the winter rice, and the *rabi* crops also suffered. There was a fair mango

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE, OR DECREASE, IN POPULATION.

Subdivision	1901-1911	1901-1906
DISTRICT TOTAL	12.85	2.85
Sagar Subdivision	125.233	1.93
Khondmal Subdivision	74.218	15.58

crop in the Angul subdivision. but it failed in the Khondmals, while the *mahua* crop was a failure in both areas. The failure of these two crops seriously affected the poorer classes and aboriginal races, who live on them for about three months in the year. For three successive years, these and other crops had suffered more or less, but it was not until 1908 that the accumulative effect of all these partial failures, coupled with the prevailing high prices, began to show itself and to necessitate relief measures. About three-fourths of the district was affected; the distressed classes were mainly Pans and labourers, the numbers requiring relief being augmented by the families of Pans who had absconded. The distress was never very acute, and it was not necessary to declare famine. In the Angul subdivision, however, considerable mortality was caused by cholera, which was introduced from Dhenkanal; the deaths due to it in this year represented no less than 10 per mille of the population of the subdivision.

351. The census of 1911 shows that, while there is a total addition of 7,510 or 3·9 per cent., the results of the preceding census in the two subdivisions are reversed. The Angul subdivision, which had a large growth between 1891 and 1901, has lost ground, while the Khondmals, which

ANGUL.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	94,372	101,079	92,935	95,976
Immigrants	7,873	10,773	9,363	12,169
Emigrants	9,233	11,864	2,294	4,184
Natural population	93,752	102,168	84,366	87,991

has advanced rapidly. Probably part of the increase in the Khondmals must be ascribed to an improvement in the methods of enumeration, and part to the natural fecundity of the Khonds. There have been no widespread epidemics, and even 1908, when there was scarcity, was a healthy year, the drought causing a diminution of malaria. Moreover, though the hill and jungle areas in which the Khonds live were most affected by the drought, the Khonds, being accustomed to live on jungle produce, experienced less distress than the poorer cultivators and labourers in the plains of Angul. In the latter subdivision, the loss is partly due to the mortality caused by cholera and partly to loss from emigration, the Pans having migrated to Assam and elsewhere in considerable numbers. In the district, as a whole, the emigrants now outnumber the immigrants, whereas the reverse was the case in 1901. Inquiries made in 1908 showed that 1,276 persons emigrated to the tea gardens, and, according to the census returns, the total number of emigrants to places outside the district is or more than treble the number returned in 1901.

352. In Sambalpur, as in other districts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the first reliable census was that of 1891, which disclosed a growth of 11·7 per cent. The development of the district received a severe check in the next decade owing to the

SAMBALPUR.

SAMBALPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, 1901—1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	744,193	+ 16·46
Sadar Subdivision ...	302,039	+ 10·03
Mundher ...	15,660	+ 28·07
Dhama ...	30,123	+ 9·02
Sambalpur ...	50,569	+ 9·40
Sasau ...	28,692	+ 14·62
Katubaga ...	36,506	+ 6·21
Lakera ...	41,122	+ 3·48
Jhatsingra ...	41,838	+ 12·03
Rampella ...	31,344	+ 13·18
Mura ...	27,983	+ 7·83
Bargarh Subdivision ...	442,154	+ 21·27
Ambabhoua ...	26,220	+ 12·54
Attabira ...	48,878	+ 12·73
Bheran ...	46,785	+ 12·61
Barpali ...	39,510	+ 19·27
Bargarh ...	51,500	+ 16·07
Bhasi ...	39,586	+ 17·50
Sohella ...	35,619	+ 23·79
Bijepur ...	33,369	+ 20·42
Meichhamunda ...	21,193	+ 27·43
Gaislat ...	23,222	+ 27·48
Padampur ...	31,510	+ 27·48
Jagdai ...	25,077	+ 42·49
Paikmal ...	19,636	+ 70·21

famine of 1900 and the mortality caused by epidemics of fever, cholera and small-pox during the famine—the death-rate for this year rose to the appalling figure of 108 per mille. The result was that the census of 1901 showed an addition to the population of only 3·3 per cent. The Sambalpur subdivision suffered little, and the east and north of the Bargarh subdivision were not seriously affected; but distress was very acute in the south-west of the latter and especially in Bora-sambar.

The birth-rate of 1901, which was only 30 per mille, was abnormally low in consequence of lowered vitality and reduced fecundity, while, owing to the previous clearance made by famine and disease among the old and weakly, the death-rate reached the minimum ever recorded

(1936 per mille). The recovery from the effects of the famine was, however, rapid, for next year the birth-rate rose abruptly to 16.65 per mille and throughout the succeeding years it continued at a very high level. The death-rate on the other hand was uniformly low except in 1908, and the birth-rate amounted to 101.000 in the decade. The people, moreover, had a succession of good agricultural seasons, except in 1901-03 and 1907-1908, when crops were short in consequence of capricious and unevenly distributed rain-fall. On the whole, the decade was one of steady and peaceful progress. "In every direction," writes the Deputy Commissioner, "there are evidences of increasing prosperity. New villages have been settled, and new lands are being brought under cultivation. Agriculture has improved as well as extended. Facilities for irrigation have increased. The value of land has gone up appreciably. The railway has developed the trade of the country, and agricultural produce has commanded better prices than ever it did before. Indeed, prices have begun to rise, and the standard of living has not appreciably risen, but there is no doubt that the people are better off than they were some years ago. The houses are now quite common, and even pucca houses are not so rare as they used to be. Bicycles too are very much more largely used every year."

223. The census shows the effect of these influences, and testifies to the

completeness of the recovery from the famine, for there has been an addition of 105,201 or 16.5 per cent. The increase is partially due to improved immigration in some tracts, but, even so, the figure is remarkable when it is considered that the balance of migration is adverse to the district, emigrants outnumbering immigrants by 15,000.

Figures are not available showing the number of immigrants that were enumerated in 1901 in the present district, but those for the district as then constituted, which extended over 1,136 square miles more than it now does, will serve for purposes of comparison. They show that there are now nearly 19,000 less immigrants, but 66,000 more emigrants. Part of the decrease of the former may be due to the reduction of area. The large rise in the number of the latter is striking evidence of the extent to which the people of Sambalpur have moved out of the district.

224. All parts of the districts are progressive, but while the Sambalpur subdivision, which was more or less immune from the famine of 1900, has an increase of 10 per cent., the Bagmati subdivision, which was seriously affected by it, has grown more than twice as rapidly. In this latter subdivision there has been an extraordinary development in Borsambar (where distress was most acute), for the four thanas constituting it, viz., Melchhamunda, Palsat, Padampur and Pakhal, have percentages of increase varying from 27 to 70 per cent. In this area the revival of agricultural prosperity has resulted in an expansion of the area under cultivation, which has attracted new settlers. In the first two thanas, the rate of progress has been uniform (27.5 per cent.), while in Jagdalpur (12.5 per cent.) the waste and jungle are being fast cleared away and new villages established. The very remarkable increase in Pakhal (70 per cent.) is partly due to the same causes and partly to incomplete enumeration in 1901, when very few literate men were available to work as enumerators. In the Sambalpur subdivision, the most progressive thana is Alindher, which records a growth of 28 per cent., also largely the result of waste and jungle being brought under the plough. Elsewhere the increase is fairly evenly distributed. The least advance being noticeable in Katarbaga and Lakera. Both these thanas are situated close to the border of the Baram State, and

"The 1901 figures of immigrants and emigrants for the district as now constituted not being available, those for the district as then constituted have been given."

during the dry season many of their inhabitants leave their homes to work in the Bamra forests.

355. Between 1891 and 1901 the Orissa Feudatory States added 9·5 per cent. to their population, every State recording an increase except Baud in the south and Sonpur and Patna in the east. Baud sustained a slight loss owing to

ORISSA STATES.	Population, 1911.	PER CENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
TOTAL	3,796,563	+ 19·64	+ 9·48
Athgarh	46,813	+ 6·92	+ 19·62
Talcher	66,201	+ 9·55	+ 14·73
Mayurbhanj	729,218	+ 19·47	+ 14·68
Nilgiri	68,714	+ 3·39	+ 18·28
Keonjhar	364,702	+ 27·63	+ 15·18
Pal Labara	25,680	+ 14·89	+ 13·46
Dhenkaul	270,175	- 1·27	+ 14·85
Athmalik	53,766	+ 31·93	+ 28·94
Hudol	49,840	+ 5·64	+ 24·25
Narsinghpur	39,984	+ 0·89	+ 17·03
Baramba	41,429	+ 8·28	+ 17·63
Tigiria	23,240	+ 2·72	+ 10·11
Khondpara	73,821	+ 6·30	+ 9·74
Nayagarh	131,293	+ 7·47	+ 19·44
Ranpur	45,936	- 0·26	+ 14·88
Daspalla	37,053	+ 9·74	+ 14·01
Baud	113,441	+ 28·55	- 1·45
Bamra	138,016	+ 11·94	+ 18·22
Rairakhol	31,729	+ 18·00	+ 32·29
Sonpur	215,701	+ 27·03	- 12·99
Patna	408,716	+ 47·15	- 16·39
Kalahandi	418,357	+ 19·52	+ 7·43
Gangpur	303,829	+ 27·18	+ 24·79
Bonsai	58,509	+ 62·33	+ 19·17

have, on the whole, been good and there has been

ORISSA STATES.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,882,588	1,913,975
Immigrants	142,510	157,230
Emigrants	26,374	48,923
Natural population	1,766,452	1,602,668

through Gangpur and Bamra and the East Coast section of the same railway, enabled to obtain a highly profitable market for their produce." Immigrants are attracted by the areas awaiting development and the easy terms on which land can be acquired, and outnumber the emigrants by 224,000 : details are given in the marginal statement.

356. In discussing the variations which have occurred, it will be convenient to divide the 24 States into 4 groups according to locality. The first group consists of the north-eastern States of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Nilgiri. Mayurbhanj has progressed rapidly since 1901. Its economic resources have been developed, it has been opened up by roads and railways, and its trade has expanded greatly. A narrow-gauge railway has been built connecting the capital Baripada with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway line, and another line has been constructed from the works of the Tata and Iron Steel Company at Sakeli (in Singhbhum) to the mines at Gurumaisini. There was some scarcity in 1908, and relief operations had to be instituted, but otherwise the decade was one of agricultural prosperity, new areas being reclaimed and the cultivation in the older settled tracts improving steadily. The increase in the whole State amounts to 19·47 per cent. and all parts have contributed to it. The ratio of increase is least in the Bamanghati subdivision (7·66 per cent.) where there was scarcity in 1908 accompanied by epidemics of cholera and small-pox : it is greatest in Panchpir (35·5 per cent.), a jungly backward tract which has attracted immigrants and in which the census of 1901 was not quite complete. In Keonjhar the percentage of increase is 27·6 per cent., but Nilgiri has grown very slightly, viz., by 3·4 per cent. This latter State suffered from severe

epidemics of disease and scarcity in 1900, which stimulated emigration. In Sonpur and Patna there was a heavy loss of 13 and 16 per cent. respectively, which was directly due to famine in the year preceding the census, in consequence of which a number of people left their homes. The census now concluded shows a general advance except in Dhenkanal and Ranpur, the aggregate addition to the population being 623,168 or 19·64 per cent. This large increase is partly due to more accurate enumeration, but is mainly the result of natural growth among hardy and prolific races. The crops

writes the Political Agent. "a large expansion of cultivation due to the great improvements in communications, light rents and the large profits to be made by agriculturists, who are now, owing to the advent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway

epidemics of cholera in 1907 and 1908, while there was a partial failure of the crops both in 1905-1906 and 1907-1908.

357. The second group consists of the Gangpur and Boma States to the north-west, both of which have an increase, amounting to 27.18 per cent. in Gangpur, and to 52.3 per cent. in Boma. The former State has benefited greatly from the railway which passes through it, and it has had excellent crops except in 1908. The inducements offered to immigrants by the large cultivable area lying waste and the small rents charged for holdings have, moreover, led to an influx of settlers from Chota Nagpur. The extraordinary increase in Boma must be ascribed partially to incomplete enumeration in 1901, and partly to the opening up of the State, the railway being only 12 miles beyond its border. The land is being rapidly reclaimed, and as the State is very sparsely inhabited, there is ample room for expansion.

NORTH-WESTERN STATES.

358. The western block comprises Bama, Raikachol, Sonpur, Patna and Kachaland, all of which were transferred from the Central Provinces in 1905. In Bama, Raikachol and Kachaland, the proportional growth varies from 12 to 19.5 per cent. The increase in Bama would have been greater, had it not been that at this census a number of people were away working in manganese mines in Gangpur, and that in 1901 the number of persons enumerated in the State was enhanced by 2,000 or more owing to the presence of a large marriage party halting from Pal Lahara and elsewhere. The rate of growth has been far more rapid in Sonpur (27 per cent.) and Patna (47 per cent.), where it marks a recovery from the famine of 1900, during which there was heavy mortality, while many of the inhabitants died or migrated to Sambalpur. The emigrants returned with the revival of agricultural prosperity, which continued almost unabated through the decade. Sonpur has been opened up by roads connecting it with Sambalpur and Raikachol, while Patna has benefited by immigration, especially in the south-east and west, where large areas are available for reclamation.

WESTERN STATES.

359. The central States consist of Band, Athmallik, Talcher and Pal Lahara, in which the ratio of increase varies from 9.5 per cent. to 31.9 per cent. The latter percentage returned for Athmallik, a sparsely populated State which gains by immigration. The ratio of increase for Band (28.55) is very little less, but this State was partially depleted in 1901 as a result of severe scarcity. The remaining States consist of a block to the south-east on or near the borders of Cuttack and Puri, viz., Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Xarsinghpur, Baranuda, Tigiria, Khondpara, Nayagarh, Raurkela and Baspalla, all of small size except Dhenkanal and Nayagarh. Dhenkanal has lost ground slightly, owing to scarcity in 1908 and mortality from cholera and other diseases. The number of recorded deaths in that year was treble the annual average for the remainder of the decade. Emigration was stimulated by the distress, and the result is seen in the figures for the sexes, the females having a slight increase in their numbers while males have decreased. The same phenomenon is observable in Raurkela, where the population is stationary. Xarsinghpur has only advanced slightly, while the slow progress made by Tigiria is accounted for by the fact that it is more densely populated than any of the other States. In the other States of this group, the increase of population is fairly uniform, varying only from 5.6 to 9.7 per cent.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN STATES.

360. The Chota Nagpur States consist of the two small States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, both of which lie to the north of the Singhbhum district. The increase of population registered in these two States is natural and calls for no special remarks.

CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.

CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE, 1891-1901.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
TOTAL	...	148,646	+ 5.36
Saraikela	...	109,794	+ 5.03
Kharsawan	...	38,852	+ 11.40
			+ 3.02

SIKKIM.

361. The State of Sikkim recorded an increase of 28,556 or 93·8 per cent. in 1901. This phenomenal increase was partly due to the greater accuracy of the census, the enumeration of 1891 being admittedly incomplete, and partly to immigration, for settlers from Nepal flocked in to cultivate the

SIKKIM.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	47,059	42,861	30,793	28,219
Immigrants ...	16,476	13,319	13,337	11,667
Emigrants ...	1,675	1,768	1,046	1,142
Natural population ...	30,258	31,270	18,504	16,695

areas awaiting reclamation. No less than 22,720 persons, or 38·5 per cent. of the total population, were returned as born in Nepal, and the greater majority of them were new-comers, who had crossed the border since 1891. The census recently concluded has brought to light a further addition of 28,906, or 49

per cent. An analysis of the returns of birthplace shows that the immigrant population has increased by 5,000, while the number of persons born in Sikkim who were enumerated outside the State is greater by 1,255: the large increase cannot therefore be ascribed to any greatly enhanced influx into the State. At the same time, the fact that the number of immigrants is greater than in 1901 shows that the influx of settlers has continued and that the number of new-comers more than makes up for loss by death among the earlier immigrants. Part of the increase is due to natural growth among hardy and prolific races, such as the Nepalese, and part to the greater completeness of the census, which was for the first time carried out by an organized census staff: in 1901 only persons who had houses in Sikkim were enumerated, and not non-residents such as graziers and Nepalese in search of work.

362. Altogether 25,610 persons, or 2,890 more than in 1901, were returned as born in Nepal, but instead of forming 38·5 per cent. of the total population, they now represent 29 per cent. The number of those born in Sikkim has risen from 34,010 to 58,085, or by 71 per cent., owing partly to their including the children of immigrants from Nepal who have settled in Sikkim: the native-born now form two-thirds of the population instead of half as in 1901. The number of Lepchas has risen from 7,982 to 9,031, and of Bhotias from 8,184 to 12,414, of whom 10,250 are Sikkim Bhotias. These indigenous races account for nearly a quarter of the population, and practically all the remainder are Nepalese, among whom the Khambus (Jiundars) are the most numerous, having 15,872 representatives.

SUMMARY.

263. West Bengal, *i.e.*, the Burdwan Division, had advanced but slightly since 1901, its net increase representing only 2·8 per cent. The most progressive district

is Howrah, where there is an addition of 10·9 per cent., mainly the result of immigration stimulated by industrial activity in the city of Howrah and its neighbourhood. In the district, as a whole, immigrants represent one-fifth of the total population, and in the city of Howrah more than two-thirds of the inhabitants are immigrants from outside districts. This city accounts for a fourth of the total increase, and has grown more rapidly than the rest of the districts. Outside its limits the increase is due partly to natural growth and partly to immigration. In all the other districts the rate of increase is below 4 per cent. This figure is nearly reached by Hooghly, which, like Howrah, receives a large number of immigrants, their proportion to the total population being 17 per cent. The Serampore subdivision, which adjoins the Howrah and, like it, is an industrial centre, has grown at very nearly the

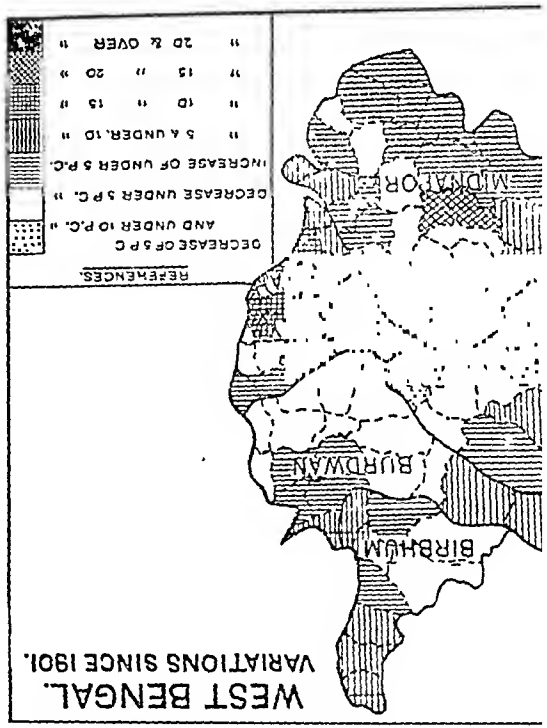
as that district, but the Sadar subdivision is now more populous than the latter subdivisions are unhealthy and decadent : the population of the former is very little more than in 1891, while that of the latter is less by nearly 8,000. Hooghly is closely followed by Birbhum with an increase of 3.7 per cent., due not to emigration, but to natural growth. Here the accession of population is unevenly distributed between the south of the district, for the Rampur Hat subdivision to the north has an increase of 6.7 per cent. spread over all its thanas, while the Sadar subdivision has advanced very slightly. Bankura has lost heavily by emigration, the number of persons born in the district but enumerated outside it being 20 per cent. more than in 1901 and

15 per cent. of the district population. Moreover, while the Sadar division records a gain of 4.9 per cent., the Vishnupur subdivision has lost 1 per cent. The latter is a malarious and unhealthy tract in the rice plain, and its population has decreased at every census except 1901. Midnapore has an increase of only 1.2 per cent., the general of population being affected by the loss sustained in the Ghatal division in the north-east. The latter, which suffered greatly from disease and also lost by emigration, has decreased by 7.3 per cent., other subdivisions have ratios of increase varying from 1.75 to 3.1

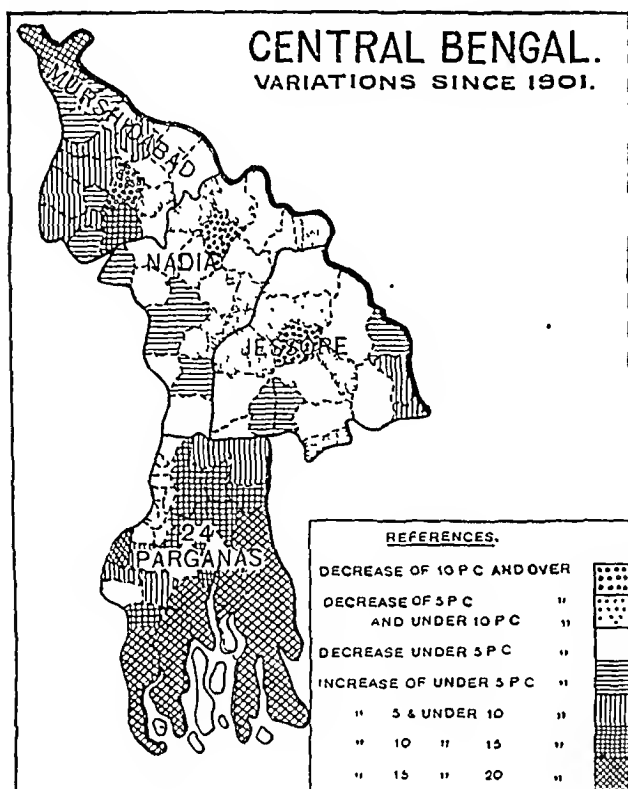
it. The population of the Burdwan district, which has suffered from the epidemic diseases, is stationary. The Asansol subdivision in the west has added 4.7 per cent. to its population, mainly owing to influx of labourers to the coal-fields, and the Katwa subdivision in the east has a growth of 3.3 per cent. The remainder of the district lies along three great rivers, Ajay, Damodar and Bhagirathi, has population, only two (Sahabganj and Maneswar) out of 11 thanas having addition to the number of their inhabitants.

4. Briefly, the two purely alluvial districts (Hooghly and Howrah) owe increase mainly to the influx of population attracted by the prospects of employment in industrial and manufacturing concerns and by their proximity to Calcutta. The alluvial tracts elsewhere, which are remote from Calcutta, have no large industries and are more or less decadent or stationary, e.g., the pur subdivision of Bankura, the Ghatal subdivision of Midnapore, the district with the exception of the Serampore subdivision, and the and Kalna subdivisions of Burdwan. In the lateritic area, however, has been a small advance, e.g., in the Birbhum district, the Sadar division of Bankura and the Asansol subdivision of Burdwan.

5. Central Bengal owes its increase of 1 1/2 per cent. entirely to the accession of population in the 21 Parganas, Calcutta, and Murshidabad. There is an actual fall population in the remainder of the division, where there are no large cities to attract labour from outside. Both Jessore and Nadia, two



unhealthy districts lying entirely in the deltaic rice plain, have declined,



while Murshidabad, which is not entirely alluvial, has a small increase, due to the lateritic area to the west of the Bhagirathi. The 24-Parganas is now more populous than it was in 1901 by 17 per cent. It has gained very greatly by immigration, the immigrant population being nearly one-fourth of the total population. All parts of the district have added to their numbers, but nowhere has there been greater progress than in the suburban municipalities and the Barrackpore subdivision, where the growing demand for labour has resulted in an increase of 45 and 42 per cent., respectively. In rural areas great progress has been made in the northern thanas, through

which the Barasat-Basirhat Railway runs, and in the country to the south, where the development is due to the reclamation of the Sundarbans. In the city of Calcutta the percentage of increase has fallen from 24 per cent. to 5·7 per cent., owing partly to the tendency of immigrants to settle in the suburbs rather than in the city itself. This movement has been stimulated by the clearance of insanitary overcrowded *bastis* in Calcutta, the improved suburban traffic service and the development of large industries in its neighbourhood. The reduction in the rate of increase is also partly due to the census of 1901 having been more complete than its predecessor, as a result of which an unnaturally large increase was registered. Murshidabad has added 2·9 per cent. to its population, but while the Jangipur and Kandi subdivisions have grown fairly rapidly, the growth in the Lalbagh subdivision is slight and the Sadar subdivision has lost ground. Nadia and Jessore have sustained a loss, both being unhealthy areas with an unenviable reputation and no manufactures to attract immigrants. The history of both is, as already stated, a dismal record of disease and decline.

366. In North Bengal the most rapid growth of population has taken place in Bogra, which has been growing steadily since 1872 and now records an increase of 15·2 per

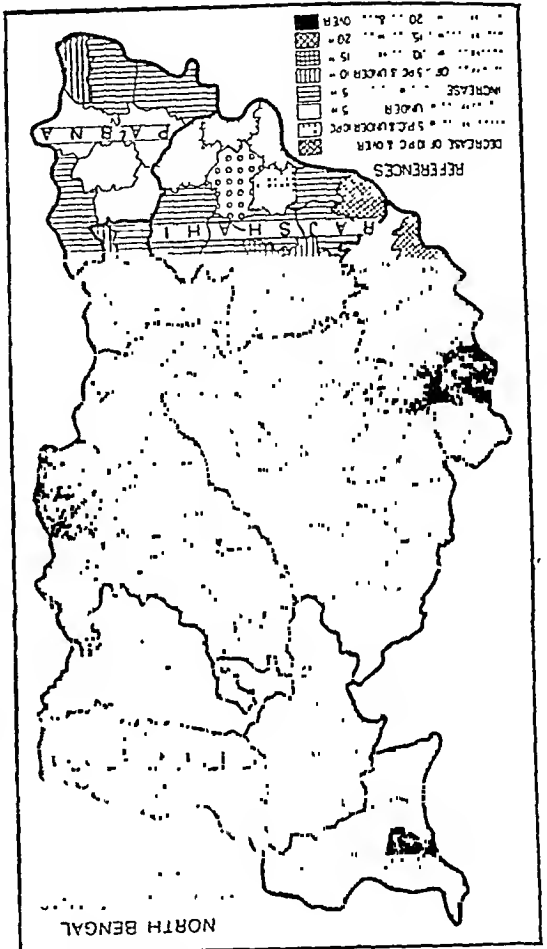
NORTH BENGAL.

cent. The increase is due mainly to natural growth among a population largely composed of Muhammadans. It is closely followed by Jalpaiguri, which has gained 14·8 per cent. nearly entirely from the influx of immigrants. In this district there is a small natural growth in the east, a fairly large increase in the centre, where it is the result partly of natural causes and partly of immigration, and a remarkable increase in the Alipur subdivision, where immigrants are fast taking up the available waste land. The tract known as the Western Duars has nearly trebled its population since 1901, but in Mainaguri and Damdim to the west, where nearly all the waste land has now been taken up, the ratio of increase has fallen. The two latter thanas have apparently nearly reached the limit of their expansion, and consequently new settlers are pouring into the more distant and less developed lands of the Alipur subdivision. The population of the latter will probably,

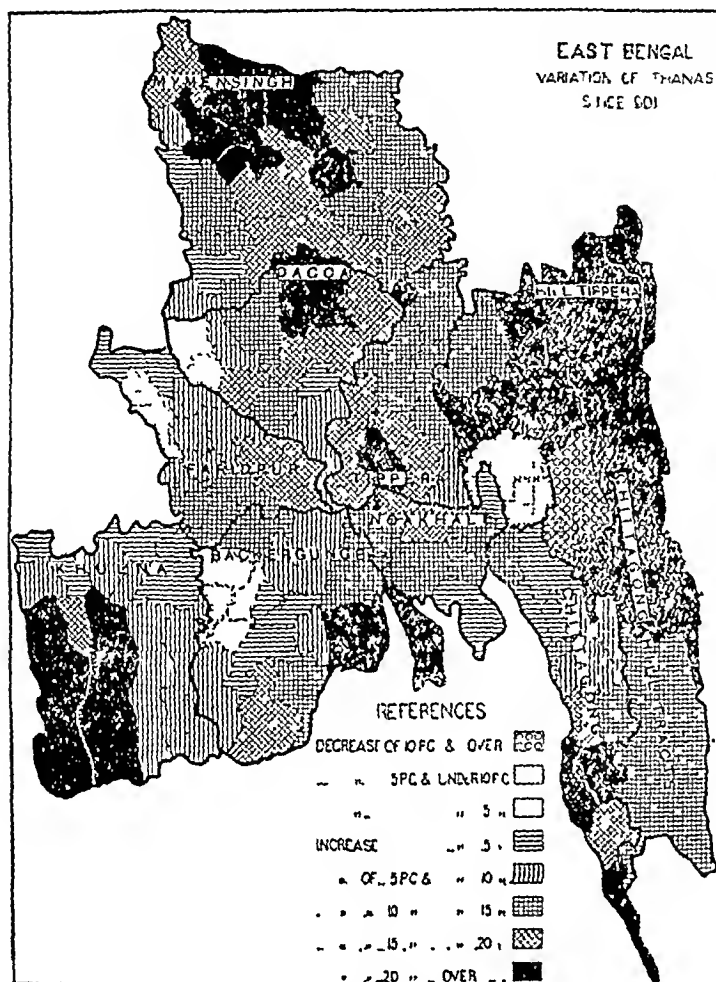
have a diminished rate of growth henceforward, as the area of cultivable land outside the reserved forest is now comparatively small. Malda has developed almost as rapidly as Jalpaiguri, but its development is due to natural growth. The past decade in this district has been one of peaceful progress stimulated by the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway. All parts of the district share in the increase except Nawabganj, where land has been cultivated and the cultivators have moved to other places. Rangpur, which in 1901 had an increase for the first time in its history, has a further addition of 10.7 per cent. The health of the people has improved since the earthquake of 1897, and the extension of railway communications has stimulated immigration. All parts of the district are progressive, but the greatest advance has been made in the Kurigram and Gaibandha subdivisions, where many new settlers have come to the *char* lands from Sirajganj and Mymensingh.

367. The increase of 7.7 per cent. in Dinajpur is the combined result of natural growth and of immigration, the volume of which has swollen very much since 1901. Immigrants now number 197,000 or over 11 per cent. of the total population. The increase has been most rapid in the Balurghat subdivision to the south, while the Thakurgaon subdivision to the north is practically stationary. The rate of progress in Darjeeling has fallen from 11.55 per cent. to 6.65 per cent., the explanation being that any considerable further expansion is precluded by the large proportion of land under forest or tea, and that the area in which cultivation can extend is fast being reduced. The growth is greatest in the Darjeeling subdivision, where immigrants have come into Jorhinglow and Kalimpong. The Siliguri subdivision has a slight increase, but the Kurseong subdivision has lost population. Cooch Behar has had an increase of population (4.6 per cent.) for the first time since 1881. This increase is due partly to natural development and partly to immigration, which has been stimulated by railway communications; four lines of railway intersect the State. Rajshahi, which had an addition of only 1.6 per cent. in 1901, has a further small increase of 1.4 per cent. The greatest advance has been made in the *ganja*-growing *thanas* in the Naogaon subdivision (14 and 13 per cent.) and in the Barind, where the percentage of increase varies from 4½ to 17 per cent. The Naogaon subdivision has developed rapidly, and the Sadar subdivision very slightly, but the Nator subdivision, an ill-drained malarious area, is steadily declining. Pabna is now practically stationary owing to persistent unhealthiness and the loss it has sustained by emigration. The Sirajganj subdivision has lost ground, and there is only a slight increase in the Sadar subdivision.

368. East Bengal as a whole has added 12 per cent. to its population, and all parts of it, whether dense or thinly inhabited, are progressive. The greater part of the population is



has been made by the State of Hill Tippera, where the large increase of 32½



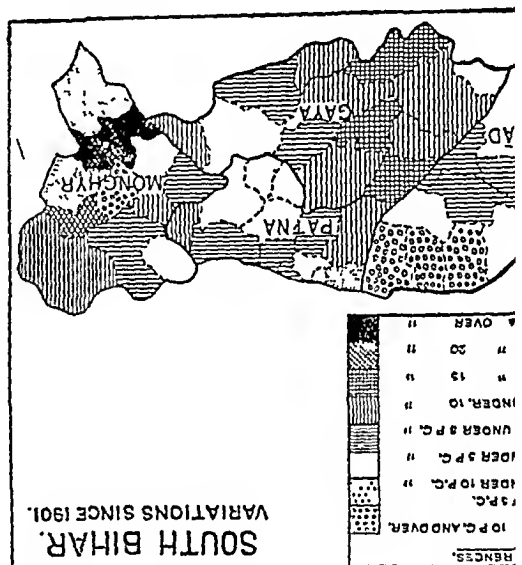
per cent. is recorded. The area available for cultivation in this State has led to an influx of colonists; over three-fifths of the net gain is due to the increase in the number of immigrants. The Chittagong Hill Tracts, a remote tract with few attractions for the people of more civilized districts, owes its increment of 23 per cent. to the natural growth of a hardy aboriginal people in a series of prosperous years. Natural growth also accounts for the increase of 15½ per cent. in Mymensingh. This district has a teeming Musalman population, and is now more populous by 92 per cent.

than in 1872. Least progress has been made in the Tangail subdivision, which suffers from malaria, and has lost by emigration as well as from a virulent epidemic of cholera in 1905. The proportional growth (14·7 per cent.) in Tippera is also accounted for by natural causes, for the district has lost by migration. All parts of the district are more populous than in 1901, but the ratio of increase is greatest in the south and diminishes slightly as one proceeds northwards. The gain of 14 per cent. in Noakhali is similarly independent of migration; all parts share in the increase, but owing to land being swept away and reformed by the great rivers, and to the consequent movements of the people, some extraordinary variations are found. One thana has a gain of only 4 per cent., another of 36½ per cent., and of two thanas which supported over 1,000 persons per square mile in 1901, one has added 20 per cent. and another only 2 per cent. to its numbers. The district of Dacca, with an increment of 12 per cent., has 62 per cent. more inhabitants than in 1872. The balance of migration has been against it, but all parts have gained ground, except on the western boundary where diluviation has caused the inhabitants to move across the Padma to alluvial accretions in Faridpur and Pabna. The Manikganj subdivision consequently has only a small increase. Munshiganj, in spite of its dense population, has again an increase of over 9 per cent., while the Sadar and Narayanganj subdivisions have grown even more rapidly than in the preceding decade.

369. Chittagong, in which the rate of increase was reduced to 4·9 per cent. in 1901 on account of the disastrous cyclone of 1897, has now fully recovered. The most progressive thanas are those which suffered most in that year, but the whole of the south, where cultivation is expanding, has large gains, and considerable progress has been made in the north where trade has been stimulated by the railway. There is again an increase of 9 per

Thus, the percentage varying from 01 in the north-east to 26 per cent in the south-west. The most progressive thanas are those to the south-west, which are more warlike than the rest of the district. Progress has been made in Paikgaeha thana, which is now more than 80 per cent. than in 1881: the development of this tract is due to the growth of population in Bakergunge was retarded in the last half of the decade, for it suffered from a failure of crops in 1901. There has been a rapid expansion in the Sundarban subdivision, where new colonists are pouring in, and the Sundarban area in Patuakhali, where cultivation is spreading; but the districts of South Bihar (Gaya and Monghyr) have added to their population since 1901, and two (Shahabad and Patna) have sustained a loss. In the north-east, there is a slight decrease (nearly 1 per cent.) for which the plague is mainly responsible; the plague death-rate alone was 8.7 per mille during the decade. All parts of the district are decadent or stationary, except one thana to the south and the Barh subdivision on the east; in the latter the increase was mainly the result of an influx of labourers who came to cut crops. Gaya, which declined by 3.7 per cent. in 1901, has recovered its position, the ratio of increase being 4.8 per cent. Its advance is principally attributable to the fact that in 1901 the population was reduced by a virulent epidemic of plague, which caused many deaths. There has since been a general development throughout the district, only two thanas having a decrease. Shahabad, on the other hand, which lost 4.7 per cent. of its population between 1901, has another falling off of 4.9 per cent. In the north there is a loss of population, and the south is practically stationary. It has both from plague and epidemic fever; not only has a series of bad years stimulated emigration, but the immigrant population is diminishing. Monghyr has advanced by 3.1 per cent., the result of growth: were it not for the large number of persons who left during the cold weather for work elsewhere, the percentage of population would have been far greater.

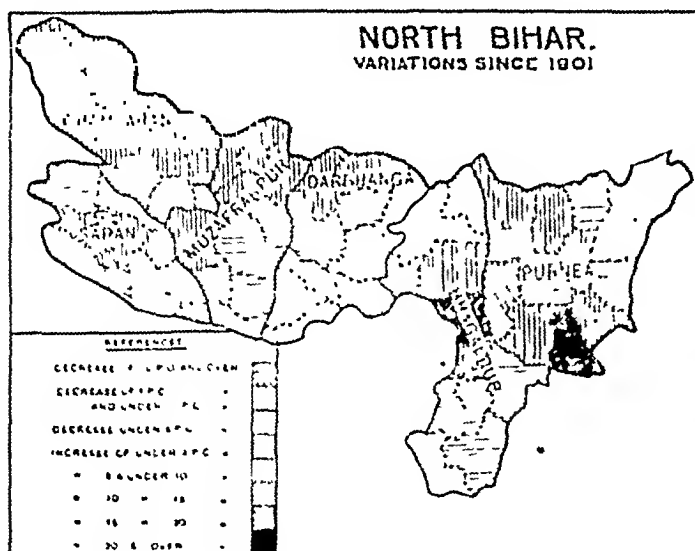
All the districts of North Bihar have added to their population, except Saran which has declined by 5 per cent. This district has suffered severely from persistent



reduced by a virulent epidemic of plague, which caused many deaths. There has since been a general development throughout the district, only two thanas having a decrease. Shahabad, on the other hand, which lost 4.7 per cent. of its population between 1901, has another falling off of 4.9 per cent. In the north there is a loss of population, and the south is practically stationary. It has both from plague and epidemic fever; not only has a series of bad years stimulated emigration, but the immigrant population is diminishing. Monghyr has advanced by 3.1 per cent., the result of growth: were it not for the large number of persons who left during the cold weather for work elsewhere, the percentage of population would have been far greater.

THE BIHAR

fever as well as from the ravages of plague, which has carried off 166,000 or



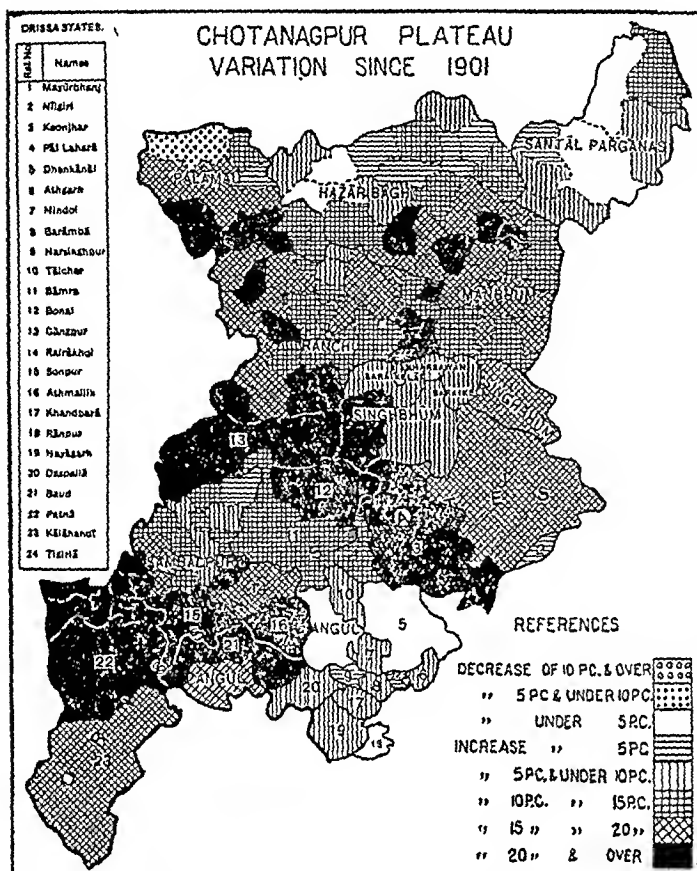
7 per cent. of the population. Emigration has, moreover, become increasingly popular; the number of those who were absent from their homes at the time of the census was no less than 292,000 or over one-eighth of the total population. Signs of over-population are apparent. The most densely populated subdivisions (Sadar and Siwan) are decadent, and

the Gopalganj subdivision, where the pressure on the soil is not so heavy, is practically stationary. The greatest advance has been made in Champaran (6·6 per cent.) and Purnea (6 per cent.), both sparsely populated districts which attract immigrants by reason of the fertile areas awaiting development and the low rents at which land can be obtained. The remainder of the districts of North Bihar lose more or less heavily by the exodus of the district born. All parts of Purnea have an increment, except the Kishanganj subdivision in the north-east, which is the most unhealthy but also the most populous part of the district, though, compared with other parts of North Bihar, the density is low. Champaran has now made good the loss caused by the famine of 1897: all parts are progressive, except one thana in the south-east (Madhubani) which is the most densely populated of all the thanas and has lost by emigration.

372. The rate of increase in Muzaffarpur is only half what it is in Champaran, but conditions in this district were not favourable to any large expansion. It suffered from severe floods in 1906, from crop failures in 1907 and 1908, and from another inundation in 1910. The volume of emigration has also been swollen by the increasing number of labourers seeking employment outside the district: at the time of the census 195,000 persons, or 7 per cent. of the total population, were away from their homes. The most progressive tract is the Sitamarhi subdivision, a fertile rice-growing area, which gains by immigration: the Sadar subdivision loses by the movements of its inhabitants and has only a small increase, while the Hajipur thana has a decline, the combined result of plague mortality and emigration. The proportional growth in Bhagalpur (2·4 per cent.) is a little less than in Muzaffarpur. Here the Banka subdivision is stationary, while the Supaul subdivision has sustained a loss owing to scarcity in 1908-09 and heavy mortality from cholera and fever. The Sadar subdivision in the centre of the district has a small increase, while the Madhubani subdivision has advanced by 9 per cent. owing to the expansion of cultivation in areas formerly swept by the Kosi. In the Darbhanga district the percentage of increase has fallen at each census since 1881, and is now under 1 per cent. The Madhubani subdivision, which is the least populous part of the district, has a small increase; the Sadar subdivision is practically stationary, and Samastipur, where the pressure on the soil is greatest, is decadent. The district suffered from two famines in the decade, but these famines do not appear to be responsible for any loss of population. The leading factor appears to be congestion of the population and consequent quickening of emigration. The number of emigrants is 58 per cent. greater than in 1901, and is little less than that returned for Muzaffarpur.

in Baud and 47 per cent. in Patna, figures which serve to show the extent

to which they lost from the famine of 1900 (by deaths, desertions and reduced fecundity), and how greatly they have expanded during a series of good years. The only States which have deteriorated since the last census are Dhenkanal and Ranpur; the former suffered from scarcity and disease in 1908, while both have lost by emigration. Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar on the north-east have advanced rapidly, and the same is the case with Gangpur and Bonai on the north-west: the phenomenal increase (52 per cent.) returned for Bonai is due partly



to improved enumeration and partly to immigration and the development of its resources. The central States and also the western States near Sambalpur have made rapid progress. The least advance has been made by the south-eastern States in the neighbourhood of Cuttack and Balasore.

375. The district of Manbhum is now more populous by 19 per cent. than it was in 1901, this large addition to its population being mainly due to the expansion of the collieries. Two-fifths of the total increase has taken place in thanas Jheria and Topchanchi, which contain most of the coal mines: in the rest of the district the ratio of increase averages 13 per cent., and is very evenly distributed. The progress made by Ranchi (17 per cent.) is all the more noticeable, because it has lost heavily by the exodus of its inhabitants to centres where employment is better paid than it is locally: the number of emigrants is now 305,309 or 22 per cent. of the total population. All parts of the district have gained ground, but the greatest advance has been made by the Gumla subdivision (in the south): the gain here is the result of a movement from the north and centre of the district to undeveloped tracts where land is available on easy terms. The percentage of increase (16½ per cent.) in Sambalpur is nearly as great as in Ranchi. In 1901 this district was suffering from the effects of the famine of 1900, but it quickly recovered, and the present increase is the consequence of revived prosperity, expansion of cultivation and, in some areas, improved enumeration. Singhbhum owes its increase to the natural fecundity of its people during a series of good years, and to the development of the district by the railway and industrial enterprise; but for the number (105,634 or 15 per cent. of the total population) of the district-born that were temporarily or permanently resident outside its boundaries at the time of the census, its growth would have been greater. In Palamau the decade witnessed a recovery from the effects of famine, and the steady progress made by the district resulted in an increase of 11 per cent. There has been a decline in the north, which is more apparent than

population. and where the only positive cause for the increase is the fact that we find a population far in excess of what we are accustomed to in the West. An Indian population, indeed, would seem to be limited to an extent of cultivable land in each district."

379. The stage of congestion appears to have reached in parts of the districts, viz., Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Saran, where the dependence of the people on their harvests is not relieved by the presence of any large industries. The cultivation and manufacture of indigo formerly furnished employment to many thousands, but this industry is only a shadow of what was in 1901. The area under indigo cultivation in these three districts was 150,000 acres in 1901, but had fallen to 51,200 acres in 1910-11, and it is estimated that 50,000 persons had to find employment in other directions. The monopoly of agriculture and the increase of population have rendered the cultivators' holdings to a small size. In Darbhanga and Saran the average holding has shown that the average size of the cultivators' holdings is a little over $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres which is, however, well above the area ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of a subsistence holding, i.e., a holding from the produce of which an agricultural family can manage to subsist in *normal* years. The estates of the lords are, moreover, generally exiguous, owing to the extreme subdivision of proprietary interests has been pushed. The districts are the home of petty proprietors often in little better circumstances than the cultivators, who have in many cases been forced from the land to make room for them. In Muzaffarpur there are, on the average, 12 acres of land to a village, each proprietor holding 12 acres, of which only 9 acres are cultivated. In Saran the average area held by a proprietor is 14 acres, and in Darbhanga the average area held by a proprietor is 14 acres, and in Darbhanga the estates are far larger, nearly half being included in the property of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. In the districts where the proprietor is little more than an ordinary cultivator, the proprietor has hitherto been able to meet the wants of his family and the further subdivision of property it entails by raising rents or by ousting them from their lands and bringing them into cultivation; but the record-of-rights which has now been introduced is making this process more difficult. Fortunately the pressure on the soil is relieved by those who have permanently left the district and those who migrate annually during the cold season to the hills and fields elsewhere.

Fortunately the pressure on the soil is relieved by addition to those who have permanently left the district elsewhere, large numbers migrate annually during the cold in the mills or on the roads, railways and fields elsewhere. contribute to the support of their households while they their return in the hot weather the family's resources their savings. In the famine year of 1896-97 over 1 money-order in Muzaffarpur, and a very large proportion sent by emigrants to their homes. The amount doubled, the total value of money-orders aggregating nearly 34 lakhs of rupees. The

				1941		1942		1943
				1941	1942	1941	1942	
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
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8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
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14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
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16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
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32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
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37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37
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49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
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94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97
98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ORIGINAL, BUREAU AND
GENERAL

CHAPTER II.—MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.
SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—VARIATION IN NATURAL POPULATION.

DIVISION AND NATURAL DIVISION	POPULATION IN 1911				POPULATION IN 1921				VARIATION PER CENT. (1921-1911) IN NATURAL POPULATION (INCREASE OR DECREASE) (%)
	Actual Population	Male	Female	Total	Actual Population	Male	Female	Total	
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	34,740,935	18,305,642	1,910,775	583,610	44,915,474	24,240,078	2,445,077	8,226,189	69
Bengal*	3,467,314	1,811,388	152,353	3,413,333	4,240,078	2,217,116	202,962	4,019,078	76
WEST BENGAL.	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	2
Burduha	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Burdwan	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Malda	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Hooghly	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Howrah	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
EAST BENGAL.	2,236,083	1,170,267	63,343	2,236,083	3,008,867	1,576,000	143,952	3,008,867	33
Calcutta	2,236,083	1,170,267	63,343	2,236,083	3,008,867	1,576,000	143,952	3,008,867	33
Medinipur	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
North Bengal	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
BIHAR	10,731,254	5,678,555	502,699	10,731,254	12,937,310	6,840,078	607,232	12,937,310	21
Patna	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Barh	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Chhapra	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Siwan	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Rohtas	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Banka	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Madhubani	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Supaul	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Chhapra	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Siwan	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Rohtas	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Banka	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Madhubani	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Supaul	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
ORISSA	35,435,293	18,305,642	1,910,775	583,610	44,915,474	24,240,078	2,445,077	8,226,189	24
Cuttack	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Balaso	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Puri	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	12,377,188	6,413,109	594,079	12,377,188	14,374,310	7,410,078	664,232	14,374,310	16
Hazaribagh	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Banoh	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Palaman	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Manbhum	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Singbhum	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
South Parganas	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Angul	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Sambalpur	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Orissa	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Chota Nagpur States	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1,231,231	641,121	59,010	1,231,231	1
Sikkim	87,920	43,960	43,960	87,920	29,835	14,917	14,918	29,835	700

* Column 4 includes 41,395 persons enumerated in other provinces and 30,024 persons enumerated outside India, who were returned as born in Bengal, but whose district of birth is not known.
† Column 4 includes 15,711 persons enumerated outside India, who were returned as born in Bihar and Orissa, but whose district of birth is not known.
‡ Owing to changes of area in Sambalpur, the Orissa Fundatory and Chota Nagpur States, figures for immigrants and emigrants are not available and proportional figures have had to be taken.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—COMPARISON WITH VITAL STATISTICS.

[illegible]

15,000 less than in 1901, when emigration was stimulated by the scarcity and suffering caused by a cyclone and subsequent hard times. The Burma census returns furnish no information regarding the birth districts of other emigrants from Bengal.

404. Nearly half of the emigrants from Chittagong were found in the Akyab district, where, however, their number is 14,000 less than in 1901. The decrease is attributed by Mr. Morgan Webb, Superintendent of Census Operations in Burma, partly to the fact that the census was held later than in 1901, and partly to immigration being checked by the systematic assessment of the immigrants to a capitation-tax. "The later date on which the census was taken in 1911 (the 10th March, against the 1st March 1901) must have had a considerable effect in reducing the numbers recorded. The first half of March is the period when the immigrants are returning to their homes in large numbers after the completion of harvest operations. A postponement of the record by ten days in the busiest portion of the emigration season would cause a marked reduction in the number of immigrants to be entered. But this could not account for the whole of the large decrease." The principal cause of a capitation tax on agricultural labourers who find employment in Akyab. He concludes—"The migration is seasonal, and consequently the later date of the census of 1911, at a time when the immigrants were returning to their homes, resulted in a small record; it is fluctuating, so that marked changes in numbers were to be anticipated; it has been subjected in the past few years to a heavy taxation from which it had hitherto been largely exempt; its decline was foretold four years before the census was taken; and, finally, so far as the records of actual migration are available, they suggest that emigration is proceeding more rapidly than immigration. Apart entirely from a genuine decrease, it is probable that immigrants, fearing assessment to the tax, avoided being entered in the enumeration records."

405. The number of emigrants to Burma from Bihar and Orissa is 8,392, of whom 5,389 were born in Shahabad. Their presence in Burma is due to their having been recruited for the development of two estates, which were granted to private capitalists in order to stimulate migration to sparsely populated areas. One of these is an estate of 27,506 acres at Kyauktaga in the Pegu district which was leased to Mr. Mylne of the Bihia Estate in Shahabad; the other is a grant of 15,000 acres at Zeyawaddy in the United district made in 1894 to Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, c.i.e. On the Kyauktaga grant most of the settlers are agriculturists from the Bihar Provinces, but on the Zeyawaddy grant the majority are from Bihar, Shahabad district supplying 3,494 of the total (5,065). "In both grants the immigrants live in self-contained Hindu villages, influencing but little, and maintained their caste system and rules with greater success than the majority of Hindu immigrants into Burma, who are necessarily brought more closely into contact with the disintegrating influence of Burmese life and opinion."

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

406. The movements between the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa mainly affect contiguous districts and States. Altogether 129,000 persons who were born in the latter province were present in the Central Provinces at the time of the census, of whom nearly 100,000 were emigrants from Sambalpur, while 13,000 were inhabitants of Ranchi and Palamau, who had moved across the frontier into the adjoining Tributary States. The balance of migration is heavily against Bihar and Orissa, for the immigrants from the Central Provinces number only 53,000, of whom 19,000 were enumerated in Sambalpur and 25,000 in the Orissa Feudatory States. Sambalpur, therefore, loses 81,000 by the exchange, while the Orissa States have a gain of 22,000: the even distribution of the sexes among the immigrants to the latter shows that they are permanent settlers. The migration between Bengal and the Central

Provinces calls for no special remarks. Bengal receives 21,000 persons, and its emigrants number only 6,000. The excess of immigrants is due simply to the demand for labour in a rich country with large manufactures.

407. The volume of migration to and from Madras is comparatively small, and does not extend far beyond adjoining districts and States. It is decidedly in favour of Bihar and Orissa rather than of Madras, for the latter sends 35,508 persons to Bihar and Orissa and receives only 1,428 persons in exchange. Six-sevenths of the immigrants were enumerated in the Orissa States, Puri and Angul, which lie along the border line, and all but 10,000 of them were emigrants from Ganjam. The Orissa States gain most, there being an influx of 19,000 persons, attracted by the prospects of cultivation in a sparsely peopled territory, while less than 1,000 persons left for Madras. Bengal has a net gain of nearly 8,000 from Madras, the immigrants being generally temporary absentees from their homes. The number altogether 14,343, of whom 8,000 were enumerated in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta: in Mirzapur alone there were over 3,000 mill-hands from Ganjam and Vizagapatnam.

408. The interchange of population in Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces is more even, there being a balance of only 19,000 in favour of the former province. The immigrants from the United Provinces number altogether 124,000, of whom nearly two-thirds were enumerated in districts contiguous to the districts in which they were born, viz., in Shahabad (28,035), Saran (24,503), Palamanu (1,592) and Champaran (26,561). The current of migration sets more strongly into North Bihar, which contains altogether 69,000 immigrants, while South Bihar has only 38,000. Only 17,000 immigrants are found outside Bihar. The aggregate of persons born in Bihar and Orissa, but enumerated in the United Provinces, is 105,000, of whom 94,000 hail from the four border districts already mentioned. There is but little emigration except from Bihar, the aggregate number of those born in other districts (excluding the border district of Palamanu) being barely 1,000. The greatest gainers by the movements of the people across the boundary is Champaran, in which the immigrants exceeds the emigrants by 19,000. The heaviest loser is Saran, from which 53,000 persons have moved to the United Provinces, while only 21,500 have come from that province. Shahabad is scarcely affected by the movements of the people across the frontier line, immigration and emigration nearly counterbalancing one another. During the last decade the emigrants from the United Provinces are less numerous by 14,000. There has also been a notable change in the movements of the people to and from Saran. The number of those who have found a temporary or permanent home in Ballia has fallen by 5,000, but on the other hand there has been an increase of nearly 20,000 among those who have transferred themselves to Gorakhpur: the emigrants from Saran to this latter district now outnumber the immigrants by 24,000.

409. There is not much to attract an immigrant from the United Provinces in the cultivating districts of Bihar, where conditions are much the same as in his own home, and there is not the incentive of better wages awaiting the temporary labourer. The greater number of these in quest of lucrative employment therefore make their way to Bengal, where 406,000 of them were enumerated at this census; among these there were two males to every female. More than half of the total number were found in Calcutta and the industrial districts of Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas—the cities of Howrah, Calcutta and the suburbs alone contain 155,000, or 16,000 more than are found in the whole of North and East Bengal. Bengal makes a very poor return to the United Provinces, sending only 26,000 of its inhabitants there, so that its net gain is 380,000. The Bengali immigrants belong to two main classes, viz., persons in clerical and other employment, and pilgrims. It is on this account that the male

Immigrants		Number	
Europe and India			
West Bengal	---	---	---
Central	---	---	---
North	---	---	---
East	---	---	---
Total	---	---	---

predominate in pilgrimages, outnumber the male

410. Statistics of migration to and from each district will be found in Subsidiary Tables I, II and III at the end of this chapter. It is therefore not proposed to go into any detail in the account of migration between different parts of the two provinces, but to sketch briefly its main features.

MIGRATION WITHIN
BIHAR AND ORISSA.

411. West Bengal, from the point of view of migration, comprises two very different tracts. In Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah there are large organized industries

WEST BENGAL.

which call for labour, and in each of them the immigrant population is large. The remaining districts are agricultural, and contain stretches of sterile soil. inhabited to a great extent by races of aboriginal descent. These supply much of the labour required by the richer cultivators of the alluvial flats, and by the mill and factories lining the banks of the Hooghly. Both in Midnapore and Bankura the emigrant population outnumbers the part of its overflow, immigrants are in excess.

412. Burdwan owes its large immigrant population of 180,000 persons to its collieries, iron foundries and other manufactures. It draws mainly on the adjoining districts, and in particular on Bankura (45,000), the Sonthal Parganas (27,000) and Manbhum (12,000). The influx from the Sonthal Parganas is double as great as in 1901, but the number hailing from Manbhum has fallen greatly owing to the rapid development of the Jheria coal-field, which wants all the labour it can get. Altogether 82,000, or about one-half of the immigrants, come from Bihar and Orissa and non-contiguous parts of other provinces, and only 11,000 from non-contiguous districts of Bengal. Half the emigrants go to contiguous districts, their movement being of the usual casual character, which is determined mainly by marriage relations; of the remainder one-third are found in Calcutta. Birbhum gains mainly from the adjoining districts, notably the Sonthal Parganas, the balance in its favour being nearly 17,000: were it not for this, the emigrants would outnumber the immigrants.

413. The emigrants from Bankura are $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as numerous as those from Birbhum, and constitute 15 per cent. of the total population. No district in Bengal sends out such a large number in proportion to its population, and only three districts in Bihar and Orissa (Ranchi, Sambalpur and the Sonthal Parganas). The exodus is however mainly periodic, and most of it is directed to the alluvial districts of West Bengal, for which the people have a distinctive name, viz., *namal*, i.e., the lowlands. No less than 70,000, or two-fifths of the total number, are found in the adjoining districts of Burdwan and Manbhum, from which Bankura receives only 16,000. Bankura is also a heavy loser to Hooghly to the extent of 48,000 persons. Emigration from Midnapore is growing in volume owing to the railway extensions, and the increase in the number of male emigrants since 1901 is the same as in Bankura, viz., 20,000. The current sets mainly into Hooghly, the 24-Parganas and Calcutta, which account for three-fifths of the total number. There is also a small overflow into Mayurbhanj, which gains 9,000 cultivators at the expense of Midnapore. The immigrants from outside Bengal outnumber those born in the province, there being 28,000 from Bihar and Orissa, 7,000 from the Central Provinces, 6,000 from the United Provinces and 3,000 from Madras.

414. Migration to and from Hooghly is very materially affected by its proximity to Calcutta, which draws largely on the district, and its own need of labour for agriculture as well as for industries. Its position is consequently somewhat unique, for next to Bankura and Midnapore it sends out a larger proportion of emigrants, and next to Howrah it receives a larger proportion of new-comers, than any other district in Bengal. It loses no less than 83,000 persons to Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas, in which half its emigrants are found. It gains mainly from Bankura and from Bihar and Orissa. Bihar sends it 29,000, Orissa 8,000 and Chota Nagpur 13,000. The foreign-born population in Howrah now amounts to 190,000, or 4,000 more than in Hooghly. Like that district, it depends on outside sources for the labour required by its mills and factories, and it is noticeable that Bengal supplies it with less immigrants than outside provinces. No less than

109,000 persons come from outside Bengal, and the majority are Hindustanis, 59,000 coming from Bihar and 17,000 from the United Provinces; (b) 115,000. The difference between conditions in Calcutta and 2-Laguana, with alone accounts for 14,000.

Western Bengal is strikingly exemplified in the genus *returus*. In Calcutta and the 21-Parganas immigrants largely outnumber emigrants, while the reverse is the case in Murshidabad, Jessore and Nabin. Extraordinary as it may appear, the outflow from the latter three districts to the industrial centres is comparatively small, in spite of their proximity; only one-fourth of those enumerated outside the districts in which they were born have found their way to Calcutta and the 21-Parganas.

at all parts of it for its heterogeneous population. The aggregate of persons born in Calcutta and resident there is barely three-tenths of the population; if we also exclude those born in the 21-Parganas, the number contributed by the whole of Bengal is only about one-fifth. The province of Bihar and Orissa sends 10,000 more than this latter number, mostly labourers and artisans from South Bihar (10,000), North Bihar (15,000) and Orissa (11,000). Even the division last named accounts for more than all the districts of Eastern Bengal. Altogether 30,000 come from the United Provinces or about the number from Eastern Bengal and Assam, and 21,000 from Bhopal. As many of its inhabitants come from the Punjab (9,000) as from the Chharguz Division, and double as many from Kanpur (7,650), as from the Maghar Division. Of individual districts, next to the 21-Parganas, Calcutta receives most immigrants from Bhozhpy (18,000), Jaga (11,000), Patna, Gooat and Patna (27,000). A further account of the constitution of the province will be found in the last paragraph of this chapter.

18. The movement of the people in the remaining districts of Central Bengal will be only a brief notice, as conditions are much the same as in 1901 and the figures show very little change. There is, however, one new feature, viz. that the opening of the railway from Katihar to (Feringha) has led to a small but noticeable northward movement from Feringha to Fard. The number of persons from that district enumerated in 1901 was then from 12,000 to 25,000, and the movement has not stopped there but has extended so far as in 1901 the large district contained under 1,000 persons born in Sylhet district, but the number is now over 10,000.

1167. In all cases it is to be noted that the number of immigrants is not the same as the number of immigrants who are actually in the country. The number of immigrants who are actually in the country is the number of immigrants who are in the country at the time of the census. The number of immigrants who are in the country at the time of the census is the number of immigrants who are in the country at the time of the census.

distance covered by the emigrants is not great, for they merely move northwards to the Brahmaputra *chars* in Rangpur and Goalpara. Pabna has sent 24,000 emigrants to the former and 15,000 to the latter; and as the sexes are fairly well balanced, they seem to have left Pabna to set up new homes in those two northern districts. The districts which have the largest gains from distant places are Darjeeling, where 44½ per cent. of the population are foreign-born, and Jalpaiguri, where the ratio is 29 per cent.

420. The chief factors which cause the influx from distant places are briefly as follows. There are extensive cultivable wastes in the Barind, an elevated tract which comprises a considerable area on the confines of Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Bogra. These wastes are being steadily reclaimed, but the local labour supply is not sufficient, and is also not so expert in pioneer work as the Santals and other aborigines from outside districts. The rich alluvial *chars* of the Brahmaputra in Rangpur and Goalpara attract Musalman cultivators from the more congested tracts along the lower reaches of the same river, where, moreover, the land is more subject to diluvion. The districts affected by this movement are Pabna, in a major, and Bogra, in a minor, degree. Lastly, the tea industry in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is carried on almost wholly by foreign labour, and elsewhere the development of the jute and tobacco trade is increasing the demand for labour, which is not fully met from local sources.

421. There is a steady annual influx of labourers from Bihar and United Provinces, who find employment in different kinds of labour, e.g., as domestic servants, police-constables, jail warders, railway servants, field-labourers, leather-workers, *palki*-bearers, scavengers, etc. No less than 183,000 come from North Bihar and 63,000 from the United Provinces. The largest drafts of labourers, however, are obtained from the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and in particular the Sonthal Parganas and Ranchi. The former has sent over 160,000 of its people to the four districts containing the Barind, viz., Dinajpur (74,000), Malda (48,000), Rajshahi (14,000) and Bogra (4,000), and to the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri (20,000) and Darjeeling (4,000). Ranchi has sent 99,000 persons to the tea-gardens, and 7,000 to Darjeeling, where they find employment on the tea-gardens. Among these immigrants the sexes are fairly balanced, and the migration may therefore be regarded as semi-permanent. Many of the tea-garden coolies, it is true, leave the tea-gardens yearly for their homes, but the majority settle down and go home for an occasional visit only. The population of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is also largely recruited from Nepal, these born in Nepal numbering 70,000 in the former and 34,000 in the latter. Jalpaiguri has further received 27,000 immigrants from Cooch Behar, giving in return only 9,000 emigrants: as the immigrants have an excess of males and the emigrants an excess of females, it may fairly be inferred that the gain of Jalpaiguri consists largely of temporary labourers.

422. In Hill Tippera and five of the nine districts included in East Bengal, viz., Khulna, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the foreign-born population, but except in Hill Tippera, where and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the foreign-born population exceeds the emigrant population, but except in Hill Tippera, where excess is not large, varying only from 5,000 to 16,000: in Hill Tippera, where one-third of the population is foreign-born, the excess amounts to 80,000. In the division, as a whole, the immigrants from contiguous districts (86,000) are nine times as numerous as those from other parts of the province (9,000), but their aggregate is only about a third that returned for immigrants from Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces (243,000). In Mymensingh and Chittagong only do the immigrants from distant places exceed those from contiguous places. Proportionately, the immigrants from neighbouring districts are most numerous in Khulna, which receives 34,000 persons from Backergunge and Jessere but gives them only 16,000. The causes of immigration are much the same as in North Bengal, viz., the insufficiency of the local labour force for handling the jute trade, and the comparative wealth and high standard of comfort of the people, which enables them to employ imported labour.

423. There are two main currents of immigration. The first is the great influx of labourers from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, from which Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur have received 35,000, 75,000 and 12,000

immigrants respectively. These immigrants are chiefly Hindus, the number of Musalmans who come for employment, chiefly as coachmen, cart-drivers and railway servants, being very small. The Mundas, Oraons and Santals, who figure so largely among the immigrants into North Bengal, are rare in East Bengal, and the majority of the foreign-born are functionary castes, such as Chamars, Mochis, Karmis, Kahars, Nanyas, Kaudis, Malahs and sweepers castes. There has been a considerable increase in the number of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, which is shared by almost all the districts, but is specially marked in Dacca and Mymensingh. In the former, immigration was stimulated to some extent by the city of Dacca being made the capital of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and by the amount of building work in progress while it held that position.

124. The second movement is the influx of cultivators into Hill Tippera and Sylhet, the former having sent 35,000 persons and the latter nearly 26,000 persons to that State. Tippera has sent 5 females, and Sylhet 10 females, to every 12 males, from which it appears that the immigrants from the former include a much smaller proportion of permanent settlers than those from Sylhet. The number of persons enumerated in this State but born in Tippera has increased nearly three-fold since 1901, while the immigrants from Sylhet have grown by 10,000.

125. There are only four districts in which the outflow exceeds the influx, viz., Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong. Immigration is least active in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera, where the aboriginal inhabitants have no incentive to leave their homes. The main currents of emigration, excluding the usual movements to adjacent places, are (1) from Dacca and Mymensingh to Rangpur and Goalpara and (2) from Chittagong to Burma. Dacca and Mymensingh have sent 19,599 males and 14,317 females to Rangpur, and 22,954 and 17,142 females to Goalpara, while Chittagong has sent 60,261 males and only 3,707 females to Burma. The sex proportions show that, while the emigrants to Rangpur and Goalpara include a large proportion of permanent settlers, there are very few among those enumerated in Burma. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the emigrants to Rangpur and Goalpara are cultivators who leave their homes in the riparian tracts along the Jamuna to settle in the fertile alluvial land on the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra, whereas the emigrants to Burma are merely labourers attracted by the high wages paid for harvesting crops in Burma. In Dacca, which has the highest density in East Bengal, the excess of emigration over immigration may be attributed partly to the increasing pressure on the soil and partly to its educated inhabitants not finding sufficient remunerative employment near their homes. No less than 63,000 find employment in distant parts of Bengal as clerks, lawyers, doctors, traders, boatmen, shop-keepers, etc. Altogether, 18,000, or nearly half the total number from the whole of East Bengal, were enumerated in Calcutta and its suburbs.

126. Emigration causes a heavy drain on all the districts of North Bihar, except Champaran and Purnea to the extreme north-west and east, respectively. These are two sparsely peopled districts, with large areas awaiting reclamation or further development, which attract immigrants from the neighbouring districts in search of land on easy terms. In addition to receiving 14,000 persons from districts of Muzaffarpur, Saran and Gorakhpur: the net gain is 14,000 from Muzaffarpur, 19,000 from Saran, 17,000 from Gorakhpur and 2,000 from other districts of the United Provinces. In Purnea the foreign-born population is proportionately twice as large as in Champaran, representing 10 per cent. of the total population. The immigrants come mainly from the east, and in particular from Bhagalpur, from which it receives 72,000, Darbhanga (25,000) and Monghyr (23,000). It also receives part of the overflow from the Sonthal Parganas and gains slightly from Malda, but loses by migration to the three Bengal districts of North Bihar immigration is growing in volume. Nowhere, however, is it so great as in Saran, the number no less than 284,000 or one-eighth of the

NORTH BIHAR.

remaining three districts the number varies from 168,000 in Bhagalpur and 176,000 in Darbhanga to 195,000 in Muzaffarpur, the percentages to the total population being 8, 6 and 7 respectively. More than two-fifths of the emigrants from Bhagalpur find their way to Purnea, and a large proportion of the remainder spread into North Bengal. This latter tract is also the favourite resort of sturdy labourers from the other districts, and contains more than half the emigrants from North Bihar who were enumerated in Bengal. An increasing number, however, are following the example of the Saran emigrants (who, as remarked in the last report, are more catholic in choice of a temporary home), and find employment in the metropolitan districts. The most noticeable feature of the history of the last ten years is the extent to which temporary migration is increasing in favour, the rise in the number of emigrants varying from 44,000 in Bhagalpur to 65,000 in Darbhanga.

BORN IN—	ENUMERATED IN—				Total.
	Hooahly.	Howrah.	24-Parganas.	Calcutta.	
Saran ...	...	8,751	7,029	26,028	14,719
Muzaffarpur ...	...	3,512	3,785	9,344	17,359
Darbhanga ...	...	1,748	1,962	2,853	9,014
Total ...	14,009	13,356	38,223	41,092	106,680

427. Emigration to Calcutta and the metropolitan districts is even more popular in South Bihar, three-tenths of the absentees from Patna, Gaya and Shahabad being enumerated there. The stream of migration from Monghyr is setting steadily in the same direction, but though the number has been doubled since 1901, it is still only one-seventh of the total number of emigrants. The people of South Bihar also show greater readiness to make their homes in Assam than those of North Bihar. Altogether 36,000 emigrants from the latter division were enumerated, but as there was only one female to every five males, the great majority were obviously only temporary absentees. The number of those who have gone from South Bihar to Assam is however 46,000, and there are two women to every three men, from which it is clear that a large proportion settle down in the country. Of this number, 15,000 were born in Shahabad, 13,000 in Monghyr, 13,000 in Gaya and 5,000 in Patna. Assam and the metropolitan districts thus account for a quarter of a million of the emigrants, and the remainder are found mainly in contiguous districts. The interchange of population with the United Provinces is practically even, but is of small account, except in the border district of Shahabad; the other three districts send only 6,000 to that province and receive 10,000. Gaya loses to Chota Nagpur on the south and in particular the adjoining districts of Hazaribagh and Palaman, while Monghyr, which has relations mainly with North Bihar, gains slightly from Darbhanga on the west, but loses heavily to Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas on the east, its aggregate loss amounting to 58,000.

BORN IN—	ENUMERATED IN—				Total.
	Hooahly.	Howrah.	24-Parganas.	Calcutta.	
Patna	3,034	7,067	13,651	23,017
Gaya	3,862	3,036	12,387	41,221
Shahabad	3,102	5,932	21,012	20,863
Monghyr	2,191	3,783	10,139	18,263
Total ...	14,193	24,823	57,189	109,386	205,591

428. In Cuttack and Balasore there is a large excess of emigrants over immigrants, but in Puri the foreign-born population predominates slightly. The actual excess in Cuttack amounts only to 7,920, and special inquiries show that the total of pilgrims in the district at the time of the census was 7,139, so that the district is really unaffected by the movements of the people. The pressure of hard times in Cuttack and Balasore has led to a large number of labourers and small cultivators leaving their homes for a time in order to obtain employment elsewhere, and so supplement the resources of their families. The number of emigrants from Cuttack is 173,000 and represents 8 per cent. of the population. In Balasore the actual number, though largely increased since 1901, has not reached the same figure, but proportionately is very little less, viz., 7 per cent. The people mainly go to distant

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places more than half of the emigrants from Chittick being found in Calcutta and its vicinity or in Assam, and over half of those from Balasore in the former locality. One-third of the emigrants from Chittick were enumerated in Calcutta, the 21-Parganas, their number having risen during the last ten years from 10,000 to 61,000. These, however, are merely temporary absentees, who return home after a period of labour in the mills and factories, or in domestic service or as gardeners or day-labourers. Those who go to the tea-gardens in Assam, however, take women with them, and settle down either as tea-garden coolies or as cultivators when their contracts have expired. No less than 27,000 of the 1st of March were enumerated in Assam. The inhabitants of Balasore have not shown the same readiness, or have not been considered so suitable, for employment for Assam in which there were only 2,000 of them at the time of the census. They are seeking more and more to (Calcutta and the districts—the number employed there has more than doubled during the decennium, and now amounts to nearly 39,000. There is also an interchange of population with Midnapore, the balance of which is slightly against Midnapore. Altogether 25,000 cultivators and others have left the district for the Orissa Boundary States, more especially to Mayurbhanj. But only 2,000 have moved into Balasore from the Orissa States, so that the district has lost 14,000 on this account.

142. The volume of emigration from the districts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau is one of the most remarkable features of the census, the proportion of emigrants to the district being 1 being under 10 per cent only in Mandla (7½) and Hazaribagh (10½), while it varies from 10 to 12 per cent in Angul (10½), Hazaribagh (11½), Singhbhum 12, and the South Parganas 17. The maximum is 23 per cent in Ranchi and Sandalpur, where it is 22 and 23 per cent respectively. Emigration is proceeding along four main lines, viz. (1) to Assam, (2) to Calcutta, (3) to the Orissa Boundary States, and (4) to the district of Balasore.

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DISTRICT.	Not gain.
Ranchi	13,121
Singbhum	31,035
Sambalpur	30,797
Angul	7,022
Cuttack	13,520
Puri	5,140
Balasore	13,704
Ganjam	12,097
Vizagapatam	5,327

any great disparity between the sexes show that the great majority of the new-comers have left their homes for good. There has been a great gain at the expense of all adjoining British districts, the balance in favour of the Orissa States being as shown in the margin. The largest gain is registered by Gangpur on the north-west, in which there are 39,000 immigrants from Ranchi and nearly 12,000 from Sambalpur, and Bamra also gain at the expense of Sambalpur, which has sent 21,000 persons to the former and 12,000 from the south-east Mayurbhanj gains both from the former and 2,000 from the latter. On the south-east Mayurbhanj gains both from the former and 2,000 from the latter being enumerated in it. The adjoining State of Keonjhar receives 15,000 persons from Singbhum, nearly 4,000 from Cuttack and 2,000 from Balasore. The number of emigrants from the Orissa States aggregates only 75,000, of whom 61,000 were enumerated in the adjoining British districts shown in the marginal statement above. There is but little emigration to distant places, but 6,000 persons were enumerated in Assam, of whom 4,435 were natives of Kalahandi and 993 of Gangpur.

Sonthal Parganas.

Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of *quasi-laterite* known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur Plateau." The outward movement has been still further accelerated during the last ten years, but it is noticeable that the Santals are now spreading southwards, as well as to the north and east, and that they are beginning to make their homes in purely alluvial tracts. In Purnea, for example, there has been an increase of nearly 15,000, while 2,000 are now found in Hooghly and over 5,000 in Rangpur. The districts of the Barind contain 140,000, and the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling 23,000. Over 42,000 have found their way to other northern districts, while more than 72,000 are found to the south-east in four districts of the Burdwan Division. The marginal statement shows the actual number enumerated in the districts included in each of these groups and the increase since 1901. There is but little emigration to the east, the districts of Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Monghyr containing only 8,000 persons born in the Sonthal

DISTRICT.	Number.	Increase since 1901.
Dinajpur	74,381	25,791
Malda	49,402	3,897
Rajshahi	13,667	7,186
Bogra	3,745	1,645
Total	139,995	40,448
Jalpaiguri	19,839	9,077
Darjeeling	3,641	650
Total	23,280	9,757
Purnea	20,453	11,820
Rangpur	5,371	1,528
Blagapur	16,699	6,960
Total	42,523	23,308
Burdwan	27,378	13,553
Birbhum	24,292	2,290
Murshidabad	14,933	3,362
Hooghly	2,000	1,251
Total	72,593	20,396

Parganas.

OTHER DISTRICTS OF THE CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

433. The movements of the people in Sambalpur are unique in character, so far as the province of Bihar and Orissa is concerned, for there is a large outflow to the Central Provinces. Out of the 174,000 emigrants, 18,000 being enumerated in Raipur. In return, however, Sambalpur receives only 19,000 from the Central Provinces, the balance against it being thus 81,000. There is also a heavy drain owing to the movements of cultivators and labourers to the Orissa

States, which receive 56,000, but return only 16,000 to Sambalpur. Of the emigrants from Ranchi, 199,000 are found in the tea gardens of Assam and Jalpaiguri; the number in the latter district has risen by 19,000 since 1901. Of the remaining emigrants, 39,000 have, as already stated, crossed the border to the sparsely populated State of Ganjam, while 5,000 were enumerated in the Central Provinces States. The volume of migration to and from Palawan is small. It loses to the Central Provinces States, especially Jashpur, and also to Mizrapur in the United Provinces, the aggregate loss being 7,000. It gains exactly the same number, however, from Gaya. The interchange of population is even smaller in the case of Angul, which loses to the Orissa States, and more especially to Athmalik: all but 2,000 of its emigrants were enumerated in the Poudatory States. The last of the districts to be mentioned is Singhbhum, in which emigration has been stimulated by the opening of the railway. There has been an increase of 42,000 immigrants, 9,000 of which is accounted for by the rise in the number of coolies enumerated in Assam. That province contains one-fifth of the emigrants, while nearly two-fifths have made their way into the adjoining States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. 434. Special statistics which were compiled for the most numerous castes among the immigrants to Calcutta throw an interesting light on the character of its foreign-born population. Their aggregate number is 290,000, and of the 24 districts from which they are drawn, nine are in Bengal, nine in Bihar and Orissa, four in United Provinces and two in Kaspurana. The area covered is large, and the figures may be taken as typical of the immigrant-population. There are only two females to every five males: two-thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers, and their number is equal to one-seventh of the female immigrants of adult age. Altogether 15 per cent. of both sexes are under 15 years of age. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults, i.e., aged 15 to 40; at this age period there are three males to every female. Trade engages the energies of 19 per cent. of the male workers, while 14 per cent. are employed in domestic service, 13 per cent. are day-labourers and 7 per cent. are clerks. Domestic service accounts for the largest proportion of female workers, viz., 42 per cent., and then come prostitutes with 25 per cent. Brahmins represent nearly one-fifth of the total number of immigrants, and the Kayasths are the next largest caste, representing about one-seventh. The aggregate of the three trading castes of Agarwala, Mahesri and Subarnabank is equal to only 5 per cent., and is exceeded by that returned for four of the lower castes, viz., Chamar, Chasi Kaibarta, Gola and Kallar. The returns for the Brahmins show to what an extent the absence of home surroundings loosens the ties of orthodoxy and tradition, for of the male workers one-fifth are traders and one-seventh are clerks—there are nearly as many Brahman clerks as there are Kayasths. Four per cent. of the priestly class are day-labourers or coolies, and only 9 per cent. returned priesthood as their occupation or means of livelihood.

COMPOSITION OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION OF CALCUTTA.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Continued.*

SUBSIDIARY TABLES.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—PROPORTIONAL MIGRATION TO AND FROM EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER MILE OF ACTUAL POPULATION OF—						NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 100 MALES.			
	IMMIGRANTS.			EMIGRANTS.			IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	Total.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL	43	8	35	13	7	6	95	34	69	40
WEST BENGAL	52	21	31	49	37	12	110	39	72	62
Burdwan	117	81	36	82	45	37	118	37	294	63
Birbhum	69	38	31	54	41	13	143	48	156	80
Baokura	41	37	4	154	114	40	298	57	93	58
Midnapore	27	14	13	61	42	19	131	49	93	73
Hoojlay	171	100	71	137	77	60	116	34	97	43
Howrah	201	74	127	43	33	10	80	39	97	62
CENTRAL BENGAL	125	39	86	37	25	12	74	27	105	64
24 Parganas	165	57	108	57	50	7	78	33	96	73
Calcutta	714	116	598	98	33	45	78	30	90	77
Nadia	45	30	15	84	58	26	144	37	97	57
Murshidabad	55	41	14	78	60	18	127	37	121	70
Jessore	34	28	6	42	29	13	122	37	122	34
NORTH BENGAL	86	34	52	12	10	2	80	45	89	46
Rajshahi	64	31	30	26	22	4	58	48	101	59
Dinajpur	117	25	92	14	11	3	91	59	134	53
Jaipalgura	294	41	253	23	21	2	87	71	125	35
Darjeeling	441	49	391	39	35	14	83	74	91	57
Bankpur	75	21	54	26	24	2	92	29	94	55
Bogra	64	29	35	26	23	3	107	44	103	67
Pabna	45	24	21	72	37	35	77	21	80	69
Malda	118	90	28	41	37	4	100	45	99	58
Cooch Behar	93	45	46	61	57	4	117	19	90	65
EAST BENGAL	16	7	9	20	10	10	94	28	62	29
Khulna	40	34	6	29	24	5	95	13	118	40
Dacca	39	22	17	60	29	31	94	22	57	32
Mymensingh	36	17	19	35	24	11	69	29	94	62
Fatidpur	45	37	8	38	26	12	84	25	66	31
Backergunge	25	16	9	19	12	7	40	17	71	37
Tippera	25	20	5	39	28	4	69	23	70	20
Noakhali	18	10	8	37	28	9	111	51	48	6
Chittagong	12	4	8	66	60	6	36	45	19	4
Chittagong Hill Tracts	41	31	10	8	8	...	18	35	87	87
Hill Tippera	356	311	42	6	5	1	60	69	103	63
BIHAR AND, ORISSA	12	7	5	49	18	31	118	72	89	41
NORTH BIHAR	22	16	6	41	19	22	127	103	97	16
Saran	21	19	2	124	41	83	336	75	139	16
Champaran	50	39	11	25	13	12	127	130	200	11
Muzaffarpur	26	21	5	68	31	37	222	148	276	18
Darbhanga	30	23	7	60	31	29	277	106	181	20
Biagalpur	64	47	17	78	50	19	136	52	119	52
Purnea	100	53	47	19	16	3	90	50	100	39
SOUTH BIHAR	20	17	3	83	24	59	164	57	146	45
Patna	57	50	7	108	39	69	160	55	212	48
Gaya	28	25	3	95	35	60	208	56	159	47
Sahabad	33	29	4	95	34	67	275	57	255	47
Mooghyr	44	37	7	112	33	59	192	53	170	44
ORISSA	14	8	6	56	19	37	254	86	126	12
Cuttack	16	12	4	82	28	34	319	61	128	23
Balasore	31	24	3	69	38	33	193	42	195	11
Puri	42	32	10	35	24	11	194	63	241	21
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	35	28	7	77	24	53	107	47	120	86
Hazaribagh	32	27	5	112	41	71	115	34	138	86
Ranchi	24	15	9	220	53	167	130	60	105	86
Palamau	38	31	4	55	35	20	89	37	110	79
Manbhum	92	18	49	75	32	43	141	37	189	98
Singbhum	72	46	26	152	44	78	88	114	96	96
South J Parganas	57	42	15	171	87	84	154	59	108	90
Aogul	94	84	10	106	97	9	167	24	134	60
Bambalpur	58	40	18	233	117	116	151	74	104	87
Orissa States	79	73	6	20	18	3	113	60	210	67
Chota Nagpur States	126	120	6	13	2	11	114	59	112	133
SIKKIM	339	34	305	39	34	5	92	80	109	86

Total.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—MIGRATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCE AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

PROVINCE OR STATE.	IMMIGRANTS TO—					EMI RANTS FROM—					EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (-) OF IMMIGRANTS OVER EMI RANTS.				
	Bihar and Orissa.		Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.		Variation.	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.		Variation.	Pongal.		Bihar and Orissa.		Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
	1011.	1011.	1011.	1011.		1011.	1011.	1911.	1911.		1911.	1911.	1011.	1911.	1901.
1	3	8	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Almora-Munara	143	798	112	464	332	259	112	401	305	+	364	+	31	305	69
Almora and Nigahra	80	93	886	158	63	1,279	886	2,165	2,457	+	1,100	+	873	2,302	2,209
Assam	3,142	70,231	398,984	48,295	21,035	193,476	398,984	592,139	503,876	+	120,486	+	395,432	522,008	465,980
Ditto State	321	241	300	...	241	300	300	803	...	+	75	+	463	502	...
Dalhousie	10	116	123	...	116	123	62	195	...	+	26	+	43	60	...
Ditto (Agency Tracts)	10	19	150	...	19	150	150	482	...	+	17	+	1	16	782
Baroda States	108	232	332	134	08	332	1,233,943	...	916	+	208	+	42	250	...
Bengal	165,353	...	...	...	...	...	18,428	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto States	51	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar and Orissa	1,248,401	...	...	...	...	153,400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto	2,202	8,151	...	5,390	2,732	11,094	...	7,253	5,402	+	428	+	1,320	808	1,283
Bombay (including Adm.)	5,040	3,807	380	1,295	2,511	6,377	380	977	...	+	2,081	+	940	2,030	...
Ditto States	2,678	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burma	173	2,773	2,773	1,664	1,109	135,756	8,892	144,148	155,998	+	33,150	+	8,910	141,375	155,334
Central India Agency	3,610	0,771	1,001	23,116	15,345	1,001	1,115	144,148	0,100	+	2,157	+	2,405	2,405	18,020
Central Provinces and Berar	35,465	67,553	46,734	46,734	11,093	3,432	98,174	105,318	44,650	+	15,836	+	60,210	44,883	17,020
Ditto States	1,599	15,780	234	15,558	+	234	23,954	32,180	...	+	637	+	15,743	10,400	...
Coorg	3	8	6	5	3	6	3	9	18	+	3	+	2	1	13
Cochin	204	448	17	717	214	717	17	734	290	+	473	+	187	285	372
Cashmir	83	376	131	325	51	131	79	210	108	+	162	+	4	180	127
Madras (including Laccadives)	14,240	40,729	6,537	20,695	23,034	6,537	1,401	7,938	0,824	+	7,703	+	34,088	41,701	...
Ditto States	103	122	156	954	832	156	27	183	...	+	53	+	8	61	17,823
Cochin	3	67	25	...	67	25	25	47	...	+	26	+	22	4	...
Travancore	64	70	2	...	70	2	69	256	...	+	70	+	116	100	200
Mysoor	204	632	413	621	11	413	69	472	415	+	759	+	329	1,091	...
North-West Frontier Province	1,034	1,355	22	...	1,355	22	22	214	...	+	12	+	14	14	...
Ditto (Agencies and Tribal areas)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	13,874	+	3,092	17,470	10,308
Ditto States	4,833	22,447	1,191	16,437	6,010	3,700	1,191	4,971	7,074	+	1,610	+	161	1,034	39,688
Rajputana Agency	4,816	1,437	330	1,005	492	330	254	403	884	+	773	+	14,700	50,712	2,188
Sikkim	15,188	61,847	308	40,572	11,275	3,052	308	1,135	...	+	37,822	+	177	307,282	307,049
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	3,354	3,355	189	2,188	1,178	3,052	105,061	130,720	...	+	378,530	+	18,743	...	...
Ditto States	123,801	528,002	32,109	485,803	32,109	25,670	...	...	125,991	+	1,338	+	419	1,757	...
Total British Territory	1,781,286	741,564	641,655	87,546	99,909	530,595	1,849,487	992,739	868,584	+	1,250,691	+	1,475,475	251,175	139,383
Total Native States	55,263	87,005	87,005	1,012	541	21,992	51,546	43,126	...	+	33,271	+	15,379	43,879	...
French Settlements	1,606	1,606	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,099	+	1,600	+	80	1,086	9,987
Portuguese Settlements	755	755	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	764	+	9	764	690
India (unspecified)	106	150	...	...	150	...	...	...	...	+	106	+	44	150	...

The figures for 1901 refer to Bengal as constituted in that year.

* Excludes 34,010 persons born and enumerated in Sikkim

† Figures for French and Portuguese settlements are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Migration between the Province and other parts of India.

British Territory.

[illegible]

The General had better be consulted in that regard.

Native States.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—MIGRATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCE AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

PROVINCE OR STATE.	IMMIGRANTS TO—			EMIGRANTS FROM—			BALANCE IN FAVOR OF—			NET RESULT FOR YEAR 1911.		
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Total, Bengal and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Total, Bengal and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Total, Bengal and Orissa.	1911.	1910.	1909.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Assam—	3	2	5	17	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
Andaman and Nicobars	20,792	7	20,800	19,777	11,662	31,439	—	—	—	—	—	—
Assam	69	—	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto State	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhuchistan	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto (agency Tracts)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baroda States	—	9	9	16	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bengal	—	11,957	11,957	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bihar and Orissa	18,420	—	18,420	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay (including Agri)	27	—	27	162	—	162	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	101	—	101	62	—	62	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burma	—	18	18	18	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
Central India Agency	4	51	55	10,194	—	10,194	—	—	—	—	—	—
Central Provinces and Bihar	1,362	16,712	18,074	1,362	—	1,362	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	6,224	6,224	1,362	—	1,362	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coorg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hyderabad	—	11	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mysore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madrass (including Paccalies)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	1,070	18,694	19,764	6,013	—	6,013	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cochin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Travancore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mysore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North-West Frontier Province	—	16	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto (agencies and tribal areas)	23	50	73	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	—	297	297	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total British Territory	56,409	52,265	108,674	61,265	17,007	78,272	2,982	16,238	15,209	53,427	36,027	63,063
Total Native States	1,131	8,033	9,164	31,589	21,635	53,224	14	721	707	1,117	8,112	9,229
French Settlements	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese Settlements	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
India (unspecified)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The figures for 1911 refer to Bengal as constituted in that year.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BENGAL.

Numbered In—	Born in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.			Born In—	Numbered In the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MIDNAPORE ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	26,408	14,610	11,798	MIDNAPORE ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	20,194	8,255	11,939
	Contiguous Districts ...	15,862	6,365	9,497		Contiguous Districts ...	18,206	7,612	11,594
	Manbhum ...	9,279	3,766	5,513		Manbhum ...	8,163	2,644	5,519
	Singphum ...	811	404	407		Singphum ...	3,439	2,077	1,362
	Other Districts ...	5,672	2,514	3,158		Other Districts ...	7,604	2,751	4,853
		10,546	8,232	2,314			988	632	356
	<i>Bihar and Orissa States</i> ...	1,589	804	785		<i>Bihar and Orissa States</i> ...	10,126	5,065	5,061
	Mayurbhanj ...	1,058	749	309		Mayurbhanj ...	9,938	4,973	4,965
	Other States ...	531	65	476		Other States ...	188	92	96
BANKURA ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	13,018	4,960	8,058	BANKURA ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	28,802	19,379	9,423
	Manbhum ...	11,149	3,687	7,462		Manbhum ...	25,533	17,666	7,867
	Other Districts ...	1,869	1,273	596		Other Districts ...	3,269	1,813	1,456
BORDWAN ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	67,867	39,317	28,550	BORDWAN ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	10,511	4,867	5,644
	Contiguous Districts ...	38,932	20,410	18,522		Contiguous Districts ...	7,185	2,806	4,379
	Southern Parganas ...	27,375	12,576	14,802		Southern Parganas ...	3,539	1,451	2,118
	Manbhum ...	11,554	6,134	5,420		Manbhum ...	3,646	1,467	2,179
	Other Districts ...	28,935	18,907	10,028		Other Districts ...	3,326	1,919	1,517
BIRBHUM ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	32,977	16,030	16,947	BIRBHUM ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	14,114	5,532	8,582
	Southern Parganas ...	28,282	12,607	15,675		Southern Parganas ...	11,696	4,074	7,622
	Other Districts ...	4,695	3,423	1,272		Other Districts ...	2,418	1,458	960
MURSHIDABAD ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	23,811	13,978	9,833	MURSHIDABAD ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	13,791	6,245	7,546
	Southern Parganas ...	14,933	7,278	7,655		Southern Parganas ...	7,636	2,898	4,738
	Other Districts ...	8,878	6,700	2,178		Other Districts ...	6,155	3,317	2,838
MAIDA ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	71,613	39,190	32,423	MAIDA ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	17,432	8,063	9,369
	Contiguous Districts ...	55,317	24,163	31,154		Contiguous Districts ...	16,121	7,429	8,692
	Southern Parganas ...	48,402	21,973	26,429		Southern Parganas ...	6,824	3,144	3,680
	Purnea ...	6,915	3,180	3,735		Purnea ...	9,297	4,316	4,981
	Other Districts ...	16,296	11,057	5,239		Other Districts ...	1,311	604	707
DINAJPUR ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	132,568	81,175	51,393	DINAJPUR ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	4,337	2,200	2,137
	Purnea ...	7,243	3,505	3,677		Purnea ...	2,976	1,104	1,872
	Other Districts ...	125,325	77,669	47,716		Other Districts ...	1,361	1,096	365
	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	162,452	91,856	70,596	JALPAIGURI ...	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ...	1,753	943	810
	Purnea ...	3,282	1,779	1,503		Purnea ...	685	245	440
	Other Districts ...	159,170	90,077	69,093		Other Districts ...	1,068	698	370
	<i>Assam</i> ...	889	672	217		<i>Assam</i> ...	1,869	1,025	844
	Goalpara ...	320	189	131		Goalpara ...	1,818	994	824
	Other Districts ...	569	483	86		Other Districts ...	51	31	20

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BENGAL—continued.

Enumerated In—	Born in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
DARJEELING ..	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ..	28,339	17,700	10,639	DARJEELING ..	<i>Bihar and Orissa</i> ..	743	530	213
	Purnea ..	7,305	4,076	3,229		Purnea ..	185	96	89
	Other Districts ..	21,034	13,624	7,410		Other Districts ..	558	434	124
COOCH BEHAR ..	<i>Sikkim</i> ..	2,974	1,423	1,551	COOCH BEHAR ..	<i>Sikkim</i> ..	2,993	1,555	1,438
	<i>Assam</i> ..	3,293	1,927	1,366		<i>Assam</i> ..	1,677	912	765
	Goalpara ..	2,615	1,261	1,354		Goalpara ..	1,526	793	733
	Other Districts ..	678	666	12		Other Districts ..	151	114	37
RANGPUR ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	1,780	1,144	636	RANGPUR ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	16,691	9,429	7,262
	Contiguous Districts ..	1,057	500	557		Contiguous Districts ..	15,882	8,727	7,155
	Goalpara ..	1,036	486	550		Goalpara ..	15,304	8,388	6,916
	Garo Hills ..	31	14	17		Garo Hills ..	578	339	239
	Other Districts ..	713	644	69		Other Districts ..	809	702	107
MYMENSINGH ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	13,065	6,483	6,582	MYMENSINGH ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	59,358	32,410	25,948
	Contiguous Districts ..	12,826	6,312	6,514		Contiguous Districts ..	21,465	11,453	10,012
	Garo Hills ..	797	480	317		Garo Hills ..	4,249	2,036	2,213
	Sylhet ..	12,029	6,832	5,197		Sylhet ..	17,216	9,240	7,976
	Other Districts ..	239	141	98		Other Districts ..	36,593	20,937	15,986
TIPPERA ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	8,372	3,460	4,912	TIPPERA ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	16,281	8,326	7,955
	Sylhet ..	8,187	3,371	4,816		Sylhet ..	15,153	7,589	7,564
	Other Districts ..	185	80	96		Other Districts ..	1,128	737	391
HILL TIPPERA ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	27,506	14,860	12,646	HILL TIPPERA ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	286	117	169
	Contiguous Districts ..	26,309	14,190	12,119		Contiguous Districts ..	271	106	165
	Sylhet ..	25,549	13,813	11,736		Sylhet ..	265	101	164
	Lushai Hills ..	760	377	383		Lushai Hills ..	6	5	1
	Other Districts ..	1,197	670	527		Other Districts ..	15	11	4
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	617	329	288	CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS ..	<i>Assam</i> ..	804	425	379
	Lushai Hills ..	452	293	247		Lushai Hills ..	803	454	379
	Other Districts ..	165	124	41		Other Districts ..	1	1	..
BURMA ..	<i>Burma</i> ..	28	16	12	BURMA ..	<i>Burma</i> ..	..	..	..
	Northern Arakan ..	..	..	..		Northern Arakan ..	..	..	..
	Other Districts ..	28	16	12		Other Districts ..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG ..	<i>Burma</i> ..	1,026	508	518	CHITTAGONG ..	<i>Burma</i> ..	63,968	60,261	3,707
	Akyab ..	845	409	436		Akyab ..	30,521	27,715	2,806
	Other Districts ..	181	90	82		Other Districts ..	33,447	32,546	901

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BHAR AND OMISSA.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM DOMESTIC PROVINCES.									
Enumerated In—	Born in the districts of the contiguous province of—	POPULATION.			Born In—	Enumerated In the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PURNEA	Bengal	20,819	10,175	10,644	PURNEA	Bengal	27,281	14,418	12,863
Contiguous Districts	13,143	5,760	7,383	Contiguous Districts	24,745	12,611	12,134		
Darbhanga	1,885	95	1,790	Darbhanga	7,305	4,076	3,229		
Jaipur	2,976	1,104	1,872	Jaipur	3,282	1,779	1,503		
Muzaffarpur	3,227	1,054	2,173	Muzaffarpur	7,243	3,566	3,677		
Other Districts	7,667	4,115	3,552	Other Districts	6,915	3,180	3,735		
SOUTHAL PARGANAS	Bengal	34,006	14,280	19,726	SOUTHAL PARGANAS	Bengal	245,903	128,118	117,785
Contiguous Districts	29,695	11,367	18,328	Contiguous Districts	118,995	60,134	58,861		
Mithila	6,824	3,114	3,710	Mithila	48,402	25,072	23,330		
Birahm	1,586	2,025	4,601	Birahm	18,933	7,622	11,311		
Other Districts	4,311	2,713	1,593	Other Districts	28,282	12,976	15,306		
MANBHUM	Bengal	57,373	40,609	16,764	MANBHUM	Bengal	31,602	13,795	17,807
Contiguous Districts	32,618	21,110	11,508	Contiguous Districts	23,514	9,222	14,292		
Birahm	3,645	1,167	2,478	Birahm	11,545	5,131	6,414		
Muzaffarpur	2,339	1,066	1,273	Muzaffarpur	11,811	3,687	8,124		
Other Districts	24,755	18,192	6,563	Other Districts	8,088	4,316	3,772		
SINGHBHUM	Bengal	11,326	4,763	6,563	SINGHBHUM	Bengal	13,505	6,328	7,177
Contiguous Districts	7,604	2,721	4,883	Contiguous Districts	5,672	2,314	3,358		
Muzaffarpur	3,722	2,012	1,710	Muzaffarpur	7,833	3,074	4,759		
Other Districts	9,044	3,419	5,625	Other Districts	39,793	31,754	8,039		
BALASORE	Bengal	8,163	2,814	5,349	BALASORE	Bengal	675	277	398
Contiguous Districts	881	602	279	Contiguous Districts	9,379	3,623	5,756		
Muzaffarpur	6,322	2,835	3,487	Muzaffarpur	30,414	25,131	5,283		
Other Districts				Other Districts					
URI	Madras	5,558	2,117	3,441	URI	Madras	42	31	11
Contiguous Districts	5,764	2,117	3,647	Contiguous Districts	633	246	387		
Other Districts				Other Districts					
ANGUL	Madras	5,289	2,427	2,862	ANGUL	Madras	86,388	45,767	40,621
Contiguous Districts	5,285	2,425	2,860	Contiguous Districts	18,330	9,330	9,000		
Other Districts				Other Districts	68,058	36,437	31,621		
SAMBALPUR	Central Provinces and Berar	13,687	6,604	7,083	SAMBALPUR	Central Provinces and Berar	13,045	5,512	7,533
Contiguous Districts	5,056	1,707	3,359	Contiguous Districts					
Other Districts	1,617	572	1,045	Other Districts					
	3,449	1,133	2,314						

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BIHAR AND ORISSA—concluded.

Enumerated in—	Born in the districts of the contiguous province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
RANCHI	Central Provinces States	923	511	412	RANOHI	Central Provinces States	5,218	2,688	2,530
	Jaspur	844	472	372					
	Other States	79	39	40					
PALAMAU	Central Provinces States	1,825	1,002	823	PALAMAU	Central Provinces States	7,254	4,186	3,068
	Surgula	1,797	963	834					
	Other States	28	19	9					
	United Provinces	1,577	877	700		United Provinces	3,112	1,542	1,570
	Mirzapur	996	475	521		Mirzapur	2,848	1,459	1,389
	Other Districts	581	402	179		Other Districts	264	83	181
SHAHABAD	United Provinces	28,035	8,450	19,585	SHAHABAD	United Provinces	30,267	6,393	23,874
	Contiguous Districts	25,754	6,974	18,780		Contiguous Districts	26,645	4,519	22,126
	Mirzapur	2,510	1,105	1,405		Mirzapur	4,839	1,291	3,548
	Benares	3,551	1,283	2,268		Benares	1,623	1,023	600
	Gonda	2,731	1,132	1,600		Gonda	8,543	1,760	6,783
	Ballia	9,524	2,130	7,394		Ballia	5,159	1,149	4,010
	Other Districts	2,281	1,476	805		Other Districts	3,622	815	2,807
SARAN	United Provinces	24,503	7,016	17,487	SARAN	United Provinces	53,099	17,080	36,019
	Contiguous Districts	22,511	6,703	15,758		Contiguous Districts	49,818	14,933	34,885
	Ballia	3,486	1,186	2,300		Ballia	6,286	657	5,629
	Gorakhpur	19,045	4,567	14,478		Gorakhpur	43,532	14,281	29,251
	Other Districts	1,992	1,263	729		Other Districts	3,281	2,142	1,139
CHAMPARAN	United Provinces	26,559	13,877	12,682	CHAMPARAN	United Provinces	7,102	3,059	4,043
	Gorakhpur	23,911	12,116	11,795		Gorakhpur	6,854	2,937	3,917
	Other Districts	2,648	1,761	887		Other Districts	248	122	126
ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES	Bengal	11,814	6,141	5,673	ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES	Bengal	3,680	2,093	1,587
	Midnapore	10,094	5,017	5,077		Midnapore	1,588	803	785
	Other Districts	1,720	1,094	626		Other Districts	2,092	1,290	802
	Madras	18,687	9,380	9,307		Madras	975	562	413
	Contiguous Districts	17,451	8,695	8,756		Contiguous Districts	47	36	11
	Ganjam	12,087	5,688	6,399		Ganjam	47	36	11
	Vizagapatnam	2,314	2,337	2,447		Vizagapatnam	928	526	402
	Other Districts	1,226	885	341		Other Districts	...	...	...
Central Provinces and Bihar.	Rajpur	13,688	6,897	6,791	Central Provinces and Bihar.	Rajpur	2,762	1,260	1,502
	Other Districts	4,986	2,590	2,396		Other Districts	...	...	...
Central Provinces States	Contiguous States	6,298	3,114	3,184	Central Provinces States	Contiguous States	...	...	...
	Balgarh	6,562	2,747	3,815		Balgarh	...	...	...
	Jashpur	3,236	1,775	1,461		Jashpur	...	...	...
	Other States	2,026	992	1,034		Other States	...	...	...
		7,336	367	399			...	...	...

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

PART I.—STATISTICAL.

435.

INTRODUCTION.

Statistics for all religions are contained in Imperial Table VI, while Tables XVII and XVIII give figures for the denominations, races and ages of Christians. The following subsidiary tables, in which the statistics are illustrated by means of proportional figures, will be found at the end of this chapter.

Subsidiary Table I—Showing the general distribution of the population by religion.

Subsidiary Table II—Showing the strength of the main religions in each district and natural division at each of the last four censuses.

Subsidiary Table III—Showing the numbers and variations of Christians in each district and natural division.

Subsidiary Table IV—Showing the distribution of Christians by race and sect.

Subsidiary Table V—Showing the Christian races distributed by sect and the Christian sects distributed by race.

Subsidiary Table VI—Showing the distribution of the urban and rural population by religion in each natural division.

RELIGION.

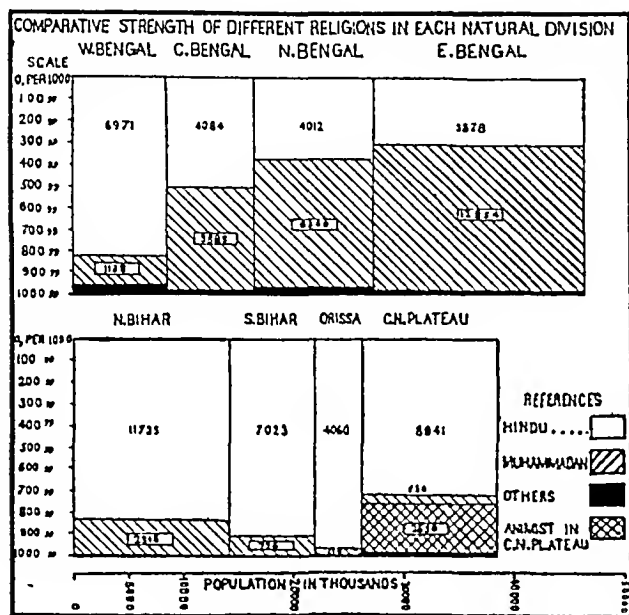
RELIGION.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Number.	Variation per cent., 1901—1911.	Number.	Variation per cent., 1901—1911.
Hindus	20,942,379	+ 3.9	31,742,018	+ 3.9
Muslims	21,947,980	+ 10.4	2,720,288	+ 4.0
Christians	237,228	+ 63.1	2,581,414	+ 19.2
Buddhists	236,866	+ 14.0	843	+ 128.6
Jains	129,746	+ 106,306	172,438	+ 32.3
Others	6,782	+ 2.0	2,636	+ 74.3
Total	20,942,379	+ 3.9	31,742,018	+ 3.9

The general distribution of the people by religion at this and the last census is shown in the margin together with the variations which have occurred since 1901. In Bengal the Muslims predominate, representing 52.3 per cent. of the population, and outnumbering Hindus (45.2 per cent.) by over $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. These two religions account for all but 2.4 per cent. of the population, the other religions being but poorly represented. Animists, Buddhists and Christians, taken together, number only a little over 1,100,000, and the aggregate for all other religions is under 16,000. The distribution of religions in Bihar and Orissa is very different. Hindus form an overwhelming majority, representing 82.6 per cent. of the total population, and then come, *longo intervallo*, the Muslims with 9.6 per cent. and Animists with 1 per cent. Christians account for over a quarter of a million, or more than double the number found in Bengal, but no other religion has even 5,000 adherents.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE ENTRY OF RELIGION.

437. The instructions regarding the entry of religion in the schedules were that the religion which each person returned to be entered, and that when a person belonged to an aboriginal tribe and had no recognized religion (i.e., was not a Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, etc.), the name of the tribe was to be entered. All persons whose tribal name was entered in the schedules were taken to be Animists. It was specifically laid down that the answer which each man gave about his religion was to be accepted, but it is recognized that these orders were not always carried out. As Mr. Gait said in 1901, it is fashionable to call oneself a Hindu, and many semi-aboriginals lay claim to be Hindus, though Hindus scout their pretensions. In some parts Hindu enumerators refused to enter certain claims which they considered preposterous, and would not enter the aspirants as Hindus. The practical difficulties which arise over this question may be realized from the report of Mr. M. G. Halliday, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Gumla in Ranchi. "One of the chief difficulties which arose in connection with the filling up of the census schedules

Chota Nagpur was in regard to the entry in the column of religion. Much



doubt was felt, and many questions were asked both by supervisors and enumerators as to whether certain castes should be classified as Hindus or Animists. The general rule issued on this point was to the effect that every person who called himself a Hindu was to be entered as such. In the case of Oraons, Kharias, Mundas, Asurs and other purely aboriginal tribes, there was no difficulty. I only came across two instances in which an Oraon claimed to be a Hindu: one was a Sub-Inspector of Police, and the other was a man who had risen above

other members of his tribe and become the proprietor of two or three villages. Such persons were naturally recorded as Hindus, but in the case of other Oraons, apart of course from the converts to Christianity, the entry was Animist. The difficulty arose in dealing with castes which are, as it were, on the border line. I allude in particular to such castes as Chik, Ghasi, Turi, Lohar, Gond, Dom and others. If you ask a person of these castes the straight question 'What is your religion,' he will probably reply that he is a Hindu, or again if you ask him 'Are you a Hindu,' he will probably reply in the affirmative. If, however, you prosecute your inquiries further, and try to find out whether he observes any of the tenets of Hinduism, you will soon discover that his first answer was given merely as the result of ignorance, and that his superstitious and religious customs are much more closely allied to the Animistic religion of the Oraon and Munda than to the religion of the Hindu. The entry in column 3 depended therefore to a large extent on the individual supervisor or enumerator. He interpreted the general order on the subject according to his own religion. The Hindus, such as they are, of these parts look down upon the border-line castes, and are not willing to admit that they are Hindus. Hence the enumerator who was a Brahman or Kayasth or Rajput would record these persons as Animists. On the other hand, when the enumerator was an educated Christian, Oraon or Munda, he would record them as Hindus, accepting their bare statement. It was thus practically impossible to secure uniformity in this entry. Nor would a uniform entry be correct. In the more out-of-the-way parts of the district these castes are undoubtedly more Animistic in their religion than in the more civilized parts, and again individuals in these castes who have risen at all in the social scale have undoubtedly more claim to be regarded as Hindus."

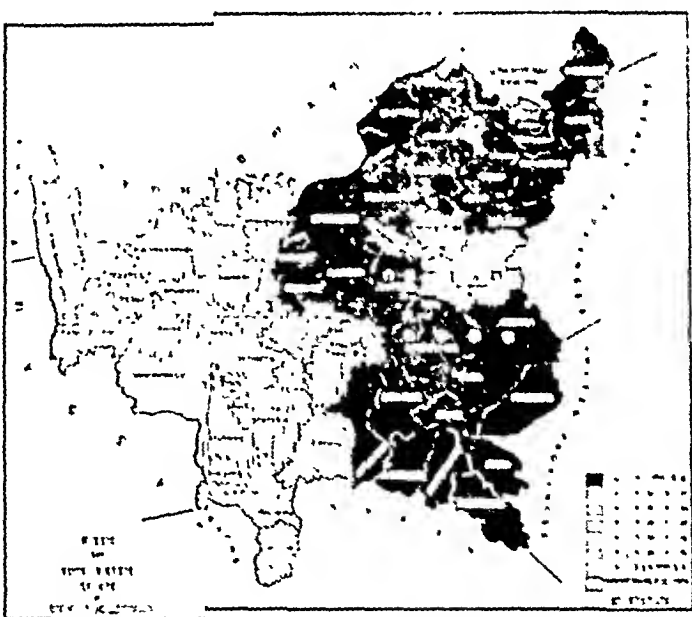
438. In Bengal the Hindu element steadily diminishes as one proceeds eastwards. The most distinctively Hindu districts are found in West Bengal (the Burdwan Division), where Hindus represent 82 per cent. of the total population.

In Central Bengal the proportion falls to 51 per cent., while in North Bengal it is only 37 per cent., the minimum of 31 per cent. being reached in East Bengal. West Bengal contributes one-third of the total Hindu population of the province, and East Bengal a little over a quarter, while Central and North Bengal each account for under a fifth. Proportionately, the greatest number of Hindus is found in Midnapore (88 per cent.), and the smallest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (9 per cent.). Altogether, there are only ten districts in which Hindus outnumber Musalmans, viz., the six districts of West Bengal, the 24 Parganas in Central Bengal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts: in the district last named, however, the Hindus are largely outnumbered by both Animists and Buddhists. The

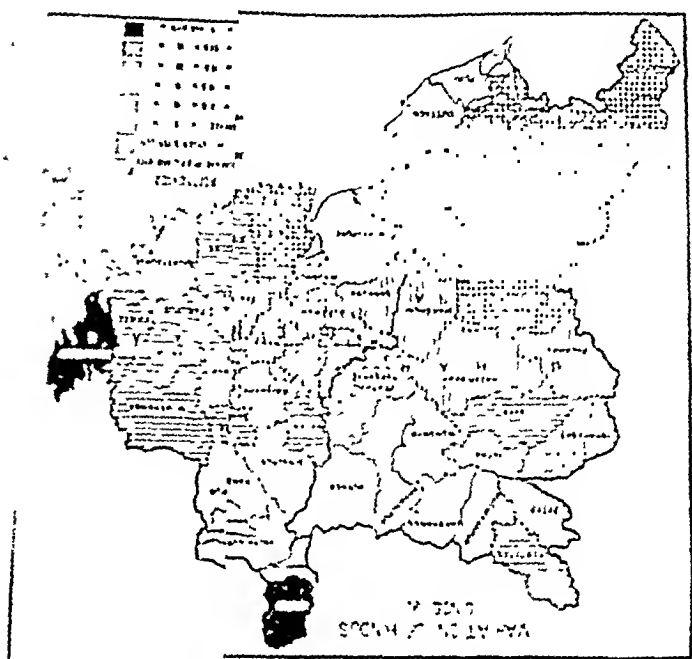
Hindu community is in a majority in the States of Cochin, Behar and Hill

Tripura, and also in Valerita, where it represents over two-thirds of the total population.

In Bihar and Orissa over one-third of the total Hindu population is found in North Bihar, where Hindus number nearly 117 millions, or more than the aggregate for both South Bihar and Orissa. Populations of these provinces are, however, not given in the Census Report.



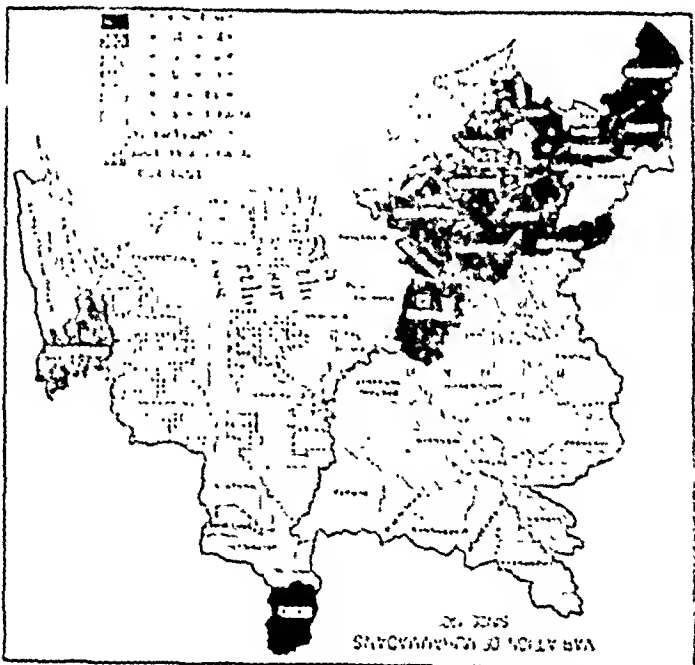
where 97 out of every 100 inhabitants belong to that religion. In Bihar comes next with 90 per cent., while the Chota Nagpur Hill last with 72 per cent. In Bengal and Sindh the Hindu population is found in two districts, the sparsest Hindu population is found in Punjab, and then in the Chota Nagpur States, 57 per cent. In Bengal the Hindus have increased by nearly 10 per cent. in the preceding decade. The greatest advance, 6.6 per cent., in their proportionate strength is least, but where the population is least.



the total population has fallen since 1901. The Hindu population of Bihar and Orissa, where it is 12 per cent., as will be seen, have been even greater, had it not been that Hindus in 1901 were returned as Animists at

412. In Bengal as a whole the Muslims have increased by 10.1 per cent. since 1901. Their increase has been lowest in the districts where they were a small minority in 1901.

in the tracts where they are, at minimum, 1.16 per cent, and North



living in towns, who have decreased by 22.97%, or 15 per cent., owing to epidemics of plague and other diseases. In the Thar-Nagar plateau the Mhalians are now numerous by 17.5 per cent. than in 1901, and in Orissa by 10.1 per cent., but in North Bihar they have increased by only a little over 5 per cent.

133. In Bengal the Mussulmans are increasing more rapidly than the Hindus, the percentage of increase among them during the last decennium being nearly three as many as those of the Hindus.

This is no new feature, but has been in operation for the last 30 years. There is no doubt that it is among the highest in the world.

[illegible]

During the last 30 years, Hindus of Bengal have added only 16 per cent. to their numbers, while the followers of the Prophet have an addition of 29 per cent. Nowhere have the latter made such progress as in East Bengal, where they are more numerous by 50½ per cent. than they were in 1881; the corresponding ratio for Hindus is a little under 26 per cent. The only area in which the Hindus are increasing more

441. In Bihar and Orissa there is practically no difference between the percentages of increase for members of the two religions since 1901 partly due to the losses sustained by death among the Musal-

showing the number of children who were under 10 years of age at the time of the census (7.6 children born

[illegible]

1		2		3		4	
PROVINCE AND DIVISION.		PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES AVERAGE 15-40.		HINDUS.		MUSALMANS (CORRESPONDING 3)	
Bengal.		168	171	151	156	97	110
West Bengal	...	...	...	163	166	101	...
Central Bengal	...	...	...	154	158	103	...
North Bengal	...	...	...	104	109	109	...
Bihar and Orissa		176	165	107	...	...	...
North Bihar	...	177	161	110	...	...	...
South Bihar	...	162	160	101	...	...	...
Orissa	...	172	121	114	...	...	...
Uthar Nagpur Plateau	...	190	143	104	...	...	...

Showing the number of children who were under 10 years of age at the time of the census (i.e., children born between 1901 and 1911 who were living at the time of the census) per 100 married females aged 15-40. It will be seen that the proportion of children among Muslims is higher than among Hindus in every natural division except North Bengal, where it is the same, and West Bengal, where a large number of the Hindus are of aboriginal descent. It may fairly be inferred that the relative excess of children in the Muhammadan community is due to their greater fecundity. It may be added that the Annists are far more prolific, the number of children of the same age to 100 married females aged 15 to 40 being 200 in Bengal and 223 in Bihar and Orissa.

To sum up the main conclusions briefly, the absolute growth of Musal-
mans, in Bengal must be greater than that of the Hindus, because of (1)
their numerical superiority, (2) their greater fecundity, and (3) the larger
number of married females at the child-bearing age. Their rate of growth
must also be greater on account of the last two factors, and also because of
social practices which favour reproduction, viz., widow marriage, and, to a
small extent, polygamy.

448. In order to ascertain whether there is any difference between the physique of Hindus and Musalmans which might throw light on their comparative physical powers, statistics have been compiled of the heights and weights of *healthy* prisoners, aged 20 to 45, on their admission to jail: prisoners were selected for the purpose, as there is no other means available either of getting a reliable record of age, weight and height, or of knowing that the persons examined are in good health. The result is to show that there is little difference between members of the two religions.

RELIGION.	No. examined.			MALES AVERAGE.			FEMALES AVERAGE.		
	Weight.	Height.	No. examined.	Weight.	Height.	No. examined.	Weight.	Height.	No. examined.
Hindus	746	110 11	3 44	139	94 0	224	139	94 0	224
Muslimans	719	111 12	3 34	139	94 8	230	139	94 8	230
Aborigines	161	103 12	3 34	139	94 8	230	139	94 8	230

RELIGION.	No. examined.		Weight.		Height.	No. examined.	Weight (Height).
	MALES	FEMALES	AV. WEIGHT.	AV. HEIGHT.			
Hindus	746	524	110 11	139	Pt. in.	Pt. in.	
Musalman	719	380	111 2	84 5	Lbs. ozs.	Lbs. ozs.	
Aboriginals	161	94	103 15	84 8			

ANSWER

strongly are Alexandrian and the Churching till times, where they consist for the most part of Kothes and Typars respectively.

In Bihar and Orissa the Animistic element is far stronger, the Animists numbering 2,720,288. Out of this number, however, all but 70,128 are inhabitants of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which is a remote tract, the refuge of aboriginal races, over which neither Hindu civilization nor the Musalman power obtained any hold. They are found in greatest strength in the Southern Prangars and Kanchi, which between them contain nearly half the total number, but proportionately they are most numerous in Singhbhum, where they represent 54 per cent. of the population.

121. The number of Anubists in Bengal has risen since 1901 by no less than 50 per cent. Here it is the almost entirely to immigration. In theory, for instance, the

152. In 1980, the Ministry of Education and Science of the USSR has issued a decree on the organization of the work of the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The decree states that the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR should be organized in a way that ensures the most effective use of the scientific resources of the Academy. The decree also states that the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR should be organized in a way that ensures the most effective use of the scientific resources of the Academy.

Համայնք	Բնակավայր	Բնակավայրի տեսակ	Բնակավայրի մակերեսը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքի տեսակ
Համայնք	Բնակավայր	Բնակավայրի տեսակ	Բնակավայրի մակերեսը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքի տեսակ
Համայնք	Բնակավայր	Բնակավայրի տեսակ	Բնակավայրի մակերեսը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքը, հա	Բնակավայրի տարածքի տեսակ

of aboriginal tribes. The only district in Chota Nagpur in which there has been a decrease is Hazaribagh, where Adivahs have declined.

15 per cent. This decline may point to the absorption of aboriginals by Hinduism, natural in a district which borders on Bihar, an ancient home of Brahmanism, and in which the inhabitants are mostly semi-Hinduized ; more probably, however, it should be ascribed to the standard of the enumerators being different from that of 1901. Outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the advance of Animists is greatest in Purnea, where 29,971 were enumerated as against 295 in 1901 : one-third of these were immigrants from the Sonthal Parganas. Their growth in Bhagalpur (from 3,060 to 22,515) is little less remarkable but here it is not dependent on immigration, the number of Animist immigrants being under 3,000, of whom 2,000 came from the Sonthal Parganas.

453. A small minority of the Buddhists are Chinese, who have settled in Calcutta. Practically all the remainder are found in three widely separated tracts, viz., in the south-east of Bengal, in the extreme north of that province, and in Orissa. Their

				1911.	1901.
Chittagong Division	...	...	...	173,194	149,739
Backergunge	...	...	...	8,828	7,220
Hill Tippera	...	...	...	3,997	5,999
Total	...	...	...	188,019	162,958
Darjeeling	...	...	...	47,905	44,044
Sikkim	...	...	...	23,915	20,544
Jalpaiguri	...	...	...	8,034	6,391
Total	...	...	...	84,874	70,879
Cuttack	...	...	...	161	2
Puri	...	...	...	273	...
Orissa States	...	...	...	1,431	717
Total	...	...	...	1,865	719

distribution is shown in the marginal statement, from which it will be seen that, so far from losing ground, Buddhism is making headway. The history of Buddhism in these three tracts is very different. In the south-eastern tract Buddhism is, to some extent, a survival of early Buddhism, which was introduced by Buddhists from Bengal or Bihar in the 10th century. When the Musalman conquest took place, a number of the Buddhists fled to the hills in the interior, where they converted the hill tribes. The majority of the Buddhists, however,

are Maghs, mostly the descendants of Arakanese pirates who settled in Bengal during the 17th and 18th centuries, or of peaceful cultivators who migrated to Chittagong and the neighbouring districts at two different periods, viz., in 1638, when a revolution took place in Arakan, and at the close of the 18th century, when Arakan was conquered by the Burmese. The descendants of these later immigrants are known as Roang (*i.e.*, Arakan) Maghs. There is also another class known as Rajbansi or Barua Maghs, who are the offspring of Magh mothers and Bengali fathers and have followed their mothers' religion. Their Buddhism is strongly tinged both with Animism and Hinduism, but during the last half century there has been a revival, due to the preaching of Buddhist priests from Burma, and a Buddhist association has been started in order to preserve the purity of their faith.

454. The Buddhism of the northern area is also a curious mixture. Its adherents belong to three different races, viz., the Nepalese, Bhotias and Lepchas. The Buddhism of the Nepalese dates back to the days when it was the religion of Northern India, but it is overlaid with Hinduistic and Animistic beliefs and practices. The Buddhists of Nepal took over the whole body of Animistic deities, both benevolent and malignant, while from the Hindus they adopted not only Saivism but also Saktism, with Tantric mysticism and the esoteric cult of female deities. The Buddhism of the Bhotias and Lepchas was introduced by Lamas from Tibetan monasteries, who travelled south and converted the people. In it can be traced the pre-Buddhistic beliefs of the Tibetans known as the Bonpo religion, which is little more than demonolatory. "The rites of religion are chiefly valuable in averting the anger or malice of an evil spirit, and all sickness is caused by such possession. The *Bongtina* or sacrificial priest is the cunning expert who indicates the offended demon, and prescribes the proper sacrifice of cow or pig or goat or fowl needed to appease him. As a perpetual offering to ward off danger, each household keeps a little basket containing rice and a small silver coin." If the family's resources are so exhausted that they cannot keep the basket full, they will, in simple faith, deposit a few grains of rice, wrapped up in a leaf, as a pledge to be redeemed when better days come.

455. The Buddhists in Orissa are nearly all Sāraks, of whom 1,833 re-

turned their religion as Buddhism, their distribution being as shown in the margin. Attention was first drawn to the Buddhistic Sāraks of Orissa by Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report of 1901, in which he pointed out that Sārak is derived from *Srāvaka*, the Sanskrit word for "a hearer," which was used by the Buddhists for the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries. At the census of 1901 only the Sāraks of Baramba were shown as Buddhists, the others being entered as Hindus, though those of Tigrina and Cuttack claimed to have the same religion as their caste fellows. The Sāraks, who are also known as Sāraki Tantis, are mostly weavers, though some have taken to cultivation. They worship Buddha, together with the Brahmanic deities, and eat neither flesh nor fish. They neither employ Brahman priests nor observe Hindu festivals, but have a festival of their own on the full moon day of Baisakh and Kartik, the latter being the anniversary of the day of Buddha's birth, death and attainment of Nirvana.

456. The number of Sikhs enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is 4,499,

or 13 times as many as in 1901. Of the total number 932 are immigrants enumerated in Cal-

cutta, and 1,185 (or over half the aggregate for Bihar and Orissa) are inhabitants of Shahabad, the greater number (1,071) belonging to the town of Sasaram. An old Sikh community has been established in this town for many generations. They are Agraharis by caste and mostly traders by occupation, and have traditions pointing to migration from the Punjab, while their physique and features point to a northern origin. There has been a revival of Sikhism among them since 1901,* as a result of which the Sikh tenets have been more strictly observed. A school has been started at which instruction is given in the Sikh scriptures, and many of their neighbours have embraced their religion. Altogether, 548 Agraharis were recorded as Sikhs, and the remainder belong mainly to castes of artificers and traders, notably Kaseras, Sonars and Kasarwanis. There is another small community of Sikhs in Patna city, where one of the sacred shrines of the Sikhs commemorates the birth-place of Guru Govind Singh. A third isolated section is found in Hazari-bagh, where there is a Sikh temple (*sangat*) at Chitra, the founder of which is said to have been a descendant of a disciple of Nanak himself. A further note on the Sikhs of Bihar will be found in the second part of this chapter.

457. Since 1901 the number of Jains has risen from 7,831 to 11,411, of

whom 6,782 were enumerated in Bengal and 4,629 in Bihar and Orissa. The great majority are Mar-

warī immigrants engaged in mercantile pursuits, who leave their wives at home : there are approximately eight males to every three females. There are comparatively few indigenous Jains, though Bihar was the birth-place of their religion. Its founder, Mahāvira, was born at Vaiśālī (the modern Basarh in the district of Muzaffarpur), spent a great part of his life in Bihar proclaiming his doctrines, and died at Āpārapurī (the modern Pārapurī in the Patna district). Ancient Jain shrines in Patna city, Rajgir and Pārapurī still attract Jain pilgrims, and there are small Jain colonies there and also in Hazaribagh, where the Paras Nath mountain commemorates the Nirvana of Parvatanath, the 24th Jaina : nearly one-fourth of the Jains in Bihar and Orissa were enumerated in the two districts of Patna and Hazaribagh. The Jains appear once to have had a number of settlements in the neighbourhood of Paras Nath, notably in Manbhum and Singbhum. Jain traditions refer to the travels of Mahāvira in the surrounding territory, and local legend also attests their presence, for the people still speak of the rule of the Sārarakas and point to the temples they built. Jain remains are found in Manbhum, while in Singbhum their copper mines may be seen in different parts of the country. These early Jains were the Sārarakas or Jain laymen engaged in secular pursuits, and their descendants are still known as Sārarakas, though they no longer follow the Jain religion.

* In 1901 they were returned as Hindus.

† See Bengal Census Report of 1901, pp. 427-8, Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer, pp. 13-14, Patna District Gazetteer, pp. 20, 21, 61, 213, Singbhum District Gazetteer, pp. 23-25, Manbhum District Gazetteer, pp. 48-52, and Notes on the Geography of Old Bengal by M. M. Chakravarti, J. A. S. R., 1908, pp. 285-6.

There are three main sects of Jains known as Digambars, Svetambars and Sthanakdwasis. The Digambars hold that all the Tirthankars went about naked and that Mahavira himself prescribed absolute nudity, at least for ascetics (*sadhus*). They do not clothe their images and they divest themselves of their upper garments when eating: they also believe that women cannot attain Nirvana. The Svetambars, on the other hand, hold the doctrine of nudity, but assert that the use of white clothes was prescribed. They decorate their images with clothes and jewellery; and do not deny women the hope of salvation. The Sthanakdwasis (also known as Dhundias) are an offshoot of the Svetambars, who differ from them mainly in denouncing idolatry, with its accompanying ritual and ceremony, and in denying the efficiency of pilgrimages as a means of shaking off the bondage of *karma*. In their view man can only attain spiritual development and final emancipation by self control, purity of conduct and self-sacrifice.

458. The number of Brahmos in both provinces is 3,543 or only 372 more than in 1901, a fact which shows that this sect is attracting few fresh recruits. The actual numbers, however, give no idea of the extent to which the Brahmo doctrines have spread. Though they have not permeated, they have profoundly influenced the intellectual Hindus of Bengal, and many thousands are Brahmos at heart, but not in name. With the diffusion of higher ideas, for which the Brahmo Samaj is partly responsible, and with the spread of English education and more frequent intercourse with Europe and America, the modernist Hindu feels no particular necessity to secede from the main body of his co-religionists and enrol himself as a Brahmo. There is now a considerable body of persons, calling themselves or called by others Neo-Hindus, among whom there is a place for a monotheist who desires to throw off the trammels of caste and to put his views of social reform into practice. There is greater tolerance towards the heterodox, and among the latter the spirit of revolt which led to the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj is dying out. The present tendency is for Brahmos to be re-absorbed in the main body of Hindus. Those who still proclaim themselves Brahmos are mainly townsmen; only 574 Brahmos were enumerated in rural areas, and 1,529, or 43 per cent. of the total number, were inhabitants of Calcutta.

There are three sections of Brahmos, viz., the Adi Samaj, the Nababidhan Samaj and the Sadharan Samaj. The Adi Samaj, or "original association", lays greater stress on renunciation of idolatry than on social reforms, and keeps to the caste system so far as possible, i.e., so far as it does not conflict with religious belief. Its members call themselves Theistic Hindus, the main differences between them and other Hindus being that they are monotheists. The Nababidhan Samaj or New Dispensation, founded by Keshab Chandra Sen, is less conservative and more eclectic. It does not find inspiration only in Hindu works, but in the scriptures of other religions. The most progressive and influential section is the Sadharan (common) Samaj, which repudiates caste distinctions and holds advanced views regarding social practices, such as the zenana system, the position of women, etc. This is, in fact, much more of a distinct sect than the other two branches, and most Brahmos belong to it. Altogether 2,444 or over two-thirds of total number of Brahmos returned their caste as Brahmo, i.e., they disclaimed the Hindu caste system, and most of them may be assumed to be members of the Sadharan Samaj. Of the remainder, more than half were Kayasths, and less than one-fourth were Baidyas: the members of other castes numbered only 237.

459. The Arya Samaj is a sect which has made its appearance in the local returns of religion since the last census, and now numbers 4,085. As is well known, this sect was founded by Dayananda Saraswati, who inculcated monotheism and proclaimed the infallibility of the Vedas. The Aryas claim the latter as authority for their tenets, and their aim is to purge Hinduism of what they consider later accretions. They repudiate polytheism, idolatry and the sacrifice of animals, and, on the social side, denounce the evils of early marriage, have no objection to the remarriage of widows, and advocate the reform of the caste system. The Samaj has practically no adherents in Bengal, but has made headway in Bihar notably in Patna, where four-fifths of the total number are found. The establishment of the Samaj in this district owes its origin to Dayananda

Saraswati himself. He first visited Patna and Dinapore in 1872, and discussed religious subjects, such as the attributes of God, the worship of idols and the marriage of children, with the local Pandits. He is said to have spoken in Sanskrit and made but little impression in the limited and conservative circle he addressed. Five or six years later he revisited Dinapore and delivered a series of lectures degrading polytheism, idol-worship, infant marriage, enforced widowhood, prostitution, the use of intoxicants, the eating of flesh, gambling, litigation, dishonesty in its various forms, etc. At the same time he inculcated monothelism, salvation by one's own actions (karma), chastity, adult marriage, vegetarianism, total abstinence from wine, etc. This time he preached in Hindi, the local vernacular, and succeeded in winning a number of converts. An Arya Samaj was established at Dinapore, and the new doctrines thence spread to Bankipore and villages in the interior. Some schools and an orphanage called the "Dayananda Orphanage" have been established at Dinapore, but the majority of the Aryas are found in the Phulwari thana, which accounts for 2,575, or over three-fourths of the total number (3,363) in the district. Unlike the United Provinces, where the Samaj is largely recruited from the educated classes, and where the higher castes predominate among its members, the Aryas of Patna are mostly members of the lower castes, such as Kurmis, Kahars, etc.; its doctrines have found favour with only a limited number of Hindus and Mussulmans of the higher classes. The explanation is that the theory of the submergence of caste in the Arya community appeals most to the lower classes, who regard the new system as improving their position and bringing them on a level with the upper classes. Moreover, the custom of widow marriage was already an established custom with many of them, and the sanction given to this practice by the new faith was no small attraction.

460. The Kunbhikpata sect, which has hitherto not found a place in the returns for religion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, appears to have first attracted notice about 1874.

The leader of the sect at this time was one Mukund Das, who spent some years at Pat as an Achari Vaisnava, and between 1840 and 1850 established himself at Joranda near the Kapilas hill in the Bhikmanal State. There he led a life of austerity, tending the sick pilgrims who came to the shrine. After living in retreat for many years, he appeared as the apostle of a new faith. He proclaimed that the idols worshipped by the Hindus were merely stone and wood, and that the worship of such despicable articles was of no avail. The Creator of the Universe was Alekh or Mahima, a spiritual being without form, omnipresent and omniscient, and the road to salvation lay in his worship. The former of these two names means the inexpressible or indescribable, while the latter signifies glorious. Mukund himself became known as the Mahima Guru or Mahima Svami, and his disciples as the Kunbhikpatas, because they, like Mukund Das himself, used the bark (*mat*) of the *kumbhi* or yellow cotton tree (*Cochlospermum gossypium*) to cover their nakedness. He also denounced the caste system, and would eat food cooked by any one except a Raja, a Brahman, a Bhandardi and a Dhoba—the Raja because he was responsible for the sins committed in the State, the Brahman because he accepted gifts from sinful persons, the Bhandardi because he shaved sinners, and the Dhoba because he washed their clothes. He would not enter anybody's house, but used to take his food on the public road in a broken earthen pot. He moved about from village to village, never staying more than one night at one place. He taught his disciples and followers to bathe early in the morning and to make obeisance to Alekh at sunrise and again at sunset, turning their faces to the sun and prostrating themselves seven times in the morning and five times in the evening. He also enjoined them not to eat anything after sunset and before sunrise, and not to take any medicine in case of illness. He died in 1875 and was buried at Joranda in Dhenkanal. As he was regarded as an incarnation of the deity and believed to be immortal, his death came as a shock to his followers. Some renounced the new faith, but others remained faithful, and fresh life was given to the cult by a new leader called Bhima Bhoi.

461. Bhima Bhoi was born about 1855 and belonged to a poor (Khand) family in Sonpur, being employed as in his boyhood as a port carrier. Though born blind and unable to read and write, he was considerable natural powers and had no small poetical ability.

maturity he began to compose verses, in the form of prayers to the deity, which his followers regarded as inspired and committed to writing. These verses are in easy flowing Oriya, and it is said that their style would do credit to a scholar. At an early age he became a follower of Mukund Das, and on his death became one of the leaders of the sect. His disciples increased rapidly, especially in Sambalpur, where men of all classes and castes, except the Brahmans, embraced the new faith: a few Brahmans also threw away their sacred threads, but such cases were exceptional. In 1880 Bhima Bhoi signalized his crusade by an outrage committed in the Jagannath temple. He was inspired by the belief that if the image of Jagannath was destroyed, it would convince the Hindus of the futility of their religion and they would embrace the true faith. In obedience to his command, a body of Kumbhipatias, mostly residents of Sambalpur, marched to Puri, and tried to break into the shrine of Jagannath. A struggle ensued, in which one of them was killed. Some of his followers fell away, partly on account of this failure and partly because of the conduct of Bhima Bhoi himself. A woman with whom he consorted became pregnant, and Bhima Bhoi endeavoured to deceive his followers by telling them that the woman would give birth to Arjun, who would root out all unbelievers. When the child was born, they found, to their surprise, that the woman had given birth to a girl. Bhima accounted for this by saying that it had been revealed to him that the child would be a female, who would destroy the unbelievers by means of her charms. The child, however, died a few days later. Bhima then gave out that she was a fairy, who quitted this world because she found it filled with vice. He was now deserted by a number of his followers, who formed a separate faction, but was still adored and honoured by the remainder. He eventually died in 1895 at Khaliapali in the Sonpur State, which is a centre of the cult.

462. The Kumbhipatias are divided into two sections, viz., the Sannyasis who are ascetics, and the Ashrikas or laymen. The former renounce the world and are celibates. Their life is modelled on that led by their master, the Mahima Swami. Like him, they beg from door to door, have no caste, and take their food only during the day-time at an open place beside a public road. They eat food cooked by people of any caste except a Raja, Brahman, Bhandari and Dhoba, and will not stay anywhere for more than a day, or beg twice from the same house. They do not bathe, have long matted hair, and wear only a girdle of bark or cloth. The Ashrikas or laymen do not renounce the world or married life, but, like certain monastic orders, wear clothes coloured with *geru* (yellow ochre). They do not observe Hindu ceremonies and will not eat anything between sunset and sunrise. They do not kill any animal for food, but eat fish, and the flesh of goat and deer, if supplied by others. They remain in caste and observe caste restrictions, except as regards eating together, for one Kumbhipatia will eat with another without distinction of caste. A Kumbhipatia may marry one of the same caste who is not a Kumbhipatia, but where their number is sufficient, the Ashrikas in each caste tend to form a separate community, having no intercourse with the other members of the caste. Their marriage ceremonies are very simple. The marriage is performed on the road outside the bride's house and is accompanied by oblations to Alekh and invocations of that sacred name. They bury their dead in a sitting posture with the face to the east. Mourning lasts ten days, and on the eleventh day the family undergoes a ceremony of purification. They change their cooking pots, and wash their whole body, including their teeth, and all their garments with water in which cowdung has been steeped; they also drink the urine of a calf mixed with cowdung water.

463. In several respects there appears to be traces of Buddhism in the cult. Bhima Bhoi himself called his *guru*, the Mahima Swami, an *avatar* of Buddha, and several indications of a Buddhist belief have been brought to light by Babu Nagendra Nath Basu in his recent book *Modern Buddhism in Orissa*. According to information gathered by him, even the attack on the Puri temple was due to the desire to bring to light the image of Buddha, and he points out that the scriptures of the sect are full of Buddhist references, such as the statement—"In the Kaliyuga the devotees are passing their lives in disguise, though they have not yet seen the form of the incarnation of Buddha, in the hope that the *gaddi* (seat) of the Sunya will be established in the Province of Bihar. The Alekh will, through his creative

power, assume the form of a human being, in the incarnation of Buddha, for the good of his devotees, who will thus attain emancipation." Briefly his conclusion is: "The Mahimadharms of the Charjats of Orissa are simply Buddhists. Like other Buddhists of the Mahayana School they are passing their days in the firm belief and hope that Buddha will again be incarnated." "The traditions of the Kumbhipatas, as well as their present practices, point to some connection with the early Buddhists or Jains. They say that in the early ages saints, who did not cover their nakedness with so much as a rag or the bark of a tree, came to the hilly tracts of Orissa and were merciful to the sinners who lived like beasts in the forests, tending their sick and distressed: this, it will be remembered, was also the practice of Minkind Das. They, at length, gave up the cult of nakedness in obedience to a Mahima Guru, who bade his disciples wear the bark of the *Kumbhi* tree. The fact that the Kumbhipatas now wear the yellow garb of the Jains and Buddhists, and, like the Jains, do not take any meal after sunset, lend colour to the conjecture that the nude sages of the tradition were Digambaras Jains: Jains, as is well known, were common in parts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa at an early period.

164. It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information regarding the esoteric beliefs of the sect, as they are revealed only to the initiated, but from the enquiries made by Mr. H. C. Mazumdar of Sambalpur, who succeeded in gaining the confidence of some Kumbhipatas, they appear to be as follows. The soul of the father is reincarnated in his son. To attain salvation, one should not be reborn. Man is sinful, because he does not repress his sexual instincts. Perfection is attained when one is free from all sexual desire. Every morning the Kumbhipatas have to give themselves up to absorbed contemplation on the organs of generation, without any feeling of such desire. For the specially initiated, strict celibacy is essential.* (Others may marry and beget children, but they must only have intercourse with their wives at periods favourable for the fertilization of the ovum. If they observe this rule, though they beget children and must therefore be born again, they will be free from sexual passion, and attain salvation at the next birth. Initiation confers a secret virtue by which man and woman are rendered incapable of procreation, even though there may be sexual union. God is an unseen power manifested by the organs of generation, but is not to be identified with them or their functions. God is, in fact, an omnipresent creative energy, but is not visible or expressible, and is therefore called Alekh. These doctrines are certainly not Buddhist but phallic.

165. The history and practices of the sect reveal a strong antagonism to Hinduism and the Brahmans. Minkind Das appealed to the lower and middle classes, decried the caste system, and inveighed against the forms of worship practised by orthodox Hindus. Bhima Bhoi, himself of low caste, is said to have openly reviled the religious system of the Hindus, and, whatever his motive, attacked the temple of Jagannath. The Kumbhipatas do not worship the Hindu gods and goddesses, and will not eat food cooked in the house of a Brahman. Some, like the Jains, will not bathe, not because there is any fear of their inadvertently taking life, but because they declare that true purity is purity of mind, and Brahminic ablutions are of no avail. They do not cremate their dead, as they do not believe in the purity of fire, but bury them. Men of all castes are admitted into their ranks. Though they only marry within their castes, they do not observe other caste restrictions among themselves.

166. The total number of Kumbhipatas who returned their religion as such at the census was only 755, of whom most were residents of Sambalpur, Angul and the States of Athgarh, Keonjhar and Dhankanal. There is reason, however, to believe that their number is much greater than would appear from the returns. From Balasore it is reported that Alekh worship has spread among the lower class Oriyas. A number of monasteries (*maths*) of the sect are also said to be in existence in Cuttack, as well as in a number of the Orissa States, viz., Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhankanal, Baid, Daspalla, Talcher, Sonpur, Pal Lahara, Alimnath, Kaurakhol and Kalahandi. The total number of Kumbhipatas has, in fact, been estimated at not less than 25,000.†

* Bhima Bhoi himself had two children (both still alive), a boy and a girl, and explained to his horrified followers that he brought them into the world in order to create an ideal man and an ideal woman.

† Nagendra Nath Basu, *Mohenjo Buddhists in Orissa* (1911), pp. 170-2.

The chief centre of pilgrimage is Joranda, where the Mahima Guru died and was buried. Here an annual gathering is held on the full moon-day of Magh, when the faithful Mahimas and also orthodox Hindus make offerings at his tomb. The offerings chiefly consist of money, tobacco, cigars, *ghí* and coconuts. The Guru was very fond of smoking, and hence tobacco and cigars are considered the most acceptable offerings. The cigars, after being offered, are distributed to the votaries, who smoke them as *prasad*.

467. The members of the sect belong to a number of different Oriya castes, the most strongly represented being Chasas, Koltas, Khairas, Gandas and Gondas: only three Brahmans returned themselves as Kumbhipatias. The cult is known indiscriminately as Alekh, Mahima or Kumbhipatia, the meanings of which have already been explained. The term Kumbhipatia, however, is, in some places, a misnomer. The Mahima Guru is said to have told his 64 disciples that they could wear cloth instead of bark. After his death the followers of Bhima Bhoi and Gobind Das (another disciple) took to clothes dyed yellow, while others kept to the old custom. Others again wore the yellow robe, but put a bark girdle round the waist.

468. One section, also called Alekh, which is reported from Puri, is said to be distinct from other sections, but their doctrines seem much the same. Their founder is said to have been one Artratan Das, who flourished about 60 years ago. Like Bhima Bhoi, he preached the doctrines of Alekh, the formless one, and denounced idolatry. He similarly composed religious poems, besides giving utterance to mysterious sayings (*malika*). When disease, drought, etc., come, the people refer to these sayings as prophetic. His immediate followers were given a staff and long conical cap to wear, and these insignia are worn by their modern successors. He set up a number of *gadís* or seats of the formless deity, which appear to consist merely of shapeless mounds of earth. Offerings made there were eaten together by his disciples without regard to caste distinctions, and this practice is still kept up to some extent.

469. The Birsais form, according to the census returns, a microscopic sect in Chota Nagpur, but there is reason to believe that their number is really greater, for in one district, at least, those Mundas who described themselves as Birsais were entered in the schedules as Animists. The founder of the cult was one Birsa, a Munda, who was educated in the German Mission School at Chaibasa. He was apparently at first a Lutheran Christian, but apostacized: as will be shown later, he derived a number of his ideas from the Christian teaching he had received. In 1895, while still a youth, he appeared in Ranchi as the preacher of a new faith, and his doctrines, which were largely political, spread rapidly owing to the agrarian unrest prevalent among the Mundas. For many years the latter had been seething with discontent in consequence of the encroachments of Dikkus, i.e., foreigners (Hindus or Musalmans), who ousted them from their lands and robbed them of cherished rights. There had been persistent agitation among them, as a result of which they put forward claims extending to the absolute proprietorship of the soil, subject only to payment of Government revenue. Their rights, it was urged, were those of the first-comers inherited from their forefathers, the transmission of such rights being exemplified in the story of Abraham. This agitation—the *Sardari Lari*, as it was called—was at its height when Birsa came on the scene. By representing himself as divine, he obtained unbounded influence, and under his control the movement assumed a two-fold character, political and religious. He tried to stem the progress of Christianity among the aborigines by forming a new religious sect or caste, to include, among others, perverts from Christianity. The main object of the movement however remained the same, viz., the assertion of the supposed ancient rights of the aborigines in the soil and over the jungles, the motive idea being that by an organised revolt they would be able to upset the authority of Government, and, by the institution of a reign of terror, compel submission to their demands.

470. Birsa took advantage of a violent thunderstorm, when lightning struck the ground near him, to declare that he had received a divine message—an idea prompted, no doubt, by his memory of God speaking to the Israelites from Mount Sinai amid thunder and lightning. He followed this up by

various tricks which invested him with a reputation for supernatural powers. He shut himself up in his house and gave out that he ate only once in eight days, being sustained miraculously from heaven. He said that he was going up to heaven and would not be seen again on earth for so many days, during which, of course, he hid himself. He next proclaimed himself an incarnation of the deity (Hagwan), who had come as the saviour of all persons who joined his standard; those who did not join him were doomed to destruction. As a visible proof of his pretensions, he painted himself with turmeric and showed himself at a window in the dusk, after which it was given out that his body frequently changed into the colour of gold, this being supposed to be a sign of divinity. He also claimed divine powers of healing. A mother brought him her sick child; Birsā numbled some prayers and laid his hand on the child's head. The child actually recovered, though not immediately, and the mother declared that it was caused by Birsā's prayer—in fact, that he had performed a miracle. People flocked in from all parts, bringing their sick, and in many cases their dead, but Birsā performed no more miracles; to account for his failure, he told the people that their faith was too weak. In a few months the bulk of both the (Yao and Munda population in Ranchi were convinced Birsāites, and Christians even became disciples of the new redeemer.

471. His preaching was a strange medley of admissions in favour of purity and asceticism, and of injunctions to his followers to defy the Government and its officers. The worship of idols and devils must be abandoned. There is but one God, he said, and to him alone worship is due. This doctrine appealed to the Mundas, as they said it was an economical religion, saving them the expense of sacrifices. Thursday (Bhāspati), which he transferred as the birthday of Birsā) was set aside for the worship of God, and work was forbidden, as on the Christian Sunday. Birsā had no definite ritual, but prayed to God in a style based on his recollections of Christian prayers. His followers had to wear a sacred string, the *paṭṭā*, as a distinctive mark, men round the neck and women in their hair. When questioned by his followers on the subject of marriage, he said that they could not have more than one wife, but took two wives himself. He inveighed against the sins of stealing, lying, murder, etc., and ordained that white pigs and white fowls were unclean; when he issued a proclamation that they should be destroyed, his orders were obeyed in the Munda households throughout the district. He also foretold a deluge which would destroy all but those round him. It was wasted labour therefore to continue to weed the crops, and as the people would have no further need of cattle for ploughing, etc., they should turn useless to keep it; the people should therefore be turned to weaving, and it was their all loss. The Government money would be burned to water, and it was purchased clothes. In consequence of these instructions cultivation among the Mundas was stopped, thousands of cattle were turned loose into the jungles, and all the clothes available at local markets were rapidly bought up.

472. His teaching became gradually more and more political and incendiary, its refrain being that the people were to rise, drive out or slay all foreigners, and establish the Munda Raj. Birsā would lead them to victory; if the Government tried to oppose him, its guns would be turned into wood, and its bullets into water. No one in future was to obey the Government, but Birsā; no one was to pay rent any more, as all land was to be rent-free. He was arrested, tried and convicted to 2½ years' imprisonment. On the night he went to jail an incident occurred which was regarded as an omen and did much for his cause. It was raining heavily, and an old tool shed in the jail compound collapsed. This was taken to be a sign of God's anger at Birsā's incarceration, and the news spread like wildfire. By the time it got to Birsā's own part of the country, rumour had it that the jail walls had fallen in and that Birsā was coming back to his people. He was released in 1897 on the occasion of the jubilee of Queen Victoria, and promptly resumed his campaign. He gathered some of his followers at the old Hindu temple in Chintā, a suburb of Ranchi, desecrated the images in the temple, and held a dance in its precincts. Some of his men were captured by the police, but Birsā managed to escape, and for some time kept to the jungles in the south of Ranchi and in Singhbhum. Meetings were held

by night in the jungle, always in different places, and with every precaution against surprise. The final outbreak took place on Christmas Eve, 1899, when the Christians were attacked simultaneously in various places from Rauchi to Chakradharpur. The Birsais burnt their houses and in the glare of the fires shot down with their arrows those who came out; they were even bold enough to attack the European missionaries at various mission stations. The authorities took prompt action and the revolt was quickly suppressed, Birsa having, however, some skirmishes with the troops before he took to flight. There were a large number of women among his followers, who did good work in the fighting line. Birsa himself showed no lack of courage, but was never hit. On one occasion, he painted his face with gold saying that he was the Messiah, and exposed himself on a rock during heavy rifle fire to show that he could not be killed. Whenever any of his followers was struck, he invariably told them that it was due to the weakness of their faith. Birsa was eventually tracked down and captured, but, before his trial was concluded, died in prison in June 1900 at the early age of 22 or 24.

473. The Mundas had, and have, a firm belief in his supernatural powers. While he was in jail, no Munda believed he was really confined. They alleged that he had gone up to heaven, and that the authorities had only a clay figure in jail, which they pretended was Birsa. When, after his release from jail, he disappeared for about nine months, it was given out that he had left the earth for a time, but would return again. Some Mundas even now do not believe that he is really dead, and steadfastly expect his return. There is said to be a movement to induce his younger brother to revive the cult, but the latter has not the enterprise or enthusiasm of Birsa, and the Birsa religion seems doomed to die of inanition.

474. A similar movement in the Sonthal Parganas is that known as the Kherwar movement. Kherwar, according to the Santals, was their original name, and the aim of

the movement is a return to the golden age when the Kherwars worshipped God (Chando) only and were undisputed lords of the soil. It appears to have been first noticed in 1871, when a Santal named Bhagrit (Hinduized as Bhagirath) set up as a religious teacher, exhorting the Santals to give up eating pigs and fowls, as well as the drinking of liquor, and to abandon the worship of Marang Buru for that of the one true God. The burden of his preaching, however, was that the land belonged to the Santals, and no rent should be paid for it. He used to have a tray loaded with grain carried round at his meetings and would ask who made the grain. The reply would be Chando or God. He would next ask "Who cultivated the grain?" The answer would be "We cultivated the grain." Bhagirath then would say: "If we cultivated the grain and God made it, why should we pay rent?" His adherents were to be known as Kherwars or Safahor (clean men), and were to rise at a given signal and drive all non-Kherwars, i.e., foreigners of all kinds, out of the land. After this he would reign over them, his subjects being called upon to pay a plough tax of one anna per plough and no rents or taxes. He was eventually arrested, convicted and imprisoned, and the movement collapsed. It has, however, been revived more than once, and from time to time new *babajis* have sprung up, who are credited with thaumaturgic powers, such as the power of curing disease, procuring offspring for the childless, etc. There are still many Safahor in the district, who will not eat pigs and fowls or drink intoxicating liquor, but worship Mahadeo and never kill animals except in sacrifice. In this and other respects there is a decided tendency to adopt Hinduistic practices, but many of the *babajis* have been pervert Christians and their teaching shows traces of Christian influences. The movement is especially apt to revive in times of scarcity when the people attribute their misfortunes to their having fallen from a state of pristine purity when they worshipped only one God.*

475. There are altogether 2,018 Jews in the two provinces, of whom 1,919 are resident in Calcutta. They consist of two main classes, viz., domiciled Jews and Asiatic immigrants. Among the former a certain number are European Jews, some of

* Further details will be found in the Sonthal Parganas Gazetteer, pp. 145—157.

whom are Sephardim, *ie.*, descendants of the Spanish Jews that were driven out of Spain by the Inquisition. The higher classes are Anglicized, and some of their members have risen to distinguished positions in the world of commerce or in the service of the State. The latter are mostly now-comers from Arabia or Asiatic Turkey, who when they arrive are ignorant of English. Nearly one-third of the Jews in Calcutta returned their language as English, and practically all the rest spoke either Hebrew or Arabic. Three-fifths were born in Calcutta, and one-sixth in Arabia.

476. The other religions have comparatively few representatives and are foreign to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Zoroastrians consist of Parsi traders from the west of India. The Confucians are Chinese who have come to Bengal in increasing numbers since 1901. Nearly all the latter are found in Calcutta, where there is a growing Chinese colony composed mainly of boot-makers and carpenters. In this city the Chinese aggregate 2,560, who are nearly equally divided between Buddhism and Confucianism.

RACES AND SECTS OF CHRISTIANS.

477. In Bihar and Orissa 6,221 persons were returned under the head of Europeans and allied races (*ie.*, Australians, Americans, etc.), the number of Armenians and Anglo-Indians* being 92 and 3,405 respectively. In Bengal all three communities are much more strongly represented, there being 24,388 persons who are Europeans or members of allied races, 1,063 Armenians and 19,838 Anglo-Indians. Their greater strength in the Presidency is due to Calcutta, which accounts for 55 per cent. of the Europeans and allied races, 77 per cent. of the Armenians and 71 per cent. of the Anglo-Indians in Bengal. Bihar and Orissa contains more than three as many Indian Christians as the latter Province.

478. The number of Europeans is artificially inflated by Anglo-Indians returning themselves as Europeans. Special inquiries were made in selected towns where there is a considerable Anglo-Indian community, and it was ascertained that three-tenths of the persons who called themselves Europeans, were really Anglo-Indians. The returns in railway settlements were far more accurate, there being a misdescription of race in only one-tenth of the entries. This greater degree of accuracy is probably the effect of the railway authorities keeping a register in which their employees are classified as Europeans and East Indians,[†] and also to the fact that the census staff is composed of railway officers whom the Anglo-Indian subordinate has no chance of deceiving.

479. Nine-tenths of the Europeans are British subjects, and among them the most numerous are the English. The marginal statement shows the strength of the chief European nationalities in Bihar and Orissa and in Calcutta: figures for Bengal are not available as statistics of European nationalities were not compiled in Eastern Bengal. In the two provinces 14,751 persons, or nearly half the total number of Europeans, were born in the United Kingdom, and of these 11,028 returned England or Wales as their birth-place. There are no less than 5,007 children of European parentage under 12 years of age, representing one-sixth of the total number of Europeans, but, fortunately for the vigor of the race, the number between 12 and 15 who have had to be kept out in this country is very small, the aggregate being only 769.

RACE.	Bihar and Orissa.	Calcutta.	English.				
			1861	1881	1901	1911	1921
English
Scottish
Irish
French

represented among the European community, 56 per cent. in Bengal and 64 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa being members of it. One-fifth in Bengal and a little over one-fifth in Orissa being members of it. In both provinces the Anglican community is most strongly represented among the European community, but, unfortunately for the vigor of the race, the number between 12 and 15 who have had to be kept out in this country is very small, the aggregate being only 769.

For the meaning of "Anglo-Indian," see paragraph 476 below.

[†] This is another term for "Anglo-Indians."

in Bihar and Orissa are Roman Catholics, while Presbyterians account for one-tenth in the former and for 7 per cent. in the latter province.

181. The designation Anglo-Indian is used, under the orders of the Government of India, for the community of mixed descent hitherto known as Eurasians. From the preceding remarks it will be seen that their number is really greater than that shown in the returns owing to persons who had no title to that designation entering themselves as Europeans. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that a small number of Indian Christians returned themselves as Anglo-Indians. In some cases the names by which they are baptized, *e.g.*, David or Samson, lend themselves to such deception, but in other cases it is not easy to pass themselves off as Anglo-Indians under the scriptural names given them by missionaries. There is consequently a tendency to abandon names like Job, Benjamin, *etc.*, and to assume European (especially Scotch) names. Since 1901 the number of Anglo-Indians in the two provinces has risen by 10 per cent., though there has been a small decrease in Calcutta.

182. The Roman Catholic Church has by far the greatest number of Anglo-Indian adherents in either province, the proportion being 58 per cent. in Bengal and 55 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. The Church of England follows next with a percentage of 32 and 37 per cent., respectively; nearly all the remainder are either Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians. Compared with 1901 the Church of Rome has a gain of 1,779 persons among this community, while the English Church has lost 670. This change is mainly accounted for by Calcutta, where Roman Catholics are more numerous by 1,240 and Anglicans are less numerous by 1,229 than

they were ten years ago.

183. The figures for Anglo-Indians include the Feringis of Eastern Bengal, who number 1,202 and are mostly resident in Backergunge, Noakhali and Chittagong; all but 14 were returned as Roman Catholics. They are descendants of the Portuguese pirates and adventurers, who either swept the seaboard in their own galleys or were retained as gunners in the service of the Nawabs of Bengal. They intermarried with the women of the country, and their descendants are now scarcely distinguishable from their native neighbours. In some parts they relapsed into paganism, and were only reconverted about half a century ago. In Noakhali they have given up marrying non-Christians and retain their Portuguese names, though these have become corrupted, *e.g.*, Mammel is now Mannu and Fernandez is Fernan. In Chittagong they form connections with Magh and Musalman women, but do not marry them unless they are baptized. The children inherit the names of their fathers, whether they are the offspring of concubines or not; if illegitimate, public acknowledgment by the parents entitles them to aliment and recognition. In manners and habits they resemble natives, and they are even darker in colour. Their religion, dress and names are practically the only things that distinguish them from their neighbours. They adopt English Christian names, but the surnames are still Portuguese, such as DeBarros, Fernandez, DeSouza, DeSilva, Rebeiro, DeCruz, DaCosta, Gonsalvez, *etc.*

184. There is another small community of Feringis near Geonkhali in the Midnapore district, who are descendants of some Portuguese gunners whom the Raja of Mahisadal brought from Chittagong in the latter half of the 18th century to protect his property against Maratha raids. These soldiers of fortune settled on some rent-free land which the Raja gave them, and intermarried with the women of the country. Their descendants relapsed into paganism and acquired an evil reputation as thieves and robbers, though visited occasionally by Roman Catholic priests. In 1838 they were visited by the Revd. J. Bower and Mr. R. Hamfray, the former of whom described them as "nominal Christians with scarcely any sign of Christianity except a few images of the Virgin Mary and Saints, no public worship or prayer, no scriptures, no sacraments." A

31,931. In Ranchi the proportional growth since 1901 has been 42 per cent., and the converts now number 177,112 or 13 per cent. of the population: there are, in fact, more than twice as many Indian Christians in this district as in the whole of Bengal.

188. All the three missions at work in Ranchi have shared in the increase, but the greatest advance has been made by the Roman Catholic Church, the members of which now outnumber the Lutherans, as shown in the margin. The spread of Christianity in the adjoining State of Gangpur is perhaps even more remarkable. In 1901 there were only 1,758 Christians in the State, but the number has now risen to 33,692, and, next to Ranchi, is greater than that returned by any district or State in either Province. The work in this State is mainly an extension of that carried on in Ranchi; two-thirds of the converts are Roman Catholics, nearly all the remainder being Lutherans.

189. As a rule, persons converted to Christianity were returned as "Native Christians," and their caste or origin was not entered in the schedules. In the case of converts, however, recruited from among the Himalayan races or from aboriginal tribes

CASTE OR TRIBE.	Number of persons.	CASTE OR TRIBE.	Number of persons.
DARJEELING		RANCHI—continued.	
Lepcha	1,40	Santal	12,223
Jirbar	215	Santal and Lohar	274
Khami	174	Oron	274
Oron	154	Chak	225
Muri	123	Muri	132
Lambu	134	Khami	125
Nagar	143	Bhujia	12
Mangar	45	Tant	33
Gurung	71	Chak	267
Khas (Chakri)	54	Others	274
Dand	47		
Bhotia	37	PALAMU	
Munda	24	Oron	7,343
Sonowar	23	Munda	231
Naki	16	Bhujia	127
Chakri	13	Unspecified	27
Unspecified	1,347	Others	14
Others	172		
SOUTHAL PARGANAS		SINGBHM	
Santal	7,037	Munda	4,552
Santal and Lohar	95	Ho	1,137
Mahli	241	Oron	143
Munda	47	Khami and Lohar	72
Santal and Lohar	43	Unspecified	828
Jalapatia	42	Others	179
Dom	14		
Bhujia	12	ORISSA STATE	
Santal Pargana	17	Oron	18,251
Unspecified	1,741	Khasia	9,124
Others	71	Munda	8,190
RANCHI		Unspecified	4,711
Oron	44,647	Others	23
Munda	68,232		

over the Nepalese races. In addition to the 1,240 persons who returned themselves as Lepchas by race, there were 1,598 persons recorded simply as Native Christians whose language was Lepcha, thus giving a total of 2,838 Lepchas or more than two-thirds of the total number of Indian Christians in the district.

190. One reason why the aboriginal tribes are more receptive of Christianity than other communities is that a convert to Christianity is not so completely cut off from his relations and friends. In parts of Ranchi, for instance, where the Christian community is strongly represented, not only have their heathen brethren no objection to eating with the Christians, but a renegade Christian can be re-admitted into his original tribe. A further attraction is the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords. Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes, and act as their legal advisers. It must not be imagined that Christian missionaries hold out such offers as an inducement

to the aborigines to enroll themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to the cure of souls, but also see to the welfare of their flock, has undoubtedly led to many conversions. To their credit, be it said, the missionaries have not failed in their trust, and the agrarian legislation, which is the *Shuga Charta* of the aboriginal, is largely due to their influence. Unfortunately this belief also leads to a certain amount of desertions, self-interested converts going from one denomination to another in the hope that a change of pastors will further their interests. A number of these converts, moreover, have, before now, apostatized on finding out that conversion failed to secure the temporal benefits they expected, as the missionaries declined to support preposterous claims. Reverts from Christianity have been prominent among agrarian agitators, and have displayed bitter animosity against their former pastors. It may be noted here that Christianity has had some effect on the tribal customs even of those who have not embraced it. "There is, I believe," wrote the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi in 1903, "no question that a generation or two back, the Mundas invariably burnt their dead; but with the spread of Christian customs and with the diminution of the fuel supply, for the last are very few Mundas now who can say what the ancestral custom was. The Christmas festival is now generally recognized among even the heathen Mundas as the *Lous Pamb*, and I have no doubt that in another ten years it will be confidently claimed as a traditional Munda festival."

191. Among the Hindus of the plains, Christian converts are mostly drawn from among the lower classes, to whom Christianity means an accession of respectability as well as a cleaner and purer life. Those ranking higher in the social scale have more to lose, for conversion means excommunication. If his family do not turn the convert out, they themselves will be ostracized. The result is that he loses his home and his share in the land, and is left without friends or means of livelihood. Their helplessness in these circumstances is one of the economic difficulties the missionaries have to face. A social difficulty is often presented by the low origin of the converts, for, though caste is alien to Christianity, the influences of immemorial tradition still persist. In Nadia, for instance, one of the problems which the missionaries have long had to solve is the treatment of Mundas who become converts. Their customs, *e.g.*, eating flesh of cattle that have died and been thrown outside the village, are repugnant to other Christians, as well as to Hindus, and the Mundas have long been regarded as scarcely within the pale. Even the lapse of 30 years appears to have made little difference in their position. In 1878 one of the missionaries wrote regarding these Mudi Christians, as they were called, "Their Christian brethren have ever regarded them with loathing and animosity. Besides personal dislike, a selfish consideration actuated the other sections in their treatment of these brethren. They found that by denouncing the Mundas, they obtained perfect toleration, and even caste recognition, among their neighbours; but to own the Mundas and treat them as brethren in Christ would have severed the dubious tie which they wish to maintain with the outer circle. Accordingly, for all these years their effort has been to ostracise those poor brethren, and even to drive them beyond the pale of Christianity. If a native pastor ventured to baptise a Mudi infant, he was threatened with desertion by the rest of his people; when a poor Mudi brother ventured into a church, the congregation indignantly protested; if they presumed to approach the holy table, the other communicants declared they would withdraw." A recent account states:—"The Church, even at the present time, finds it hard to receive them in a whole-hearted way, sometimes even refusing to eat or smoke with them; and it is an uncommon thing for inter-marriages to take place with other Christians, though there are cases on record. The problem of how to get the Bengali Church to receive the Bhairag[†] in the same way in which they receive Christians from Mahomedanised or from ordinary Hindu castes, has vexed all right-thinking Christians for many years. In former years feasts were given, and all were invited

* H. C. Streaford, *Variations in Tribal Practices and Beliefs*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1903.

† Nadia District Gazetteer, p. 140-1.

‡ A name, meaning "Brethren", now given to the Christian Mudi.

and were more or less forced to eat together, but such harsh methods were not entirely crowned with success. The more successful way has been to try by education to raise the social status of the Bhratrigan.^o With this laudable object, they have been forbidden to carry on their old industry or to eat the flesh of animals that have died: they have been taught to weave coarse cloth, to keep their houses clean, and to send their children to school.

492. The pioneers of Christian missionary enterprise in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were friars or priests belonging to the

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Augustinian, Jesuit and Capuchin orders. Both the Augustinians and Jesuits appeared on the scene in the second half of the sixteenth century and made their headquarters in Hooghly or at Bandel in its neighbourhood. From this centre the Jesuits sent out several missionaries. One penetrated the Sundarbans, and another went to Chittagong, where he was put to death. By 1603, however, a mission had been established in the latter district, while in 1620 a branch was set up at Patna, where the Mughal Viceroy of Bihar secretly embraced Christianity. In 1632, Hooghly was captured and sacked by the Mughals, one of the reasons assigned for the attack being their anger at the success of the missionaries in proselytizing. Some of the priests were slain, and others carried off captive to Agra, but the Augustinians returned a few years later and have since lived at Bandel. The Capuchins, to whom Tibet and Nepal were assigned as a mission field, made Chandernagore their headquarters in 1703. Within a few years they extended their operations first to Patna, then to Patan in Nepal, and finally to Lhasa itself. The missionaries at Lhasa were driven out in 1745, and fell back on Patan, where they had received grants of land from the Newar Kings and succeeded in making a number of converts. They were not long left in peace, for in 1769 they were expelled by the less tolerant Gurkhas, who had overcome the Newars and made themselves masters of Patan, Katmandu and the whole Nepal valley. They then retired with their surviving converts to Bettiah, where the Capuchins had been in residence since 1745; one of them had obtained the favour of the Raja of Bettiah by curing his wife of a serious illness and had received a grant of land. The Raja gave the refugees an asylum and allowed them to settle both in Bettiah and Chuchari, where the mission has maintained its existence till the present day.

493. Protestant missionaries did not appear in Bengal till about two centuries after the Jesuits and Augustinians began their labours. The first Protestant missionary was Kiernander, who settled in Calcutta in 1758, and the first organized mission was that started by the Baptist Missionary Society, which in 1793 sent out Carey and Thomas to Bengal. The success of this mission is sufficiently attested by the fame and achievements of the faithful band who laboured at Serampore, then a Danish settlement. They were the first to translate the Christian scriptures into the different languages of India. They established the first schools for non-Christian children in the north of India, and the first college for the education of native catechists, published the first native newspaper in India and printed the first books in Bengali. In 1796 the London Missionary Society was started, and two years later its first missionary appeared at Chinsura, which was under Dutch rule. The Church of England did not attempt direct missionary work till the next century, for till 1813 missionaries were prohibited from residing in the Company's territory, and it was not till 1814 that the episcopal see of Calcutta was founded. From that time the work of the Church of England developed steadily, its chief agencies being the Church Missionary Society, which sent out its first representative in 1814, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which in 1820 started by sending out Dr. Mill as head of the Bishop's College at Calcutta. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland was Alexander Duff, who in 1844 devoted himself to the evangelization of rural districts, such as Nadia and Hooghly. Next year a Lutheran mission, known as Gossner's Mission, was started in Ranchi.

494. The limits of space preclude an account of the subsequent development of mission work, but one feature may perhaps be alluded to here, viz.,

^o North of India Church Missionary Gleaner, November 1909.

the fact that many of the pioneers of Christianity have been of non-British origin. The Augustinians were Portuguese, the Jesuits were mostly Portuguese, Italians and French, the Capuchins were Italians. Kiernander was a Mission, was manned by Germans; the first Protestant missionaries in the Himalayas were Norwegians, while the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission among the Saints of the Southal Parganas was founded by a Dane and a Norwegian.

§95. The principal bodies now at work in the two Provinces are as follows:—(1) The Roman Catholic Church, in which the missions come within the following ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Archbishop of Calcutta exercises control over practically all Bengal as well as Chota Nagpur, Bhagalpur and Orissa, and is assisted by Suffragan Bishops at Dacca and Krishnagar. The Diocese of Krishnagar comprises the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Kishna, Murshidabad, Faridpur, Dinapur, Bogra, Malda, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Kalsahi and Cooh Behar: within these districts the Milan Mission is at work. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dacca extends over Dacca, Noakhali, Mymensingh, Pabna, Chittagong and Comilla. Bihar is under the Archbishop of Agra and his Suffragan Bishops of Allahabad and Bettah: the latter place is the headquarters of the Prefecture Apostolic of Bettah and Nepal, which is the sphere assigned to the Capuchins of the Tyrolese Province. In addition to these, there is the Portuguese Mission, which is administered by the Bishop of Mylapur, who is subordinate to the Archbishop of Goa. This mission owns churches at Calcutta, Bandel and Chinsura, and also in the Dacca and Backergunge districts. (2) The Anglican Communion is represented by the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Oxford Mission and the Dublin University Mission, besides the Church of England Zenana Mission. (3) The Lutheran bodies are the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, which is mainly concentrated in Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring States, and the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission, which has its headquarters in the Southal Parganas. The latter is also known as the Indian Home Mission to the Saints, because it was the intention of its founders to raise in India all the funds required for its maintenance. (4) The chief Baptist missions are the London Baptist Missionary Society, the American Free Baptist Mission, the American Church of God Mission and several Australasian missions, viz., South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, West Australia and New Zealand. (5) The Presbyterians mostly belong to the Church of Scotland Mission, which also includes the Guild Mission (so called from its being supported by the Guilds of the Church), and the Universities Mission, which is supported by the Scottish Universities. Other Presbyterian missions are the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, and the Presbyterian Church of England Mission. (6) The Methodists maintain the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, and the Wesleyan Mission, while (7) the Congregationalists keep up the London Missionary Society. Other minor missions are mostly undenominational: among them may be mentioned the Regions Beyond Mission, the Open Brethren, the Hephzibah Faith Mission, the Bengal Evangelistic Mission, the Disciples of Christ, the Church of Christ Mission, and the Church of God.

§96. Since 1901 the number of Indians who have become Roman Catholics has risen from 90,299 to 142,142, i.e., by 52 per cent. Only about one-fifth of the total number are found in Bengal, where they are most numerous in Dacca. Altogether, there are over 11,000 Indian Roman Catholics in this district, which is followed *longo intervallo* by Calcutta with 4,000, by Nadia and the 24-Parganas with about 3,000 each, and by Midnapore with 1,200. In no other district of Bengal does their number come up to 1,000. The chief centre of Catholic missionary enterprise in Bihar and Orissa is Ranchi, where a mission has been established since 1874. During the last 10 years the number of converts in this district has increased by 23,443 or 43 per cent., but even greater success has been obtained in Gangpur, where the members of the communion now aggregate 22,382. The mission had no stations in that State in 1901, but one has since been started and work is also carried on from adjoining stations in Ranchi. In Palamanu, where a

Jesuit mission was started at Mahuadand in 1895, the number of converts (7,703) has fallen off slightly during the last decade, but Champaran, with 2,358 Indian Christians, shows a slight advance. The only other district with over 1,000 converts is Singhbhum, where work has been carried on by the Jesuits for over 40 years: here the Church of Rome has made no headway during the last 10 years.

497. The Lutherans come next to the Roman Catholics in numerical strength, but their distribution is far more localized, all but about 1,000 being found in Bihar and Orissa.

LUTHERANS.

In this Province two-thirds (75,581) are inhabitants of Ranchi, where the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission has been established since 1845. It was originally known as Gossner's Mission, but in 1869 it was split up into two sections, one of which joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. During the last 20 years it has had remarkable success in proselytizing. The number of its converts increased from 19,000 in 1891 to thrice that number in 1901, and since then there has been an addition of 18,000 or 33 per cent. The operations of the mission have also been extended to Gangpur, where there are now 11,000 converts. Nearly 5,000 Lutherans are found in the Sonthal Parganas, where the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission was established in 1867. There is also a community of Lutheran Christians numbering 4,000 in Singhbhum, while 2,000 are found in Manbhum.

498. The number of Indian Christians belonging to the Anglican Church is only half that of the Lutherans and rather more than a third of the number of Roman Catholics.

ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

Since 1901 they have increased by 14,648 or 41 per cent., and the increase would have probably been greater had it not been for a change of classification. At the last census persons who returned themselves simply as Protestants without specifying any particular denomination, and whose denomination could not be traced by subsequent inquiries, were grouped with members of the Anglican Communion, it being thought that the majority of persons who returned themselves as Protestants were members of the Church of England. It was however ascertained that this was not the case, and that many Dissenters also use this vague designation. Accordingly, at this census, they have been classified under the head "Protestant (Unsectarian or sect not specified)".

499. In Bengal, the Indian members of the Anglican Communion are most numerous in Nadia (5,746), the 24 Parganas (4,774), Calcutta (2,908) and Jalpaiguri (2,128): the aggregate for the rest of the Presidency is under 2,500. There has been a slight growth in the 24 Parganas, but the Christian community is stationary in Nadia, while Calcutta shows a decrease. In Jalpaiguri however, the Anglican Christians have increased by 27 per cent., mainly as the result of a Christian colony which was established for Santals in the Western Duars about 20 years ago. The area reserved for this colony is 14 square miles, which was at first covered with dense reed jungle and infested by wild beasts. It is now divided into ten villages, each of which has a headman chosen by the villagers. The affairs of the colony are managed by a council of headmen, presided over by the native pastor. At the present time there are about 1,500 Christian and 500 other colonists, all of whom are Santals. Those who are not Christians sign a pledge to abstain from intoxicating drink and heathen sacrifices, and to abide by the rules of the colony. Every acre of available land is under cultivation, the people are prosperous, and the colony is self-supporting*.

500. There are comparatively few converts in Bihar and Orissa outside the districts of Ranchi, the Sonthal Parganas, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh, which between them contain 30,000. Five-sixths of this number are aborigines in Ranchi, where there has been a growth of nearly 11,000 or 82 per cent. since 1901: the ratio of increase is far in excess of that attained by any other mission in this district. The number of converts has also been nearly doubled in the Sonthal Parganas, where the Church Missionary Society has been established since 1862, and it has been more than doubled in Hazaribagh, where the Dublin University Mission started work in 1892. In Singhbhum, which is under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the number of the Christian is very

little greater than in 1901, but this may possibly be due to the emigration of converts to the tea gardens and elsewhere.

501.

Though not so strongly represented, the Baptists have converts in every district of Bengal. They have made most progress in Eastern Bengal, where their missionaries have laboured among the Xamasudras. In the Dacca Division their number (11,251) has risen by 3,000 since 1901, while in the Rajshahi Division it has risen from 886 to 2,418. In the 24-Parganas they now number 2,785, or nearly double as many as in 1901: here they are called *Dubi*, i.e., those who are immersed in water, in contradistinction to members of the Church of England, who are dubbed *Chitran* or sprinklers, in allusion to their method of baptism.

In Bihar and Orissa nearly all the Baptists are Orissas, 6,143 being enumerated in the Orissa Division and 3,753 in the Orissa States: in the former division all but 1,000 of the Indian Christian community belong to the Baptist Church. The mission has now been at work for nearly a century, and though its adherents are still far from numerous, it has done an immense amount of indirect good. The Baptist missionaries were the first to start properly conducted schools, while the Cuttack Mission Press, which has the distinction of being the oldest press in Orissa, has sent forth a stream of civilizing literature.

502.

Half the total number of Presbyterians are found in Darjeeling, where missionaries of the Church of Scotland are spreading the Gospel among the hill tribes, especially the Lepchas. Since 1901 the number of their converts in Darjeeling has risen from 1,775 to 2,563, or 65 per cent. of the total number of Indian Christians in the district. The census figure, however, falls short of the real number, for 1,002 persons did not return any denomination but called themselves simply Christian without specifying any denomination. Assuming that 65 per cent. of these were converts of the Church of Scotland, the total comes to 3,213, which almost exactly tallies with the number (3,207) borne on the books of the mission. The affairs of each Christian community are managed by its own *manchayat* or Presbytery, and the branches established in the various villages are self-supporting, building their own churches and paying partially for their pastors. The sphere of the mission operations also extends to the Duars, and there is a body of 831 converts in Jalpaiguri, chiefly tea garden coolies.

PRESBYTERIANS.

Since 1901 the number of Indian Methodists has increased by 1,640 or 61 per cent. They now aggregate 4,206, of whom nearly half are found in Burdwan and Bankura. Since 1901 their number has risen from 306 to 828 in the latter district, where educational and evangelistic work is vigorously carried on, especially among the Santals, while a college has been established at the head-quarters station. The Congregationalists are found in greatest strength in the 24-Parganas, where the number of converts has risen from 1,277 to 1,815 since 1901. Outside that district there are only 533 Indian members of the denomination.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

504. The Congregationalists are found in greatest strength in the 24-Parganas, where the number of converts has risen from 1,277 to 1,815 since 1901. Outside that district there are only 533 Indian members of the denomination.

PART II—GENERAL.

HINDUISM.

505. The question has often been asked "What is a Hindu," but it cannot be said that the answers have been altogether satisfactory. The term itself appears to be of Persian origin and to have been originally geographical, designating the people who lived on the further side of the Indus.* Its connotation has in the course of centuries been widely extended, and, as pointed out by

* Yule and Burnell, *Indo-China* (1886).

Sir Alfred Lyall, it signifies not exclusively religion, but also a country and to a certain extent a race. "When a man tells me he is a Hindu, I know he means all three things taken together—religion, parentage and country. Hinduism means a civil community quite as much as a religious association. A man does not become a Hindu, but is born into Hinduism."^{*}

506. The definitions which have, from time to time, been propounded lay stress on one or other of these three aspects.

DEFINITIONS OF HINDUISM.

Elsewhere, Sir Alfred Lyall virtually defines Hinduism as the employment of Brahman priests—"A man is not a Hindu because he inhabits India, or belongs to any particular race or state, but because he is a Brahmanist". Barth, again writes: "The sectarian or neo-Brahmanic religions, which we embrace under the general designation of Hinduism, constitute a fluctuating mass of beliefs, opinions, usages, observances, religions and social ideas, in which we recognise a certain common ground-principle, and a decided family likeness indeed, but from which it would be very difficult to educe any accurate definition. At the present time, it is next to impossible to say exactly what Hinduism is, where it begins and where it ends. Diversity is its very essence, and its proper manifestation is "sect," sect in constant mobility, and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system."[†] In this passage Barth lays stress on the religious aspect of Hinduism, but elsewhere he emphasizes its social system as its characteristic feature. "In sectarian India at present, and since the appearance of foreign proselytising religions, caste is the express badge of Hinduism. The man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu; he who is not, is not a Hindu. And caste is not merely the symbol of Hinduism; but, according to the testimony of all who have studied it on the spot, it is its stronghold. It is this, much more than their creeds, which attaches the masses to these vague religions, and gives them such astonishing vitality."[‡]

One Hindu writer describes Hinduism as a collective name for a group of religions, but points out that obedience to its social laws is the real criterion. "The path pointed by Vaishnavism is different from the path pointed by Saivism; both of these, again, differ from the path pointed by Vedantism. Yet all who follow these and other paths are Hindus. There is probably no religion in the world which allows so much freedom of religious conviction.....Hinduism, in fact, is more a social than religious organisation. It includes all shades of faith—monotheism, pantheism, agnosticism, atheism, polytheism, and fetishism. So long as a Hindu conforms to the customs and practices of his society, he may believe what he likes."[§] Sir William Hunter similarly defined Hinduism as being a social league and a religious alliance. "As a social league, it rests upon caste, and has its roots deep down in the race elements of the Indian people. As a religious alliance, it represents the union of the Vedic faith of the Brahmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the non-Aryan peoples on the otherHinduism is not only a social league resting upon caste; it is also a religious alliance based upon worship. As the various race elements of the Indian people have been welded into caste, so the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes, have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of precious metal and dross, to be worked up into the complex worship of the Hindu gods!"

507. Since the first census of 1872 attempts have been made by the census authorities in Bengal to evolve a definition of Hinduism, but without much success.

THE CENSUS AUTHORITIES AND DEFINITIONS.

In 1872, Mr. Beverley wrote:—"It is difficult to say where the line should be drawn which is to separate the pure Hindu from the low castes which have adopted some or other form of Hinduism. The problem can only be satisfactorily solved by a clear definition of what we mean .

^{*} Asiatic Studies, Vol. II, p. 288.

[†] The Religions of India (1882), p. 153.

[‡] The Religions of India (1882), Preface p. XVII.

[§] Hindu Civilization under British Rule, Vol. I, pp. 77, 87.

|| Brief History of the Indian Peoples, pp. 96, 98.

by Hinduism, and no one has ventured as yet to lay any such definition. What is to be the test of faith which is to distinguish the real Hindu from the semi-Hinduised aboriginal? Which of the gods in the Hindu pantheon shall be made to step down and decide between them? Shall a belief in Krishna or in Durga constitute a pure Hindu? Or shall those only be classed as Hindus from whose hands a Brahman will receive water? Shall the disposal of the dead be made the test, and the various castes be distributed according as they practise cremation or burial? Or shall some form of creed be extracted from the Sastras which we may make those subscribe to who are henceforth to enjoy the dignity of being styled Hindus. Some practical shibboleth of the kind is required, it is clear. Without some such test no two men will agree in the classification of the numerous aboriginal tribes and castes in India who profess Hinduism in some or other of its multifarious forms. This difficulty of classification is one of peculiar force in Lower Bengal. Here we have a great variety of aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes who have been brought into contact with the Aryan Hindus and have been partially civilised by them. Living for centuries side by side, the two communities have acted and reacted on each other. On the one hand, the savage tribes have renounced their barbarism and adopted many of the rites and customs of the invaders; on the other, the Hindu religion has itself been debased from the Vedic monotheism of the Middle-land. . . . And just as we find in the present day tribes in every stage of civilization, so does the Hindu religion in Bengal assume a Prevan form, from the austere rites practised by the shaven pandits of Nadia to the idol-worship of the semi-barbarous Buma. The Baurs, Bagdis, and Chaudals of the lower delta; the Kochs and Rajyas of Dinajpur and Rangpur; the Dosadhs and Musahars of Behar, with many others, are probably all of aboriginal extraction, but have adopted as their religion a form of Hinduism, and can scarcely be classed as other than Hindus."

508. In 1881, again, Mr. (now Sir J.) Bonhillon, the then Census Superintendent, wrote: "The Sikhs and Muhammadans, the Jews and Parsis, have an individuality which it is impossible to mistake; the Christians profess a faith which separates them from all other classes of the community; and the Buddhists and Jains, though they have been said to possess much in common, differ from each other, and from the people who surround them, in dogma, ritual and manners. Here, however, tangible definition ceases, and the remaining religious shades into each other by such imperceptible gradations, and are separated by such impassable partitions, that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other commences: so that the border land between each one and the next is a misty valley now widening and now narrowing but always thick with the exhalations of ignorance and the fogs of doubt. 'What is a Hindu?' asked Mr. Boverly and the question has often been asked before and since without eliciting any satisfactory reply. No answer, in fact, exists: for the term in its modern acceptation denotes neither a creed nor a race, neither a church nor a people, but is a general expression devoid of precision, and embracing alike the most punctilious disciple of pure Vedantism, the Agnostic youth who is the product of Western education, and the semi-barbarous hillman, who eats without scruple anything that he can procure and is as ignorant of the Hindu theology as the stone which he worships in times of danger and sickness."

509. An attempt was made at this census to ascertain whether it was possible to lay down any criterion by which Hindus might be distinguished from non-Hindus, and the opinion of representative Hindu gentlemen and associations was invited on the subject. They were asked to state which of the following tests, proposed by the Census Commissioner, could be applied, and whether there were any others which should, in their opinion, be substituted for them:—(1) Do the members of the caste or tribe worship the great Hindu gods? (2) Are they allowed to enter Hindu temples or to make offerings at the shrine? (3) Will good Brahmins act as their priests? (4) Will degraded Brahmins do so? In that case, are they recognised as Brahmins by persons outside the caste, or are they Brahmins only in name? (5) Will clean castes take water from them? (6) Do they cause pollution, by touch or by proximity? The result was, an extraordinary divergence of opinion, the views expressed varying according as Hinduism was regarded as connecting religion,

social system or race, or a combination of any two or all three. There was, however, a general admission that no one test was possible and that the last five questions, while referring to religious, as well as social, disabilities, were merely matters of social practice.

Owing to the composite character of the Hindu pantheon, the worship of the great Hindu gods was generally considered to be insufficient to distinguish a Hindu from a non-Hindu. It was realized that such a test would exclude from the pale of Hinduism many who were recognized as belonging to it, e.g., low castes worshipping minor Hindu deities, the Arya Samaj, etc., and that no such limit was feasible. As was pointed out by more than one of those consulted—"A Hindu may be monotheist; he may or may not believe in a personal god; he may worship some of the minor deities, or he may be a worshipper of ghosts and spirits or any natural phenomenon. An atheist, a polytheist, a believer in evil spirits, a monist and a dualist, all are Hindus." It would, moreover, be impossible to decide what deities come under the category of the great Hindu gods. The gods regarded as great in one locality or by one section are, as often as not, relegated to a secondary position in a different locality or by a different community. Apart from this, it would be impossible to distinguish between Hindus and Buddhists, for the Hindu gods and the gods of later Buddhism coalesce, Kali being worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike, while Narayan and Siva are often worshipped by Buddhists as Lokeshwar, Jagannath and Sayambhu.

510. A number of Hindus would, however, accept worship as the criterion of Hinduism, if it meant worship of any of the gods or goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. On this point it need merely be remarked that their number is legion and that it is impossible to say which is or is not a Hindu god. "The Pantheon is formed of heterogeneous elements in which all the religious systems which have arisen in the course of centuries have left their several contributions."* It includes gods representing natural phenomena, e.g., the sun, earth, moon, mountains and rivers; gods of the imagination, such as beneficent or evil spirits and deities of disease; ghost-gods; such as the spirits of the dead; man-gods, such as living heroes and saints; and animal-gods, such as snakes, cows, etc.† Inanimate objects also are personified and worshipped: the writer worships his pen, the trader his weights and measures, the cultivator his plough, etc. A stone, according to the *Hitopadesa*, becomes a god when set up by priests.

The number of gods is, moreover, constantly being added to. The latest recruit appears to be the goddess of plague, who has been apotheosized in Gaya under the name Plague Mai or Bombai Ka Mayan: the latter designation is due to the fact that plague first appeared in Bombay. In some villages this new goddess has been given a place in the Devi Mandap and receives offerings like Sitala, the older goddess of epidemic disease. Recently also there appears to be a tendency to apotheosize India as a whole, and we are informed that "the motherland is the synthesis of all the goddesses that have been and are still being worshipped by Hindus."‡

511. The other tests proposed were rejected almost unanimously, on the ground that they would deny the title of Hindu to many who were universally recognized as Hindus. The right to enter Hindu temples and make offerings at the shrine cannot be regarded as a criterion. Only the clean castes are allowed to enter the majority of temples, and this privilege does not confer on them a monopoly of the title of Hindu. The worship of the gods and making of offerings are, in any case, carried on by proxy. A man of low caste will not be allowed to enter the temple of which he is the owner, that right being reserved to the Brahman whom he employs to perform ceremonies in it. Even non-Hindus may make offerings to Hindu gods. It is reported that offerings have before now been made at Kalighat by Christians, and that there is a temple of Kali in Bowbazar Street which is known as Firinghi Kali, the priest of which, a good Brahman, augments his income from the offerings of Eurasians. It is well known that certain castes are not allowed to

* Barth, *Religions of India*, page 252.

† E. W. Hopkins, *India Old and New*, 1901.

‡ *Siccaraj* 1st April 1900 [cf. "The mother they all worship is India—the India which stretches from the Himalayas to the southernmost part of Ceylon. This is the India of their religion," Ramsay Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, page 307.]

enter the temple of Jagannath at Puri, but these castes are recognised as Hindus and are allowed to perform ceremonies outside the temple.* Similarly, at Gaya certain castes, known as Patit Hindus, viz., Chhamars, Dhobis, Doms and Mithhis, are not allowed to enter the Vishnupad temple or the Akshayaavata shrine when performing *sradha*, though they may make offerings at other *vedis*. Briefly, the low castes are excluded from the temples simply because they are unclean castes and not because they are not Hindus. A man may rank so low in the social scale that he cannot be allowed to participate actively in worship, but he is a Hindu all the same.

512. The general tendency of the Hindu gentlemen consulted was to regard Hinduism as a matter of belief rather than of social or even religious practice. The Pandits, on the other hand, considered that Hinduism consisted in the observance of the customs and usages prescribed in the Vedas,† the recognition of the hierarchy of caste, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Brahmans. The majority of the laymen were liberal in their views; some, indeed, went so far as to treat it as faith "all-tolerant, all-complaisant, all-comprehensive" saying that there was no reason why any one in the world, whatever his race, should not be recognised as a Hindu by religion, if he simply professed to be one. They would not acknowledge, however, that any one not a Hindu by birth could be a member of Hindu society. This seeming tolerance is due to the heterogeneous character of Hinduism as a religion. Within its pale we have sects as divided from each other as members of the Society of Friends are from Roman Catholics. We have followers of the Vedas, of Brahminism, of Buddhism and of the polytheistic tribal cults of the aboriginal populations and of eclectic schools, religious and philosophical, of every kind and class"‡. At one end of the scale is the monothestic or universal pantheist, at the other end is the ignorant peasant, whose religious beliefs and practices are scarcely distinguishable from Animism pure and simple.

513. In spite of their divergencies, however, the Hindus have a common religion, of which there are two salient features, viz., (1) religious objection to the slaughter of cows and (2) veneration, or at least acknowledgment of the supremacy, of Brahmans. The latter again is closely connected with the institution of caste with the Brahman holding pride of place at its head. The Hindu castes constitute Hindu society, the distinguishing feature of which is its hierarchical basis. "The only uniting tie between these sharply differentiated bodies is a certain amount of common tradition, a common language for a number of them, and for all a common religion, which consists in being disciples of the Brahmans".§ Though a man may be a Hindu by belief or, to be more precise, entertain Hinduistic beliefs he cannot be a member of Hindu society unless he is member of a recognized caste. Briefly, there is a clear distinction between religion and social system: the former is a matter of belief, the latter of custom. From the religious aspect Hinduism is all embracing, but socially it is a close corporation.

514. There is similar uncertainty about the modern meaning of the word *Allochla*. Mann contrasted Aryas with *Allochla*, the latter living in a different country and speaking a different language. The land of the Aryas was the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains: outside this lay the country of the *Allochlas* or barbarians, i.e., mostly the aboriginal races. According to this definition, the Deccan was comprised in the *Allochla* country, but other writers, such as Vasishtia, imposed no such limitation. In classical works the nations to the west were called *Allochlas*, but not those to the east or north. The Chinese, Burmese and other eastern nations are never spoken of

MALAYANAS.

* In Section 7 of Regulation IV of 1803 the following are mentioned as persons of low caste who were not permitted to enter the temple of Jagannath at Puri—(1) Loh or Kashi, (2) Kalai or Sauri, (3) *Allochla*, (4) Namandara or Chandai, (5) Ghaski, (6) Gazari, (7) Bagdi, (8) Jogi or Nyrba, (9) Kalar-Bauri and Dullin, (10) Rajbansi, (11) Pitali, (12) Chamar, (13) Dom, (14) Pan, (15) Tiyar, (16) Blumali, and (17) Hart. The same list is given in Regulation XI of 1810 except that the Pitalis do not appear in it. If entering the temple constituted a claim to recognition as Hindus, the Pitalis would be Hindus one year and non-Hindus the next.

† One Pandit, however, informed me that, in his opinion, if Vedic practices only were considered, the European who ate beef and drank wine had a good claim to be considered a Hindu.

‡ E. T. Atkinson, Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the N. W. P., pp. 2-3.

§ S. V. Kerkar, The History of Caste in India (1909), p. 16.

as Mlechchas, but the Muhammadans are often so described. In modern Bengali the word Mlechcha is a term of abuse for those who do not adopt the rules of cleanliness (*achara*) of the Hindus. In other words, it has lost its geographical meaning and distinguishes Hindus on the basis of religious practice. It is still also used as a designation for foreigners, but there appears to be some difference of opinion as to how far it should be applied to such races as the Chinese and Japanese. On the whole, the general view appears to be that the term is confined to the Western nations. While those who go to Europe and America are liable to excommunication, voyages to China and Japan involve no such penalties.*

515. While the educated Hindus regard Hinduism as a matter of religious belief rather than of religious or social practice, the vast majority of Hindus will not admit that

THE UNTOUCHABLES.

a man is a Hindu unless he conforms to certain standards—in short, does what a Hindu does. He, in fact, takes the definition given by Mr. Gait in 1901—"Hinduism is not so much a form of religious belief as a social organization, and a man's faith does not greatly matter so long as he recognizes the supremacy of the Brahmans and observes the restrictions of the Hindu caste system." Even if we accept the religious criterion of belief, it is obvious that there are many grades of Hindus, the Brahmans being at the top and those now generally known as "the depressed classes" or "untouchable" at the bottom. As regards the position of the latter a modern Bengali writer remarks—"It is all the same to the Brahmans whether they call themselves Hindus or not. They are just as much untouchables as they were before. Their adoption of Hindu religion causes some amount of amusement, and sometimes gives rise to a certain amount of indulgent contempt. No Brahman will, however, minister to these classes. If a Brahman is found to do so, he becomes instantly degraded, and his position is considered even lower than that of the new proselytes. The luckless minister becomes at once one of the great 'untouchables.' So much for the new proselytes. The fate of those who have adopted Hinduism for a much longer period is not materially different after thousands of years. They are still untouchables. To a Brahman it makes no difference whether the man is a Santal or Naga, Hari or Bagdi. They are all equally unclean. Their touch means contamination, water touched by them is polluted. Their religion of Hinduism makes no difference. But the Brahmans are not the only class that holds itself aloof. A Kayasth, Baidya or a member of the Navasakh class will hold himself equally aloof and consider himself polluted by any association with the class, just as a Brahman will do. Here, as in many other things, the Brahman leads and the others follow." The utter contempt in which these pariahs are held may be gathered from the same writer's remark.—"A Hari or Dom—both Hindus—and a dog will be hunted out of a *Puirdalan*, with equally little ceremony and equally little hesitation. If anything, the dog will get off the more cheaply than the other two, as they are supposed to know better."†

That the above is no exaggerated account may be seen from the treatment accorded to the Gandas, a low caste of weavers and helots in Orissa. They are so degraded that a twice-born Hindu considers it necessary to bathe if he is touched by one of them: formerly a Brahman was defiled by a Ganda even casting his shadow over him. They are not allowed to draw water from the village tank, the village barber will not shave them, the village washerman will not wash their clothes. No orthodox Hindu rides a cart if a Ganda happens to drive it, wears a garment if a Ganda has stitched it, sits on a floor if a Ganda has *liped* it (*i. e.*, plastered it with cow-dung), drinks wine if a Ganda has distilled it, or purchases vegetables if a Ganda sells them. A Ganda in suffering receives no sympathy, and the door of Hindu charity is ordinarily closed against him. Until recently, moreover, no Ganda child was allowed to join the village school, and though they

* Ketkar quotes the case of two young Hindus, of whom one went to Europe and the other to Japan, and, on their return to India, had to pay a fine which was inflicted on them by the Brahmans. The former was fined Rs. 150, because he went to a Mlechcha country. The latter was fined Rs. 120, not because he visited a non-Arya country, but because he crossed the sea and did not observe due rites and ceremonies on the way. *History of Caste in India* (1909), p. 80.

† U. N. Mukherjee, *A Dying Race* (1909), pp. 34, 37 and 38. The present popularity of the term 'untouchable' appears to be largely due to this writer's interesting monograph.

are now allowed to attend it, they must sit apart from other Hindu boys. They cannot enter a Hindu temple, take part in Hindu religious ceremonies, or even build their houses in the village with other Hindus.*

516. One distinguishing feature of Hindus is initiation (*diksha* or *murtavyahana*) which is performed when a

EXISTENCE AND THE GENE.

Hindu boy is 8 or 9 years old. The Guru informs him what god is to be the peculiar deity of his worship and whispers in his ear a *mantra*, i.e., some mystic syllables, through which he can obtain remission of sins and future happiness. This *mantra* the lad must keep an inviolable secret; its daily repetition is a solemn duty. Initiation is regarded as conferring spiritual franchise and bringing the boy into direct communication with God. The Guru renders spiritual revelation possible, for he acts as a medium between God and his disciple. Throughout the life of the latter the Guru is his spiritual guide, and receives almost divine veneration. A person who has passed the age at which he should have been initiated, without having the ceremony performed, is held to be impure and to be incompetent to perform religious ceremonies with efficacy. No orthodox Hindu will take knowingly food or water from such a man, even though he belongs to his own caste or family. He cannot enter into heaven or attain salvation by absorption into the divine essence, but will be condemned to *narak* (purgatory) and subjected to re-birth. For this reason people dare not die without initiation, and the ceremony is frequently performed upon their death-bed. It is not surprising therefore that some Hindus consider initiation the most distinctive feature of Hinduism and the only possible criterion between the Hindu and non-Hindu.

517. A distinctive external sign of Hindu laymen is the *chula* or as it is also called *shikha* or *tikka*, i.e., a lock of hair worn on the crown of the head. It distinguishes them from the Muhammadans on the one hand and from the Hindu monastics orders on the other. The practice of wearing this lock dates back to very ancient times, and cutting it off was regarded as the greatest of punishments. This, indeed, was the punishment for heinous crimes imposed on Brahmans who could not be put to death. It is said in the *Mahabharata* that, when Asvathama was convicted of killing the sons of the Pandavas, his top-knot was torn out of his head. In commemoration of this, and symbolically to heal the raw wound on his head, every Hindu when taking his daily bath sprinkles a little oil before anointing his body. Dressing the top-knot and tying it are regarded as a daily religious duty by all Hindus, and there are distinctive *mantras* to be uttered on this occasion. One of the ten sacraments (*sanskaras*) of the Hindus is *Churukaran*, a ceremony which takes place three years after birth. The ceremony consists of the tonsure of the hair of the head, only the *chula* being left. Its significance, according to the *Astha Sutra* (by Chanakya or Kanthiya), is that it must be a preliminary to learning the art of writing and calculation: this rule the writer makes compulsory for all the four sections of the Hindu community. Further reference to this ceremony, in connection with the question of initiation into caste, will be found in Chapter XI.

The *Chula*.

518. The Gyras shave the greater parts of their heads, leaving the top-knot on the crown. The people of Bihar keep a central top-knot, though they do not shave the rest of their heads. The Bengali, like the Oriya, used to shave his head and leave the *chula*, but many of the educated classes have discarded this with other old customs. A small minority have effected a compromise, and keep a thin lock of hair. When visiting Europeans, they brush it down closely, so that it does not appear, but when among orthodox Hindus they take care to make it visible, if not conspicuous: with this object some even tie an umbrella band round it when they are in orthodox company. A valued Bengali Brahman correspondent, to whom I owe the above information, informs me that he gave up wearing a *chula*, but having occasion to visit Bihar on work which would bring him into contact with conservative Hindus, he allowed it to grow again. On one occasion he entered a Vedic school and, as soon as he did so, all the recitations stopped. He was taken for a non-Hindu, for his lock, being of recent growth, was small and not of the same decent length as in Bihar. He had to show his holy

thread, as well as his top-knot, to prove that he was not only a Hindu but a Brahman before they would resume their recitations. He observed a sequel of this incident the same evening. Two of the Vedic pupils quarrelled, and one abused the other, saying "*Tum Bangali hogaya*, i.e., you have become a Bengali." The other asked why he was insulted in this way, and the reply was "Your top-knot is very short." "On another occasion, when I was in Madras, my top-knot saved me. It was raining hard and I took shelter under a temple portico, where a number of Christian boys were also taking shelter. As the temple door was opened and the image of the deity became visible, I made a *pranam*. The Christian boys exclaimed, 'Look, a Muhammadan is bowing.' I asked why they took me for a Muhammadan. They said, 'Because you keep the hair on your head.' I took off my cap and showed my top-knot, and they were satisfied that I was a Hindu."

519. The result of the inquiry referred to above was to show that anything in the nature of an uniform standard is impossible. It was recognized that Hinduism being a term connoting not only religion but also race, birth-place and social organization, it is difficult to say whether a man is within the pale or not on the basis of the proposed tests, some of which refer to his beliefs, others to his social standing, and others to his relations to Brahmans. The Census Commissioner decided therefore that instead of raising the question whether the members of particular castes should be "regarded as Hindus" or not, a list should be prepared of the castes and tribes contributing more than 1 per mille to the total population, and returned and classed as Hindus, which *qua* castes do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain disabilities, viz., (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans^a; (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu Guru; (3) deny the authority of the Vedas; (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods; (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests; (6) have no Brahman priests at all; (7) are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples; (8) cause pollution, by touch or within a certain distance; (9) bury their dead; (10) eat beef and do not reverence the cow. In accordance with the Census Commissioner's instructions, inquiries were made in each district regarding the castes which would come within any one or more of these categories, and the result is shown below.

Caste or Tribe.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Bagdi	1,015,738	5, 7, 8	...	...
Baishnab (Bairagi)	423,985	1, 5, 6, 9	78,739	9
Bauri	313,654	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	292,503	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Beldar	...	...	88,921	2, 5
Bhainmali	91,973	5, 7, 8	...	...
Bhuiya	69,044	2, 5, 6, 7, 8	663,757	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Bhumij	90,282	1, 5, 6, 7, 8	272,672	5
Bind	...	...	134,818	5
Chakma	58,672	1, 5, 6	...	...
Chamar	136,553	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	1,114,467	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Chasadhoba	57,550	5	...	...
Dhoba or Dhobi	228,052	5, 7, 8	376,623	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Dom	173,991	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	241,903	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Dosadh	...	...	1,189,274	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Gauda	...	...	211,775	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Garerri	...	...	92,435	5

^a This category includes two distinct groups, viz., (a) certain sectarian groups which owe their origin to a revolt against the Brahmanical supremacy; and (b) the aboriginal tribes and also certain low castes who, being denied the ministrations of Brahmans, retaliate by professing to reject the Brahmans.

[†] Here again there are two groups, viz., (a) castes derived from ascetics and (b) low castes imperfectly Hinduized.

BENGAL.		Bihar and Orissa.	
Caste or Tribe.	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.
Hari	173,706	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	119,168
Ho	...	...	...
Jogi or Jugi	361,141	1, 5, 6, 7, 9	119,221
Kaibartta (Jailya)	326,988	5	...
Kalu	111,562	5, 7	...
Kalwar	263,392	7	180,825
Kamrar	...	...	...
Kandh (Kbond)	...	...	302,883
Kandrar	...	...	153,806
Kawra	112,281	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	...
Kapali	134,118	5, 7	...
Kewat	...	...	42,506
Kharra	...	...	103,172
Kharwar	...	...	85,876
Koch	125,046	5	...
Kora	46,197	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	18,983
Kumhar	108,163	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	513,327
Mal	...	...	...
Mallah	247,200	5	362,927
Mlahi	153,236	2, 5, 7, 8, 10	31,339
Munda	67,252	1, 2, 5, 6, 8	110,110
Musahar	1,908,728	5, 7, 8	626,795
Namasunda	...	...	...
Nuniya	163,337	1, 3, 6, 8	319,102
Oraon	...	...	471,673
Pasi	63,147	...	161,016
Patu	536,568	5	150,142
Pod	1,805,833	5, 7, 8	...
Rajbansi	669,420	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	131,971
Rajwar	...	...	1,399,150
Santal	324,927	5, 7	191,798
Sonhar	55,295	5, 7	...
Subarnabauik	109,129	5	...
Sunri	119,325	5, 7, 8	257,111
Sundhar	177,433	5, 7	613,277
Tanti	...	...	1,071,506
Tipara	130,025	1, 5	...
Tiyar	213,270	5, 7, 8	60,897

of castes were also returned under the fourth category, but though the great Hindu gods are not regularly worshipped by them, they recognize their divinity and render them occasional homage: Devi under one form or another is almost universally worshipped either regularly or occasionally. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to affirm positively that any castes do not worship the great Hindu gods. Several castes have, moreover, been excluded from the second class, though it was reported that they came under it. This is due to the fact that among the Baishnabs the Nityananda Gosains "open the door of fellowship to all sorts and condition of men, be they Brahmans or Chandals, high caste widows or common prostitutes." These Gosains are unquestionably recognised as Hindu Gurus, and the Baishnabs certainly receive *mantras* from them. As regards the eighth class, it must be remembered that, largely as a result of the growing popularity of travelling by train and the necessities imposed on travellers, the idea of pollution by touch is ceasing to have its old hold over the mind of the Hindus, though it is still as potent as ever among orthodox Hindus of the old school and high caste widows. The burial of the dead, is moreover, often due merely to poverty. Members of the depressed classes who cannot afford fuel for cremation will light a small fire near the corpse as a humble substitute, which will, they believe, have the same purifying effect as actual cremation. Even the degraded classes, who eat beef, will not kill a cow for food or purchase beef, but merely eat the flesh of cows that have died a natural death. It is doubtful whether they can be said not to revere the cow. Personally, I should be inclined to say that they revere it when alive, but not when dead.

521. Many of the castes or tribes entered in the list are either frankly animistic or contribute largely to the ranks of Animists. Their Hinduism is often doubtful or more than doubtful. At home where their manner of worship and general method of life are known, they are not regarded as Hindus: but when they go far afield they arrogate the title. In Bengal, for instance, more Mundas and Oraons were returned as Hindus than as Animists, but in Bihar and Orissa there are four Munda Animists to every Munda Hindu, while among the Oraons the Animists out-number the Hindus by eight to one. Altogether there are 28 castes or tribes in Bengal, and 30 in Bihar and Orissa, of whom some were returned as Hindus and others as Animists, the figures being as shewn in the margin.

	Hindus.	Animists.
Bengal ...	937,551	823,290
Bihar and Orissa ...	3,998,111	2,696,118

522. A large proportion of the Hindus in any case consist of persons of aboriginal descent, whose Hinduization is of recent date and often not very deep. The lateritic uplands of West Bengal and the fringe of the Chota Nagpur plateau were, even a few centuries ago, the home of non-Aryan races who were regarded as outside the pale of Hinduism. The *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purana* (compiled in the 15th century) describes Birbhūm as a jungle tract inhabited by a small black race, with little morality and no religion. In Varahabhūmi (which included Manbhūm and the western portion of Bankura), the inhabitants were said to be robbers by profession, irreligious and savage by nature, worshipping none but rude village deities. They ate snakes and flesh of all kinds, drunk spirituous liquor, and lived chiefly by plunder and by chase; their women were, in garb, manners and appearance, more like Rakshasas than human beings. These races may be identified with the Bagdis, Bauris and Bhunj, who swelled the ranks of the Chuars in the latter part of the 18th century. These banditti, who gave the British infinite trouble during the early days of their rule, were, according to Mr. Grant, "robbers of a swarthy black, like the neighbouring mountaineers of the north and west, now for the most part received as converts to the established system of Hindu faith."^o

523. The process of Hinduization is apparent even at the present time in the case of the tribes and castes of Orissa. In many cases they consist of two sections, one frankly Animistic and the other Hindu. Thus, the Kandhs

^o J. Grant, Analysis of the Finances of Bengal (1787), Fifth Report, 1812.

(Khonds) of the Khondals are a purely aboriginal race with a language, religion and communal organization of their own; the Kandhs of Puri have lost all knowledge of their language, are completely Hinduized, and in every way resemble the lower Orissa castes. Not only do they look on themselves as good Hindus, but they are regarded as such by their orthodox Hindu neighbours, who will put up in their villages, or stay in their houses, although they would consider themselves polluted by doing so in the case of Savars, Bauris, and other aboriginal races. Some of the Gondhs again are purely Animistic, others have a recognized position in the Hindu hierarchy. The higher section of Raj Gondhs, who probably are the descendants of tribal chiefs, have so good a status, that Brahmans will take water from them; many, indeed, wear the sacred thread and surpass their mentors in the minutiae of ceremonial observance, even having the wood with which they cook their food washed before it is used for the fire. Among them, however, some are still found who worship the old tribal god and place cow's flesh to their lips wrapped in cloth,* in the belief that thereby they will avert his anger. A similar example of the division of a race is afforded by the Savars, of whom there are three sections, the wild Animist Savars of the hills, the Savars or Suars of Puri, who actually serve as cooks in the temple of Jagannath,† and the Sahars who have been Hinduized and, in the process, have modified their name. All are descendants of non-Aryan tribes who were overwhelmed by the advancing wave of Aryan invasion. The greater part were swept into the hills where they remained isolated and untouched by Aryan influences. A minority remained in the plains and became the servile of the conquerors, whose religion and language they gradually adopted. "Hinduism in Orissa, holds out to all an ascending scale of ceremonial purity. The backward aboriginal tribes outside the pale of Hinduism, like the Khonds, set up a Hindu god, get a Hindu priest to minister to them, adopt some of the customs of the pure Hindus, and thus become, in time, recognized as low class Hindus. The more energetic, again, of the low castes within the pale of Hinduism gradually raise themselves to higher standards of ceremonial purity, and the more wealthy members among them even raise themselves to membership of some higher castes. Not only does Hinduism in Orissa, even at the present time, absorb the less civilized tribes outside its pale, but there is also a process of evolution in active operation among the recognized Hindu castes themselves.‡"

524. The employment of a Brahman as a priest is the seal of absorption into Hinduism. The Brahman may be a low Brahman, a kind of hedge priest, but it is sufficient for aboriginals if a Brahman ministers to them instead of a man of their own race. Day by day also the Brahmans gain good ground as they are accepted by priests by the low Hindu castes or *anacharana* classes, who rise in the social scale if a Brahman ministers to them instead of the priests or Pandits of their own caste. Sometimes they employ Brahmans in opposition to their Pandits, sometimes in addition to the Pandits, and sometimes when the Pandits' families are extinct. The manner in which the Brahmans steadily supplant the latter is very clearly exemplified in the case of the temples of Dharna, originally the second member of the Buddhist triad. These are falling into the hands of Brahmans, who worship Dharna either as a incarnation of Vishnu or as a form of Siva. One instance may suffice to illustrate the process. Near Navadwipa, in the district of Nadia, there is a temple of Dharna, which till two or three generations ago had a low Hari as the hereditary priest. Hogs and cocks, both abominations to the Hindus, were openly sacrificed, but votive offerings formed the main source of the Hari's income. Brahmans kept aloof from the temple, until some of them suffering from what they took to be incurable diseases came as a last resource. They were cured, and then the question arose: How could they make the offerings which they had promised in case of a cure? They would not make their offerings through a Hari, and no good Brahman would do so. At last, a low Brahman consented

* This is clearly a symbolic eating of beef, and the cloth is presumably intended to preserve their status as Hindus.

† According to legend, the original image of Jagannath was found in the country of the Savars. For a further account of this interesting race see Chapter XI.

‡ N. K. Bose, *The Hindus of Puri*, Calcutta Review, 1891.

535. The accounts of this sect have hitherto been drawn mainly from outside sources. A brief summary may therefore be given of the beliefs which the sect itself claims to hold. They say that Kartabhaja does not mean a worshipper of the headman, but a worshipper of the Creator. They do not use the designation themselves, but Satya Dharma or Sahaj Dharma, i.e., the true or easy religion. "Its object," writes my informant, "is to call forth the latent divinity in man. This it seeks to accomplish not by renouncing the world and its cares as something transitory and illusive, but by going through life's struggles manfully and heroically, sustained by love for mankind and reverence for nature. Far from being atheists, as some writers have described us, we believe in the existence of a personal God, whom we can love and adore. The *mukti* or salvation we seek to attain is not one of annihilation or of absorption, but one in which we shall live in subordinate co-operation with the supreme Godhead. We have no outward characteristics that would mark us out, no marks on the forehead or elsewhere, no special garb, no particular ornament or instrument. Neither have we any secret signs, nor any secret rites and ceremonies. Ours is not a Guru-worshipping sect, as some have taken it to be. In fact, as a safeguard against any possible misconception as to the rights and obligations of a religious preceptor, and the consequent misuse of his privileges, the terms Guru and Sishya are never employed among us. On the contrary the words used are Mahashaya and Varati, of which the former, (as in the combination Guru Mahashaya) means simply a teacher; and the latter (derived from Pr. *Varat*, meaning need) signifies one in need of spiritual instruction, or more simply a student. The Mahashya is merely a teacher and has no right to exact any divine homage from his Varatis.

"The duties enjoined on the members are *inter alia* the following:—(1) Never to utter any untruth. This injunction is so strictly observed by the majority of the members, that our sect has come to be called the Satya Dharma sect. This also explains the presence of the word Satya in the names, such as Satya Charan and Satya Das, given to the children of our members. (2) Every day to repeat the *mantra* at least three times in the prescribed manner on five occasions, viz., early in the morning when rising from bed, then again after morning ablutions, in the noon after bathing, before dinner in the evening, and lastly at night when retiring to bed. (3) To hold Fridays sacred and observe them with fasting, religious meditation and discourses, and, where practicable, to hold or attend in the evening a *mailis* or religious meeting of the sect. (4) To abstain from meat and intoxicating liquors. (5) To attend diligently the festivals held at Ghoshpara, and to pay or remit something to the *gadli* in recognition of the spiritual headship of the Karta. The members are at perfect liberty to follow the customary rules and usages of their families and communities, and it is only in matters purely spiritual that they are amenable to the control of the sect. From the spiritual point of view all members stand on the same footing. No distinctions based on caste, wealth, etc., are recognized."

536. At the same time, it must be admitted that popular belief credits the Kartabhajas with immoral practices. One Hindu gentleman declares that the meetings are held at the dead of night in secluded houses, that women lend their bodies to their spiritual leaders in the belief that thereby they pave the way to salvation, and that the disgusted villagers not infrequently break up the meetings and assault the members, their gatherings consequently ending in a *sauve qui peut*. On the other hand, another independent Hindu gentleman, whose knowledge and absence of bias entitle his views to respect, writes— "Many of their doctrines are couched in somewhat mystic language, and most of their religious practices are kept concealed from men who do not belong to their sect. Misunderstandings and misrepresentations have necessarily arisen with regard to their practices, which have brought them under the lash of historians and poets, such as Akhay Kumar Dutt and Dasarathi Ray. I have known some men belonging to this sect whose life gives a lie to these misrepresentations. That it is merely a branch of Vaishnavism is apparent from the name of "Sahaj Dharma". Even before the appearance of Chaitanya, this name was current among the Vaishnavas; the great poet Chandī Das in his esoteric poems has two or three *padas* entirely devoted to the exposition of this Sahaj Dharma, or easy religion. There is no room for doubt that the Kartabhajas have derived most, if not all, of their devotional practices from this

and other mystic works of the great Vaisnava teachers. There seems to be, however, this difference that while the Vaisnavas laid greater stress on the element of *bhakti* (love) and self-abrogation, the Kartabhajas pay more attention to the self, or more properly the ego (herein adopting the principles of Vedanta), seeking thereby to bring out in prominence the latent deity in every soul. The moral precepts of both sects are much the same, and also to a great extent the methods of realization, which in both cases are very difficult, though nominally called *sadhā* or easy."

According to another correspondent, the original principle of the Kartabhajas was the very antithesis of sensuality. Their principle was *Maṅgi hīve mīnshe kṛōja Tābe hāve kartabhāṇi*, i.e., men and women must remain as emmuchs. In other words, they must avoid all sorts of sexual connection: they will then be real worshippers of the Karta (God). The underlying belief is that only by sexual self-restraint can one avoid the cycle of rebirth. This idea is said, perhaps falsely, to be carried so far that, before initiation the neophyte has to stand stark naked in the presence of some young girls to test his powers of restraint.

537. The same idea of the evils of procreation, as leading to rebirth in a world of misery, appears to be the basis of the beliefs of the Jais, another Vaisnava sect. One man, who gave up the sect in disgust, declared that, in order to attain supernatural powers, the members drink a certain liquid although consisting of an organic discharge.* It is said that they are desirous of emulating the amorous feats of Kṛishna; knowing that they have not the same divine power of being able to enjoy sexual connection without issue ensuing, they believe that such perfection can only be attained by imbibing this vile draught. In public they appear as religious ministers, whose manner of life has earned them their name, which is a corruption of *batul*, meaning madman. They do not shave or cut their hair, go about in motley garb, and sing devotional songs to the accompaniment of stringed instruments called *gub-gub-gub*. Their dress consists of a cone-shaped skull cap and a coat made of dirty rags patched together.

538. It is reported that a new sect, called Satina from the name of their deity, Satina, i.e., Sati or Durga, has recently sprung up in Murshidabad, Nadia and Calcutta. They are not ascetics but marry, have children and lead an ordinary social life: sometimes the males keep their hairs and nails long, while the females wear matted hair. Friday is a sacred day among them, when they meet in the evening for religious services. Their leader, who may be male or female, is believed to have occult powers and to be able to speak of past, present or future events. The eating of meat and drinking of intoxicating liquor are prohibited. When ill, they do not use medicines, but besmear their bodies with the dust taken from the quadrangle containing Satina's altar, and drink a beverage made of tamarind squeezed into water†. The females mix freely with the males, and it is said that chastity is not held in much regard by them, although it is reported, to be the worshippers of Sati, chastity incarnate. This sect, it is reported, seems to be an offshoot of Kartabhajas, the difference being in the object of their worship. Kartabhajas worship their Guru, whom they call Karta, and ascribe divinity to him, while the Satinas worship Sati, a female principle as their Godhead. The supposition that the sect is of Kartabhaja origin is confirmed by similarities of practice. The Kartabhajas hold Friday sacred, meet in the evening, and abstain from meat and spirits. Moreover, the wife of Ram Saran Pal, the founder of the Kartabhajas, was named Satina, and a handful of dust from the foot of the tree where she was buried is believed to "cure any disease and cleanse from any sin."‡

539. A small Vaisnava sect has recently appeared in Nadia, which is known as Kalachandi from the name of its founder Kalachand, who is also called Kalachand Pagal.

KALACHANDI.

* See also J. N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects*, page 183.

† I am informed of a case in which a respectable Hindu gentleman suffering from illness took such a mixture from one of the Satinas (a Pōd by caste) in the hope of cure, but died in great pain the same night. When his friends wanted doctors to prescribe for him, the Satinas dissuaded them saying that it would rouse the anger of Satina.

‡ Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. II (Nadia and Jessore).

i.e., the madman. The latter claims to have direct communion with God and to receive divine inspiration. Idolatry is discouraged though not prohibited; his followers also differ from other Vaishnavas in having no *tirthas* or places of pilgrimage. Men of all castes are admitted, but the members are mostly of low caste.

540. In the south of Midnapore there is a sect known as the followers of Manik Kali. The original founder of this sect appears to have been a Kaibartta, named Hedaram Das, who lived at Gopinathpur in the Jalamutha *pargana* towards the end of the 18th century. Hedaram Das was a man of a religious turn of mind who composed books in Oriya: his books are preserved at Gopinathpur together with his wooden slippers. The slippers are regularly worshipped and also one of his books called *Agam Puran*. The *Agam Puran* is said to contain the prophecies of Hedaram, but no one knows what they are, as the book is held in such awe that it is believed that a look into it is fatal to mortal man. Hedaram appears to have been a poet rather than an active preacher, and it was left to Manik Ram Kali to disseminate his doctrines. Manik in early life followed his caste occupation of a potter, studying the works of Hedaram and becoming imbued with his doctrines. He appeared as a preacher some time after 1865 and inculcated a simple system of morality, insisting on truth being spoken, and teaching his disciples the virtues of constant repetition of the name Krishna or Ram. Whenever obeisance was made to Manik by any of his followers, his response was the well-known saying *Jata dharma sthata jaya* "*i.e.*, prosperity follows the observance of Dharma." Caste distinctions were more or less obliterated. He and his disciples did not scruple to partake of food cooked by any of his followers whatever their caste; the restrictions of caste were also ignored in marriages between them. He succeeded in securing several thousand converts from among the low caste people of Jalamutha and the neighbouring *parganas*, and not a few Kaibarttas became his disciples. Wealthy men prepared golden anklets for his feet (one of which was disfigured by elephantiasis), while his disciples worshipped him as an *avatar*. Festivals were observed in his honour, in all of which Manik was made to play the part of an idol. During these festivals hundreds of mannds of rice and curry were cooked and distributed among the people, who partook of them freely and without regard to caste distinctions. Manik died at an advanced age about 15 years ago; since his death the number of his followers has diminished.

541. A new sect called simply Shains is said to have sprung up in Bankura within the last few years. The information regarding this sect is scanty, but it appears that its founder was a Bengali called Bhagwan Shain and that its members refuse to recognize any deity whom they cannot see. The Guru alone is worshipped. His injunctions are not to lie, steal or cohabit with women, but to associate with good men (*sadhus*) and try to know one's self. Speaking truth and the attainment of self-knowledge are ideals common to many other Hindu sects.

542. The Shikshaparas are a small offshoot of the Vaishnava sect in Central Bengal. According to the reports received, the followers of this cult hold that Krishna is the only male principle in the universe, and that all else constitutes his *Prakriti* or female principle. A woman belonging to the sect is said to look upon Krishna as her spiritual husband and her mundane husband as a conventional appanage. She regards the Guru as Krishna's representative on earth, accords him the same veneration as Krishna himself, and has no objection to giving him the privileges of a husband. Caste distinctions are obliterated, and members belonging to different castes partake of food together.

543. Bihar is not so prolific of new sects as Bengal, and most of those in existence have had their origin in the north of India, such as the Arya Samaj and the Radhaswami cult already described. The following is a brief account of other sects which still maintain their hold, though they appeal to a limited circle.

544. The origin and beliefs of the Sheonarayanis were described in the last Census Report. Briefly, they believe in one formless God and have a sacred book called the

MANIK KALI'S CULT.

SHAINS.

SHIKSHAPARAS.

SECTS IN BIHAR.

SHEONARAYANIS.

Sabda Granth, which lays down that salvation can be attained only by faith in God, control of the passions and obedience to the Guru. All castes are admitted to membership, but marriage take place only within the caste: a Sheonarayani Chamar, for instance, will not marry the daughter of a Sheonarayani Dosadh. The members are nearly all recruited from low castes, especially Dosadhs and Chamars: in Champaran Chamars are practically its only representatives. Idolatry, the eating of flesh and the drinking of intoxicating liquor are proscribed, but the latter two practices are gaining ground and the tombs of Gurus are worshipped, offerings of fruit and sweet-meats being made at them. The sect does not appear to be progressive.

KABIRAYANIS.

543. The Kabirpanthis have a considerable number of representatives in Bihar, where the sect is mainly confined to the lower classes. They are followers of Kabir, who, as is well known, endeavoured to establish a religion that would embrace both Hindu and Musalman, rejecting distinctions of caste, sect and rank and preaching the equality of man. The pure doctrines he inculcated have been obscured by later accretions. One God only is worshipped and idolatry is forbidden, but those principles are so far departed from, that Kabir is regarded as an incarnation of God, and offerings of fruit and sweetmeats are made at the tombs (*samadhis*) of the Mahants to the accompaniment of *arati*, ringing of bells, etc. There are two classes consisting of *grihasthas*, who lead an ordinary social life, and of ascetics who are supposed to be celibates: some, however, keep concubines, and the children of such illicit unions are recognized as members of the community. They profess to discard caste restrictions, but converts belonging to clean castes from whom water may be taken by Hindus will not allow converts recruited from low castes, such as Chamars and Dosadhs, to eat with them; the cook must, moreover, be a Brahman or Rajput.

Some Kabirpanthis are also found in Orissa, and especially Sambalpur. The sect is mostly recruited from weaving castes, such as the Pankas, so much so that the Brahmans call it the weaver's religion, but it also includes a number of Agrarias: the weavers predominate, their own explanation being that the sect is specially intended for them because Kabir himself was a weaver. The sect now recognizes caste, and practically its only social result is that the Kabirpanthi members of a caste frequently form a separate endogamous division, and are distinguished from the others by abstaining from meat and liquor. The worship of idols is also prohibited, but practice lags behind precept, and there is a tendency to idolatry.

NANKASHAHIS.

546. Nankashahis are also found in scattered colonies in some districts, such as Shahabad and Saran. The original tenets of the founder have been almost lost sight of. Images are kept in their *matls* and worshipped, and Guru worship is a prominent feature of these modern professors of Nanak's faith. Celibacy is not strictly adhered to, for marriages are contracted or irregular unions are formed.

DARIPANTHIS.

547. The founder of the Daripanthi sect was one Daria Sahib, who is said to have been born in the 18th century at Dharkunda, a village 20 miles south of Buxar in Shahabad. Its members are also known as Satnamis from their invocation of God as Satnam, the true name, but they have no connection with the Satnam sect of the Central Provinces and Sambalpur. It is an order of ascetics, who are not allowed to marry, eat animal food or drink spirituous liquor. Members of all castes may join, and those belonging to clean castes, *i. e.*, castes from whom a Hindu will take water, eat together. Only the Supreme Being is worshipped, and no idols are kept in the *matls*. Only the Mahants of these *matls* may wear beards and moustaches; the others shave. No funeral ceremonies are observed: the dead are buried in a sitting position at the side of a ditch. The chief seat of the sect is Dharkunda, where the hereditary Guru lives: the present Guru is fifth in the line of descent.

SATNAMIS.

1830 A. D. by a Chamar named Ghisadas, who proclaimed the perfect equality of all men and the worship of the one true God under the title of Satnam or the true name. He inculcated seven cardinal principles, of which the following are the most important.

His followers were to abstain from drinking spirituous liquor and from eating meat and certain vegetables, such as chillies and tomatoes, because their colour resembles blood. Idol worship was prohibited, cows were not to be used for ploughing, and oxen were not to be worked after midday. Caste was abolished, and all men were to be socially equal except the family of Ghasidas, in which the priesthood of the cult was to be hereditary.

549. The Abdhutas are a sect found in the Orissa States and the Khurda subdivision of Puri, who also worship the "Name."

ABDHUTAS.

The founder of the sect was one Banamali Das, who about 50 years ago took up his abode in one of the caves at Khandgiri, and taught that only the sacred name should be worshipped. The name is, in fact, Brahma or God, and the worship of the name is the worship of God. All men are of one caste and should eat and drink together. The original monotheistic character of the faith is now almost obscured: the worship of the Gurn and of his sandals has been substituted for the worship of the name. Members of the sect are either ascetics who wear round their necks a small metal plate with the word "Name" engraved on it in Oriya, or are laymen, mostly of low caste, who do not observe caste rules among themselves. The Abdhutas hold meetings which they call *Satsunga* i.e., associations of good men, and gather together every year at the Khandgiri caves on the Magh Saptami day.

550. A recent Oriya sect, only 10 or 15 years old, is that called Sunya Bhajani, regarding which there is very little information. It is said that its adherents regard the sky or atmosphere as the Godhead, believe in the incarnations of Vishnu, and have a firm faith that the Kali Yuga is drawing to a close, and that Vishnu will be reincarnated in the house of a Brahman at a Kakatpur in the Gop thana of Puri, after which the golden age will be ushered in. They eat and drink together, but marry only within their respective castes. The name of the sect and its adoration of Sunya, the Void, may point to an infiltration of Buddhist ideas.

SUNYA BHAJANI.

SIKHS.

551. It would appear from the account of Buchanan Hamilton that a

SIKHS.

century ago the followers of the Sikh religion were fairly numerous in Bihar. He spoke of the Sikh sect in Bihar as being considerably more numerous than any of the five that "since the time of Sankaracharya had been usually considered orthodox." Their doctrines had made much more progress in Bihar (i.e., Patna and the north of the Gaya district) and Shahabad than in Gorakhpur; Rekabganj in the suburbs of Patna was "by far the greatest place of worship in these countries." At the latter place Buchanan Hamilton met one Govinda Das, who was the chief of a *bang*, or division of the sect, presiding over 360 *gaddis* or thrones, i.e., "a considerable but indefinite number of places where there is a seat, called a throne, for his reception." There were other Sikh priests in the same two districts (Bihar and Shahabad), who claimed independent jurisdiction. The Sikhs mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton seem to have been lax followers of Nanak, for he noted that they "follow exactly the same customs that they did before their admission; they observe the same rules of caste, employ the Brahmans as *purohits* in every ceremony, and in all cases of danger worship exactly the same gods; they abandon only the daily worship of the family god (*kuladevata*)."^{*}

552. Both the followers of Nanak, the first Guru, and Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, are still found in the Province. The former, who are known simply as Sikhs, shave their heads like Hindus, believe in the *Adi granth* or first *granth* compiled by Arjun, and not in the volume compiled by Govind, and practise the early form of initiation known as *charanhol* or initiation by the feet (from *charan*, foot, and *gholna* to melt). The earliest form of this ceremony, which is said to have been instituted by Nanak himself, consisted of drinking water in which the Guru had bathed, but

^{*} Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I., pages 211 and 214; Vol. II., pages 448-449.

Angaul, the second Guru, thought it sufficient to give neophytes a draught of water in which he had bathed his feet and not his whole body. In Bharat the majority of these Sikhs appear to belong to one or other of two sects known as Udasi or Namakshahi.

The followers of Guru Govind are practically confined to Patna and Sasaram in the district of Shahabad. They are known as Singhs or lions, an appellation assumed by Govind and given by him to his adherents. They revere the *granth* of Govind Singh, and wear the five Ks (*kakars*), viz., the *keel* or long hair, the *kirpan* (a small knife with an iron handle round which the hair is rolled), the *kanga* or wooden comb, the *keach* or drawers, and the *keur* or iron bangle for the wrist. They also strictly observe the five injunctions of Govind Singh that no Sikh should smoke, cut or shave his hair, eat flesh according to Muhammadan custom, have communion with Muhammadan women, or eat with any one but a true Sikh (*Musti na kharu, i.e., do not enter into a duel with the goat of Muhammad*). * Neophytes are admitted into the brotherhood by the *khanda ka pahal* or initiation with the dagger—*adhul* is believed to be derived from *publi*, first. This is a form of initiation by water which has been sanctified by the immersion of steel, and was introduced by Govind Singh, who had a firm belief in the virtues of steel. The priest stirs with a dagger some water in which a sweetmeat called *batusa* has been mixed, repeating verses from the *granth*. The priest sprinkles the water on their eyes, their faces, and the tops of their heads, after which each of them drink it. They then take from his hands the *keur orsahul*, or sacramental food, and give it to one another in token of fraternity. This is a mixture of *ghee* (clarified butter), unpurified brown sugar, and fine flour mixed together with water; the term means the sweetmeat of good will (*keur*, affection and *orsahul*, good will).

533. The Singhs of Patna are particularly strict in their observances, as is only natural considering that they are the custodians of the Har Mandir, a temple which marks the marketplace of Guru Govind Singh and enshrines his *gradle*, his shoes, and a copy of the *granth*, in which the Guru is said to have written his name with a point of an arrow. The temple is one of the sacred places of the Sikhs, who visit it on pilgrimage. Patna is one of the few places in India where the Sikh religion may still be seen in something like its primitive purity. "At Patna," writes Mr. Macauliffe, "the Sikhs pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of Guru Govind. Sleeping or walking, they are never without the habitments known as the 'five Ks.' So strong is the aversion of the more orthodox among them to Hindus, that they will not even partake of food cooked by their hands. This is carrying orthodoxy a long way, but still further it is carried when they will not partake of food cooked even by a Sikh who has not on his person all the five Ks."

534. At Sasaram the Sikhs are mainly composed of Aghoraharis, who follow the Singh and the Khannas or Munnas, and are divided into two classes, viz., the Singhs and the followers of Guru Govind Singh, and observe a rite of initiation which corresponds to the *pahal* of orthodox Sikhs. This ceremony, which they call *khanda anrit chakha* or the *chamra anrit chakha*, is performed in the presence of five Sikhs. The neophyte has to put on the *keur*, *keach*, *keach* and *keur*, drink the *chamra anrit* (i.e., sugar and water mixed and stirred with a dagger), and finally partake of the *keur orsahul*. This latter sacrament is also taken on the last day of the month, during festivals and in fulfilment of vows: one special feast at which all members of the caste attend is held annually during the rainy season on the 15th *Bhado*. Any neglect or failure to keep the hair and beard in shorn, to eschew the hookah and to wear the articles of dress already mentioned is visited with excommunication, even though it may be due to such an accidental circumstance as illness. The

* These observances were originally designed for military purposes. Long hair tied round the head with knives encased in it, was a protection against sword cuts; moustaches and beards gave a martial appearance. The drawers fastened by a waistband were more suitable for a soldier than the loose garments of a cultivator. The permission to eat flesh, except that of the cow, was intended to give physical strength, and the prohibition of tobacco was designed to prevent strength being impaired.

offender can only be re-admitted into the brotherhood by paying a fine, and again going through the purifying ceremony of the *charna amrit*. The Munas are followers of Nanak and shave like other Hindus.

The two sects intermarry to a slight extent, as a Singh Agrahari can marry his son to the daughter of a Muna, if a ceremony, known as *pabitri*, is performed, *i. e.*, if the girl goes through a ceremony of initiation, at which she worships Govind Singh's *granth* and drinks the *charna amrit*. She is considered to have entered the community of Singh Agraharis by performing this rite, and the marriage is rendered possible. There is, however, a strong objection among the Singhs to any of their daughters marrying a Muna boy: such a marriage is looked on as a disgrace to the family.

555. Although the Agraharis have retained some of the forms of Sikh ceremonial, they have in many ways relapsed into Hinduism. The common class have no scruples about worshipping the images of Hindu gods or adopting the religious customs of their Hindu neighbours. Although they still continue to worship the *granth*, which is, they aver, their *ishtdevata* or favourite god, they also recognize a *kuldevata* or family god. The latter may be any member of the regular Hindu pantheon such as Devi, Durga, Hanuman, Mahabir, or even less orthodox gods, such as Narsingh or the Panch Pir—the adoration of the latter is due possibly to the fact that Sasaram is a Muhammadan town. The leavening influence of Hinduism may also be seen in their domestic and social ceremonies, such as funerals and marriages. They perform *sraddha* in the same way as other Hindus, and go on pilgrimage to Gaya to make offerings for the souls of their ancestors. In fact, as regards funeral obsequies, the Singh Agraharis are differentiated from other Hindus only by the fact that they do not shave their hair as a sign of mourning. The marriage customs obtaining among them are also generally the same as among the Hindu community; but occasionally the more orthodox perform a special ceremony called *anand'i*, which is, they say, the old form of marriage. At this ceremony, Brahmans do not officiate, but Sikh Gurus, who recite *mantras* from the *granth*. Sikh Gurus also are the sole celebrants at the *khanda amrit* and *kara vrashad*, but for other ceremonies Brahmans are commonly employed. In this respect they have followed the same tendency as other Sikhs. "The Sikhs of the Punjab have now completely relapsed into idolatry and, excepting that they still wear long hair, retain a few other external marks of the Sikh religion, and pay a reverence to the *granth*, which they carry to adoration, their worship in all respects resembles that of the Hindus. They adore idols, visit Hindu places of pilgrimage, bathe in rivers sacred in the estimation of the Hindus, and spend their substance on presents to Brahmans. They employ Brahmans to marry them, to read services of purification, to perform their funeral obsequies, and, generally, all the duties for which the laity of every religion are wont to employ priestly agency."*

MUHAMMADAN SECTS.

556. MODERN Muhammadan sects in the two Provinces appear to owe their origin to one or other of two beliefs. The first is that, in the beginning of each century of the Hejira or Musalman era, God raises up an Imam, as his messenger and agent, to reform the faith. The second is that in the last days the Mahdi will appear and wage war with Dajjal or Anti-Christ, who will hold sway over an unregenerate world, and that Christ, descending on earth, will assist the Mahdi to overthrow Anti-Christ. The supremacy of Islam will then be established, and all the world will be converted to the true Faith. Historically, most of the modern sects appear to be off-shoots of the Wahabi movement, which requires a somewhat detailed account on account of the effect which it has had on Muhammadan religious life in the two Provinces during the last century.

* M. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition*, Calcutta Review, 1881, Vol. LXXIII, p. 163.

557. The founder of the Wahabi movement was an Arabian named Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab, who appeared as a reformer in the middle of the eighteenth century. The religious system set up by him was one of simple Puritanism, the object of which was to restore Islam to a purer form of faith by stripping off the accretions which overlaid it. It claimed the right of private interpretation of the Koran, rejecting the authority of Hanafa, Malik, Shafi and Hanbali, the four Imams or founders of the orthodox schools, which bear their name. The cult of the dead and the worship of saints were sternly interdicted, and last, but not least, the obligation to carry on *ghhad* or war against infidels was proclaimed in no uncertain voice.

SAYYAD AHMAD.

558. The chief apostle of the Wahabi faith in India was one Sayyad Ahmad, a native of Rai Bareilly, who proclaimed:—"The law of the Prophet is founded on two things: first, the not attributing to any creature the attributes of God; and, second, not inventing forms and practices which were not current in the days of the Prophet and his successors, or Caliphs." Angels, spirits or saints have no power to remove difficulties or grant the attainment of any wish or desire. To believe that they can control human affairs, and to make offerings to them in that belief is infidelity. True and undebilitated religion consists in adhering to the practices which were observed in the time of the Prophet and in avoiding all such innovations as marriage and funeral ceremonies, adorning of tombs, the erection of large edifices over graves, lavish expenditure on the anniversaries of the dead, strict processions and the like.* These doctrines are fundamental tenets of the modern sects of Bengal.

In 1822 Sayyad Ahmad made a pilgrimage to Mecca and there became a disciple of Wahab. On his return to India, inspired by the belief that he was the Imam of the 13th century of the Musalman era, he began a crusade against the veneration of *urs* and the erection of shrines, denying the efficacy of offerings in the name of deceased persons, and preaching a holy war against infidels. At Patna the seed fell on fruitful ground, for there a number of Maulvis had already become disciples of Abdul Haq, a bigoted Wahabi of Benares. They now became ardent followers of Sayyad Ahmad, and as the movement gathered force, Patna was its chief centre. In 1826 Sayyad Ahmad announced that the time had come for a *ghhad* against the Sikhs, and a fanatical war followed. The army and officers of the Wahabis were replenished by supplies of men and money from Bihar and Bengal, and, in spite of reverses, the Wahabis overran the frontier, capturing Peshawar in 1830.

559. The successors of the Wahabis in the north emboldened the Wahabis of Bengal to rise under one Titu Miyar. Encouraged by some successes against small detachments sent out against them, the Wahabis romped through the 24-Parganas, Nadia and Faridpur from November 1831 to March 1832, plundering villages, defiling and forcibly converting Hindus, and maltreating orthodox Musalmans. They proclaimed that the Musalmans had resumed their hereditary rights of sovereignty and issued proclamations calling on the authorities and local zamindars to acknowledge their supremacy. At length, in March 1832, Government sent out a strong force, which met and defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, during which Titu Miyar was killed and 350 of his followers were taken prisoners. With his death and the imprisonment of 140 of his followers, the rising collapsed before it had time to extend beyond a small compass.

In 1831, shortly before this *emeute*, Sayyad Ahmad had been killed in battle, and his death was a serious blow to the movement, for the jurists had ruled that a *ghhad* could only be carried on by an Imam. If, therefore, Sayyad Ahmad was dead, the *ghhad* must cease. His Caliphs were, however, equal to the emergency. A rumour spread that in the midst of the battle a cloud of dust had encircled the Imam, that he was never afterwards seen alive, nor could his body be found. The Patna Maulvis professed to

* Calcutta Review, April 1870, p. 89, and *The Indian Musalman* (1871), p. 54.
† D. S. Margoliouth, *Muhammadianism*, p. 180.

be convinced, and declared that God, displeased with the faint-hearted Musalmans of India, had withdrawn the Imam from the eyes of men and concealed him in a cave in the mountain. When his followers proved the sincerity of their faith by uniting to carry on a *jihad*, he would reappear and lead them on to victory as before. These statements fell upon willing ears, and the movement sprang up with renewed vigour. In 1868 Government at length resolved to stamp out the conspiracy. A number of the ringleaders were arrested and convicted. The Musalmans realized the danger of the conspiracy and publicly proclaimed their disapproval of the Wahabi doctrines.

560. Throughout all these years Patna was "the focus of sedition, the Wahabi preachers finding that their audiences flagged when nothing more was urged than the purification of their lives. From this place a propaganda was carried on among the Moslems both of Indian and the neighbouring countries."† Two of their greatest leaders, Wilayat and Inayat Ali, were inhabitants of Patna. The former, after a tour through Bengal, took Bombay, Hyderabad and Central India as his special field. The latter concentrated his efforts on the districts of Malda, Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Nadia and Faridpur. Karamat Ali of Jaunpur carried the movement eastwards from Faridpur into Dacca, Mymensingh, Noakhali and Backergunge. Zain-ul-Abdin, a native of Hyderabad, who had been converted by Wilayat Ali on his tour through Southern India, worked in Tippera and Sylhet. "The minor missionaries were innumerable, and a skilful organization enabled them to settle in any place where the multitude of converts made it worth their while. In this way, almost every one of the fanatic districts had its permanent preacher, whose zeal was sharpened from time to time by visits of the itinerant missionaries, and whose influence was consolidated and rendered permanent by the central propaganda at Patna." "They have," wrote the Magistrate of Patna, "under the very nose and protection of Government authorities, openly preached sedition in every village of our most populous districts, unsettling the minds of the Musalman population, and obtaining an influence for evil as extraordinary as it is certain."*

561. Since the Wahabi trials, the name Wahabi has been abandoned, mainly it would seem because the fear inspired by the breaking up of the conspiracy and the punishment of its leaders still persists to such an extent, that Wahabis are afraid to call themselves such. The Wahabis now assume one or another of two names, viz.—(1) Ahl-i-Hadis or the people of the traditions, so called because they claim a right to interpret for themselves the Hadis (the traditional sayings of Muhammad not found in the Koran), or (2) Ghair-Mukallid, meaning nonconformists or dissenters, as they do not follow the doctrines of any of the four Imams of the Sunni sect. The designation Rafi-yadain is also sometimes applied to them, because they raise both hands in prayers before genuflection and prostration and fold them at the breast and not at the navel like Sunnis: the name means, literally, raising both hands at the time of prayer.

562. The Ahl-i-Hadis are so strongly in opposition to orthodox Musalmans as to regard them as little more than infidels and their mosques as little better than Hindu temples. They regard it as their duty to take possession of the latter if possible, and have at times had recourse to the civil courts to assert a right to worship in them. In prayer, they pronounce the word Amen in a loud voice; the use of music and the beating of drums at marriage festivities—according to some, their use renders the marriage illegal—the offering of sweetmeats, etc., to the spirits of deceased ancestors, and visits to the tombs of saints are all forbidden. Even a pilgrimage to the grave of the Prophet at Medina is looked on with disfavour, and some have been known to return from their Haj pilgrimage after visiting Mecca only. The Mazakarah-i-Ilamiyya of Arrah is the Central Association of the sect in Bihar. To celebrate its twenty-first anniversary, a conference was held in January 1911 at Muhammadpur Kowari in the district of Darbhanga, at which a large number of the Ahl-i-Hadis gathered together from different parts of India. According

to a leaflet issued by the Secretary of the conference, their objects are—(1) to organize a missionary movement, with the object of presenting Islam in a suitable manner; (3) to inculcate the necessity of education, especially religious education, for Muhammadans; and (4) to preach the blessings of the peaceful rule of the Government. The object of the annual conferences is to give the Ahl-i-Hadis an opportunity to proclaim their views without let or hindrance. They complain that Muhammadans of different sects take part in the proceedings of other Ajuumans, Shias attending Sunni Ajuumans and *vice versa*, with the result that nothing is said which would give offence to any of the conflicting sects. This they consider a sacrifice of honesty to courtesy; at their own conference they speak boldly and without fear.

563. The sect is in considerable strength in Arrah, where its members have started a Madrasa of their own in opposition to the Hanafi Madrasa. In Patna it is said to be gaining ground, some Sunni Maulvis even joining it. The converts are mostly drawn from the uneducated lower classes, but include some well-to-do hide merchants. They have little real influence, but publish leaflets denouncing the celebration of the Muharram and Sunni practices. The members shave off their moustaches, and are careful not to let their trousers reach the ankle: the most zealous wear black *magris* and use black handkerchieves. There are very few of them in Gaya, but in Saran they are fairly numerous, and they are also strongly represented in the Rajmahal subdivision of the Southal Parganas. In Darbhanga they seem to have made considerable advance during the last 10 years, and claim to have strength of over 3,000. The village at Rahimabad in thana Rajpur is the head-quarters of the sect in this district: from this centre its principles have been quietly propagated. In Champaran the Ahl-i-Hadis movement has made slow but sure progress: unlike other districts, where the better classes of Muhammadans will have nothing to do with the movement, the educated Muhammadans are said to have a leaning towards its doctrines. Some years ago the Hanafis of Bettiah tried to prevent its members from worshipping in the town mosque, and the result was a civil suit, in which the Ahl-i-Hadis succeeded in establishing a right of entry. Their doctrines do not appear to have found much favour outside Bihar. A few years ago, for instance, one of their missionaries visited Bankura, but had to leave without making a convert. In Nadia, however, there are said to be a number of the Ahl-i-Hadis in the Meherpur and Kushiab subdivisions. The sect made some headway in Sambalpur about 10 years ago, when a wing of a Madras regiment with some Ahl-i-Hadis sepoys was stationed there. There was such friction between them and the orthodox Hanafis, who persisted in calling them Wahabis, that they contemplated building a mosque of their own, but this project died of inanition when the regiment left.

564. The Ahmadias are the most important new Musalman sect in Bihar and Orissa. The founder of this sect was one

AHMADIAS.

Mirza Gulam Ahmad, who was born at Kadian in the Punjab in 1839. He appears to have received a good education in Persian and Arabic, and was for some years a clerk in the office of the Deputy Commissioner of Sikot. In 1880 he published the first part of an work called the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*, in which he claimed to be a divinely inspired reformer. In another part of the same work, published two years later, he gave an account of some revelations, in which he was addressed as Christ, and of a vision in which he learned that he and Jesus Christ had one and the same essence. At the end of 1888 he published a manifesto stating that he was commanded by God to accept an oath of allegiance (*baat*) from the people and convert them to his faith. Finally, in 1891, he issued a proclamation announcing that he was the promised Mahdi and Messiah, whose coming was foretold both in the Bible and Koran. He declared that the Christian doctrine of the death and ascension of Christ was false, and also the Musalman belief that, when Jesus Christ was crucified, God sent down an angel who assumed his appearance, while the real Christ was translated to heaven. Jesus, he declared, did not die on the cross but only swooned; he did not rise from the dead, but only recovered from the

swoon; he did not ascend to heaven, but came to Afghanistan and India to preach to the lost tribes of Israel; and he now lies buried in one of the streets of Srinagar in Cashmere. Messiah, Mahdi and Krishna were merely so many names or titles, and Ahmad claimed them all. He was Mahdi, for he would reform the Musalmans; he was Messiah, because he would reclaim the Christians, who did not follow the true teachings of Christ; he was Krishna, because he will bring back the Hindus to the pure teaching of the Rishis. "Heavenly signs support my claim, my prayers are accepted; future events are made known to me, and the deep and secret things, of which none but God has knowledge, are revealed to me." Ahmad was denounced by the Musalmans as a heretic, and a *fatwa* was issued excommunicating his followers. Marriage with them, burial in Muhammadan grave-yards, entrance into mosques, were all prohibited. In spite of this, Ahmad continued his propaganda and gained disciples. He eventually died in 1908 at Lahore and was buried in his native village. His successor is Hakim Nasiruddin, who was elected by a majority of the votes of the Ahmadias.

566. An interesting feature of the career of Mirza Gulam Ahmad is the astuteness with which he employed modern methods to spread his doctrines and turned to account the affairs of the day. He was a voluminous writer, explaining his doctrines in three books called the *Fateh Islam*, the *Tauzih-i-Maram* and the *Izala-i-Auham*. Plague having appeared in some villages of the Punjab in 1897, Ahmad announced that he had received vision in which he saw plants of a dark colour being planted by angels which the angels told him, would bring forth the plague. On the strength of this vision he prophesied the outburst of a widespread epidemic of plague in the Punjab. His prophecy was fulfilled. He was bitterly opposed to the Arya Samaj, but was ready to meet them in debate and have the merits of his and their claims decided by argument. When he published his first work, he offered to pay Rs. 10,000 if it could be refuted. He also announced that he would pay Rs. 1,000 to any one who could prove that Jesus had shown more heavenly signs than he had. The latter challenge involved a civil suit, the claimant being a Musalman.

567. The chief points of difference between the beliefs of the Ahmadias and orthodox Musalmans are as follows. Orthodox Musalmans hold that the Mahdi will be a warrior who will convert the heathen at the edge of the sword, whereas the Ahmadias deny the advent of any such Mahdi or Messiah. They regard Ahmad as the true Mahdi and Messiah and say that he came to establish the supremacy of Islam by peaceful means. They believe that divine revelation still continues, and that Ahmad was a specially favoured recipient of revelations from God. All the religions of the world have their source in truth, but they have become corrupted. The Prophet Muhammad revealed the same great truths as are contained in other religions and recapitulated them in the Koran. All religions having the same basis of truth, the Koran repeats the truth contained in the Vedas, the Bible, the Gita, the sayings of Buddha, etc.

One significant feature of the cult is its opposition to Christianity. According to Musalman belief, when the end of the world approaches, Dajjal (Anti-Christ) will rule, and the powers of evil will reign till Christ reappears and, with the help of Mahdi, overthrows Dajjal and converts the whole world to Islam. The Ahmadia rejects this doctrine and identifies Dajjal with the teachings of the Christian Church, such as the atonement and divinity of Jesus Christ. In fact, he holds that the prophecy of the advent of Dajjal has been fulfilled by the spread of Christian missionaries.

568. The Ahmadia doctrines appear to have been first introduced in Bihar in 1893, when a Musalman missionary of Bhagalpur became a convert. The movement has already gained a considerable number of adherents from among the educated and well-to-do classes. They are most numerous in Bhagalpur and Monghyr, which form one section with a committee affiliated to the Sadar Anjuman Ahmadia. i.e., the central committee at Kadian. Funds are raised for the propagation of the Ahmadia doctrines and for the publication of its monthly magazine, the *Review of Religions*. A general meeting is held almost every year at Kadian, at which the members of the sect meet from all parts of India. In Monghyr the Ahmadias have met with

characteristic Hindu customs. Pandits were called in to fix auspicious dates for marriages, and Hindu rites were practised during the marriage ceremony. Beef was not eaten till half a century ago; and though it is eaten now, it must be obtained from outside, no cattle being slaughtered in the village itself.

572. Many other superstitious practices are observed by Musalmans in different parts. In case of illness or snake-bite, a Hindu *ojha* or exorcist is called in, who recites *mantras* containing the names of Hindu gods or goddesses. In some parts Musalman women, when pregnant, will not cross a river. In Bengal, Musalmans make offerings through Hindu priests to Manasa, the goddess of snakes. Both in Bihar and Bengal they propitiate the goddesses of disease, such as Ola Bibi and Sitala, when epidemics break out. Musalman women in Bihar also join in the annual sun-worship known as Chhat Puja, in the firm belief that its omission will bring down on them the anger to Chhati Mata and lead to some calamity.

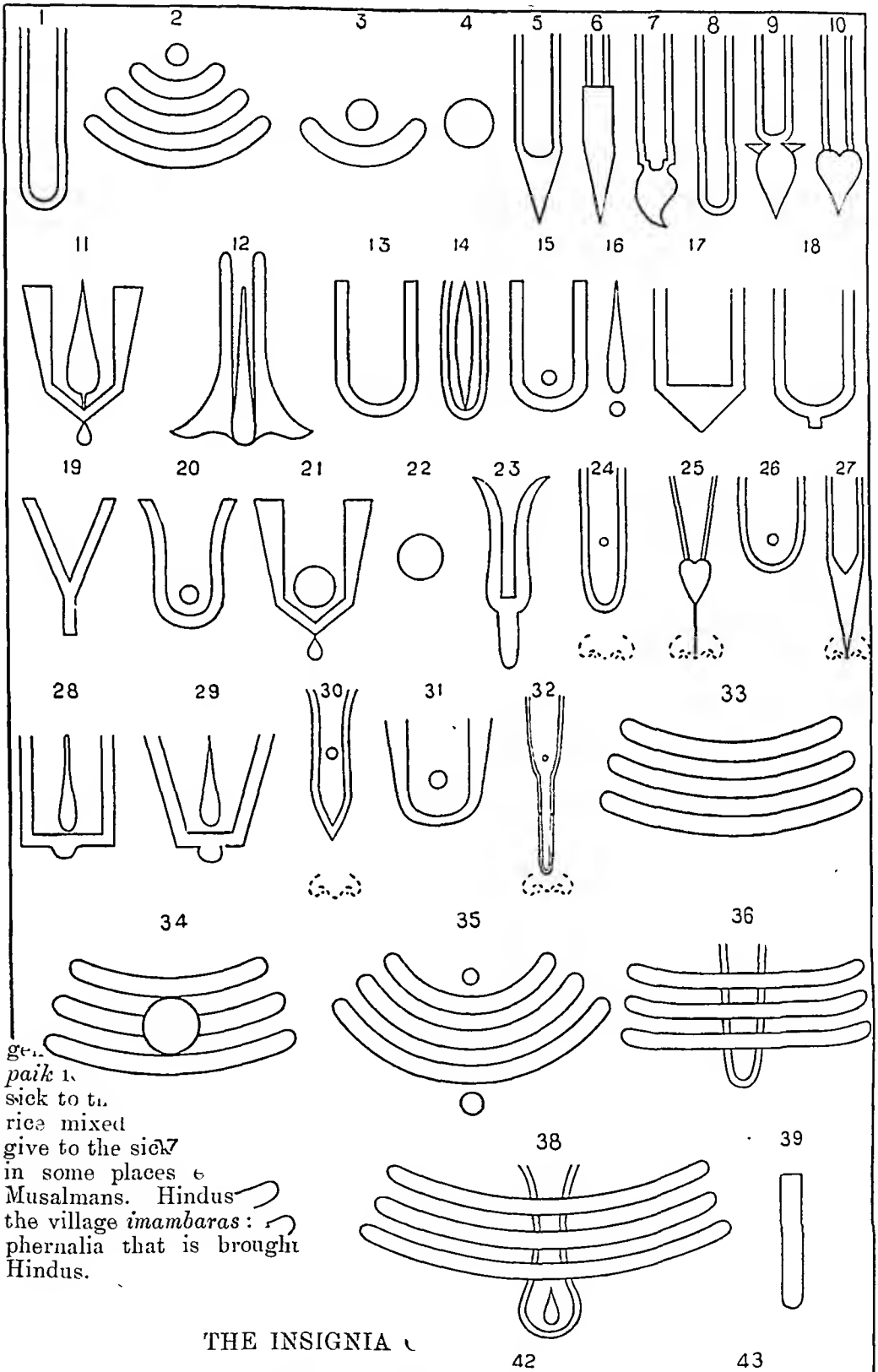
There are also numerous instances of Hindus adopting Musalman practices, such as the worship of the Panch Pir. Hindus who have adopted this cult will not eat meat unless the animal has been duly slaughtered by a Musalman. In parts of Bengal, Hindus make offerings (*shirni*) to Satyapir, who has been Hinduized under the name of Satya Narayan. They also frequent the shrines of Pirs in the belief that the Pirs have power to help them and avert misfortune. The *pirsthan*, as the shrine is called, is also visited on several special occasions. New-born babes are brought there, and their heads pressed down in obeisance. When a cow calves, first-fruits of her milk are offered. Newly married brides and bridegrooms go there on the way to the latter's house and make their salutations.

573. Perhaps the most interesting example of common celebration of religious rites is the Muharram, in which low caste Hindus join, though they apparently regard it as a merry festival instead of a sad memorial service. Nowhere, however, so far as the writer is aware, is there such latitude as in Bihar. In some places, it is reported, low-caste Hindus actually worship Hasan and Husain, as gods. Childless husbands and wives, even among good Hindu castes, (e.g., Kayasths, Agarwalas and Rajputs), vow that, if they have a boy, he shall serve as a *paik* during the Muharram for a certain number of years. Similar vows are made if a boy falls ill or passes through some crisis, the fulfilment of the vow being conditional on recovery from sickness or escape from misfortune. On the seventh, eight and ninth days of the Muharram, batches of these *paiks* may be seen running barefooted from one *akhara* to another, each with a yak's tail in his hand, small bells girdled round his waist, and a cone-shaped turban on his head specially made for the occasion. The boys, and sometimes the whole family, abstain from salt, animal food and all luxuries during the period of their service as *paiks*. This generally is three to five years, but occasionally a boy is dedicated as a *paik* for his lifetime. On the tenth day of the Muharram, Hindus take their sick to the procession so that they may touch the *tazias*, and throw *lai* (fried rice mixed with *gur*) and cowries on the *tazias*, keeping a little of the *lai* to give to the sick or to serve as a safe-guard against the evil eye. Women in some places even put on green *saris* and perform the *makham* like the Musalmans. Hindus also contribute to making *tazias* and the up-keep of the village *imambaras*: in Darbhanga town nearly the whole of the paraphernalia that is brought out during the Muharram is said to be owned by Hindus.

THE INSIGNIA OF HINDU SECTS.

574. The Hindu sects are distinguished by a number of different *tilaks*, i.e., marks worn on the forehead or elsewhere. The mark is applied, with sandal-wood paste or any of the other substances prescribed for the purpose, on the following 12 parts of the body;—the forehead, the neck, the two arms, the chest, the navel, the right and left sides, the lobes of the ears, the head and the back. The wearing of the *tilak* appears to be a custom dating back to

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RELIGION.

RELIGION AND LOCALITY.	Actual number in 1911.	PROPORTION PER 10,000 OF POPULATION IN—				VARIATION PER CENT., IN INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—).			PERCENTAGE OF NET VARIATION.
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HINDUS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	52,694,397	6,218	6,384	6,341	6,484	+ 3.9	+ 3.4	+ 4.7	+ 11.3
BENGAL ...	20,945,379	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,882	+ 3.9	+ 6.2	+ 5.0	+ 15.9
West Bengal ...	6,971,160	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396	+ 1.7	+ 7.1	+ 3.1	+ 12.3
Central ...	4,034,617	3,056	3,020	3,000	3,000	+ 5.2	+ 5.5	+ 3.3	+ 14.6
North ...	4,011,633	3,738	3,921	3,974	4,008	+ 2.9	+ 4.3	+ 3.2	+ 10.7
East ...	5,477,969	3,049	3,251	3,360	3,475	+ 6.6	+ 6.9	+ 10.3	+ 25.8
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	31,749,018	8,260	8,359	8,276	8,435	+ 3.9	+ 1.4	+ 4.4	+ 8.1
North Bihar ...	11,725,133	8,314	8,372	8,364	8,378	+ 1.2	+ 0.2	+ 5.8	+ 7.4
South ...	7,022,638	9,041	9,024	9,029	8,947	+ 0.9	+ 2.7	+ 2.9	+ 0.02
Orissa ...	4,059,744	9,693	9,719	9,746	9,735	+ 0.6	+ 6.3	+ 8.7	+ 16.8
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	8,911,503	7,224	7,350	6,340	7,066	+ 12.1	+ 8.8	+ 0.1	+ 16.3
MUSALMANS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	27,920,666	3,295	3,209	3,276	3,217	+ 9.5	+ 7.7	+ 9.0	+ 28.6
BENGAL ...	24,237,228	5,234	5,119	5,068	4,969	+ 10.4	+ 8.8	+ 9.7	+ 31.8
West Bengal ...	1,138,052	1,344	1,317	1,299	1,295	+ 4.9	+ 8.6	+ 4.3	+ 18.8
Central ...	3,884,959	4,809	4,472	4,907	4,923	+ 3.1	+ 4.3	+ 2.9	+ 10.8
North ...	6,360,037	3,927	3,904	3,929	3,957	+ 8.2	+ 5.3	+ 3.6	+ 18.0
East ...	12,854,180	6,755	6,617	6,505	6,349	+ 14.6	+ 12.4	+ 16.9	+ 50.5
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	3,683,438	958	968	1,072	1,085	+ 4.0	+ 1.5	+ 5.2	+ 11.0
North Bihar ...	2,316,202	1,643	1,621	1,614	1,606	+ 3.3	+ 0.5	+ 6.5	+ 10.6
South ...	723,654	932	965	959	999	+ 2.4	+ 3.1	+ 1.6	+ 7.3
Orissa ...	113,703	272	244	239	238	+ 10.4	+ 11.0	+ 9.0	+ 33.7
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	329,671	423	415	569	569	+ 17.5	+ 14.6	+ 11.4	+ 49.7
CHRISTIANS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	398,011	47	35	26	19	+ 42.6	+ 44.0	+ 49.9	+ 179.7
BENGAL ...	129,746	28	25	21	19	+ 21.7	+ 29.5	+ 13.9	+ 79.5
West Bengal ...	13,782	16	11	8	6	+ 45.6	+ 49.9	+ 41.5	+ 202.0
Central ...	66,395	82	79	69	67	+ 8.6	+ 20.7	+ 6.0	+ 31.9
North ...	17,237	16	9	3	2	+ 90.5	+ 160.7	+ 78.6	+ 817.9
East ...	32,312	17	16	14	14	+ 20.0	+ 22.4	+ 21.2	+ 77.9
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	268,265	70	47	34	18	+ 55.5	+ 55.0	+ 97.0	+ 310.7
North Bihar ...	6,473	5	4	3	3	+ 20.5	+ 32.6	+ 6.1	+ 69.5
South ...	3,440	7	6	6	5	+ 17.7	+ 0.3	+ 13.7	+ 31.3
Orissa ...	3,143	12	12	11	11	+ 2.4	+ 7.9	+ 16.6	+ 32.4
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	251,207	203	145	143	73	+ 59.5	+ 60.9	+ 120.1	+ 343.3
ANIMISTS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	3,451,068	407	343	327	251	+ 26.7	+ 2.6	+ 39.7	+ 76.2
BENGAL ...	730,780	158	101	92	85	+ 65.1	+ 21.3	+ 16.5	+ 133.4
West Bengal ...	342,604	105	352	364	297	+ 18.1	+ 2.8	+ 2.7	+ 58.0
Central ...	30,622	38	16	13	2	+ 146.3	+ 27.7	+ 677.9	+ 2,317.8
North ...	282,960	264	102	44	4	+ 163.7	+ 156.9	+ 459.3	+ 3,639.0
East ...	74,591	39	19	20	63	+ 127.8	+ 6.4	+ 6.8	+ 119.0
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	2,720,288	703	625	617	453	+ 19.2	+ 6.9	+ 45.0	+ 63.2
North Bihar ...	32,186	37	2	13	13	+ 1,446.2	+ 96.1	+ 49.3	+ 215.0
South ...	2,172	12	4	5	9	+ 240.6	+ 27.3	+ 4.4	+ 37.7
Orissa ...	4,770	21	20	12	12	+ 4.5	+ ...	+ ...	+ 101.1
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	2,650,160	2,141	2,043	2,917	2,217	+ 16.9	+ 6.3	+ 43.9	+ 61.4
BUDDHISTS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	248,793	30	27	27	23	+ 14.5	+ 11.7	+ 24.9	+ 59.3
BENGAL ...	246,866	53	50	48	42	+ 14.0	+ 11.8	+ 24.8	+ 59.2
West Bengal ...	114	1	1	1	1	+ 31.1	+ 23.9	+ 10.4	+ 67.2
Central ...	2,561	3	4	3	3	+ 14.7	+ 31.7	+ 17.8	+ 31.2
North ...	34,023	52	51	46	21	+ 11.2	+ 16.0	+ 122.6	+ 1,221.1
East ...	144,164	29	26	27	22	+ 12.1	+ 10.0	+ 11.0	+ 41.0
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	1,927	1	2	1	1	+ 128.6	+ 43.5	+ 36.8	+ 201.8
North Bihar ...	10	101	104	102	...	+ 10.8	+ 67.7	+ ...	+ ...
South ...	25	103	103	11	...	+ 13.6	+ 50.1	+ ...	+ ...
Orissa ...	434	1	1	3	...	+ 10,750.0	+ 94.9	+ 1,742.9	+ 6,100.0
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1,458	1	1	1	3	+ 20.6	+ 122.6	+ 87.4	+ 45.3
OTHERS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	28,000	3	2	3	6	+ 99.9	+ 35.2	+ 45.7	+ 31.7
BENGAL ...	15,641	4	3	4	3	+ 43.7	+ 35.8	+ 55.5	+ 43.6
West Bengal ...	1,528	2	1	1	5	+ 23.2	+ 31.0	+ 43.6	+ 21.6
Central ...	2,401	12	9	4	5	+ 33.4	+ 14.7	+ 63.5	+ 112.1
North ...	3,314	3	3	4	4	+ 19.1	+ 22.4	+ 6.3	+ 1.7
East ...	1,398	1	1	1	2	+ 3.7	+ 4.1	+ 2,476.6	+ 627.9
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	12,357	3	1	1	9	+ 295.8	+ 33.0	+ 84.3	+ 60.4
North Bihar ...	2,310	1	1	1	1	+ 133.7	+ 49.7	+ 7,164.7	+ 2,642.5
South ...	4,223	4	1	1	1	+ 249.4	+ 0.3	+ 1,241.3	+ 12,421.7
Orissa ...	294	1	1	3	4	+ 24.0	+ 1.4	+ 21.3	+ 7.9
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	3,148	3	1	1	6	+ 123.4	+ 62.1	+ 27.5	+ 31.3

The figures in columns 3 and 4 for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, for Bihar and Orissa and for the Chota Nagpur Plateau are estimates of Jambhupur and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, as the figures for 1901 and 1911 are not available.

589. The proportion of children per 100 married females of the reproductive age (15—49) may be taken as a fair index

of the relative fecundity of different communities. The ratio is highest among the Animists in all the natural divisions of the two provinces of the Muhammdans come next and then the Hindus. It cannot be said that these ratios are much affected by migration, for it is only adult males who migrate. Women are but poorly reported among registers and children under 10 years of age still more so. The inevitable conclusion is that fecundity is greatest among Animists and lowest among the Hindus; the Muhammdans having an intermediate position. In South Bengal, however, the Hindus appear to be equal to and in West Bengal superior to the Muhammdans in productivity. These conclusions are suggested by the statistics of births reported in the Sanitary Commissions.

590. The age-specific fertility rate (the proportion of children per 100 married females of the child-bearing age 15—49) is the best measure of the fertility of a community.

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as Santals (266), Mundas (268) and Oraons (212).

It is also high among the tribal Hindu castes, *e.g.*, Pod (236), Rajbansi (224), Namasudra (221), etc. One interesting feature of the age statistics of castes may be noticed here, viz., that where a tribe is in process of being Hinduized, the Hindu section has, as a rule, a smaller proportion of children than their Animist brethren. In other words, Hinduization is accompanied by a reduction of fecundity, and, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph, by an increase of longevity. This feature is common to all but three of the tribes shown in the margin, and it cannot be said that the results are affected by the returns of age being more accurate for the Hindu than for the Animistic section, for the standard of education is much the same

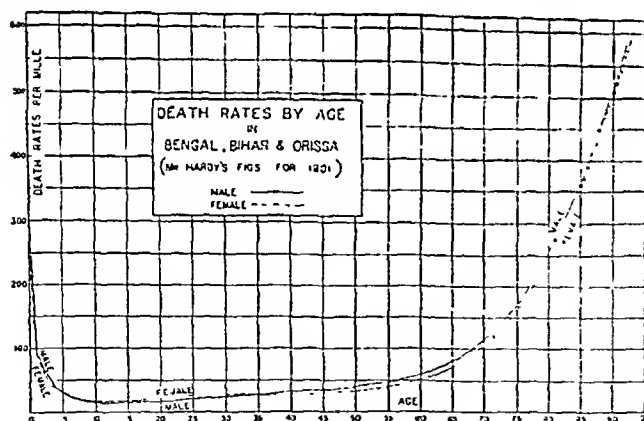
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 12 PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES OF 15-49.

Caste or Tribe.	Animist.	Hindu.
Bengal		
Garo	227	187
Munda	187	201
Oraon	200	187
Santal	234	216
Tipara	217	253
Bihar and Orissa		
Bhumij	213	237
Kautil	215	201
Munda	204	220
Oraon	212	231
Patna	217	214
Santal	266	213

in both cases.

Among the different Hindu castes it is difficult to find any correlation between social status and fecundity. The proportion varies very little among castes ranking high and low in the social scale. In Bengal, after the aboriginal and tribal castes, come (in order) Sanri (220), Baidya (209), Kayasth and Goala (201), Kaibartta, both unspecified and Chasi (200), Brahman (199), Bhumij, Jogi, Jalia Kaibartta (198), Rajput (195), Teli and Tili (192), Tanti (190), Sadgop (187), Bagdi (185) and Chamar (163). In Bihar and Orissa the aboriginal tribes are followed by Rajput (217), Bhuiya (212), Musahar (207), Brahman (194), Goala (194), Babhan (193) and Chasa (191). We should not forget, however, in comparing the figures for the different castes, that the figures are not very accurate, and that the degree of literacy, which affects the accuracy of their age returns, is not the same.

593. As shown in Subsidiary Table IX and illustrated in greater detail in the marginal diagram, the death-rate is abnormally high among infants under one year of age, being over 250 per mille. It then falls sharply to about 100 per mille at one

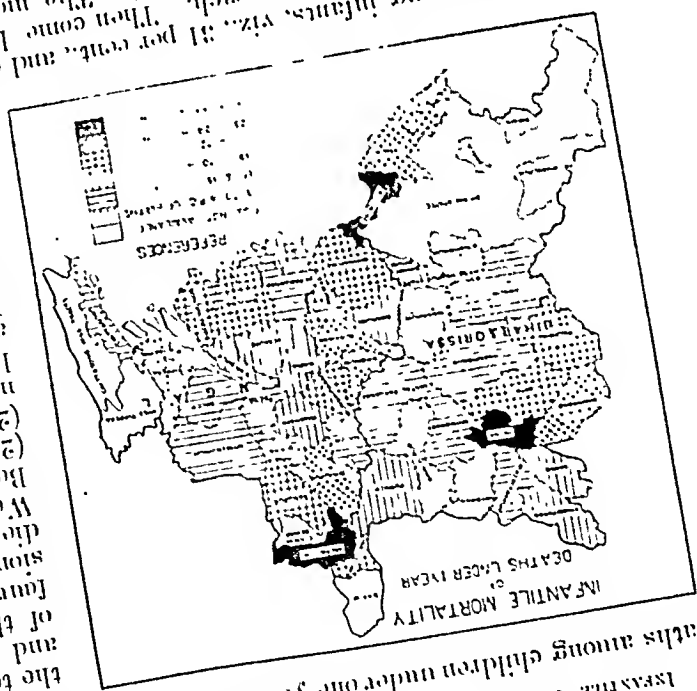


year of age, and rapidly decreases as the age increases up to ten. After this the fall in the death-rate still continues, but very slowly, till it reaches the minimum somewhere between 10 and 15. The death-rate then begins its upward course, slowly up to 40—50, but more and more rapidly beyond that period.

The death-rate is universally higher among males than among females, with one exception, viz., that at the reproductive age of 15—40 females in Bengal die at a more rapid rate than males. This is presumably due to child-birth with its attendant dangers, which are all the greater because of the want of skilled midwifery, the ignorance of hygiene, and last, but not least, premature motherhood. In Bihar, though marriage takes place at an early age, girls are not allowed to meet their husbands until they attain puberty. Moreover, being more accustomed to manual labour in the open air, they are physically better fitted to bear children without injurious after-effects. Turning to the causes of death, it will be seen from Subsidiary Table X that among females the mortality from all diseases is lower than among males, with one exception, viz., that in Bihar and Orissa they succumb more to plague—a feature which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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594. Infantile mortality is extraordinarily high in the two Provinces dealt with in this report, one out of every 5 children dying within a year of age is highest in Orissa, where they account for 26 per cent. of the total number of deaths and represent one-fourth of the actual births. In these natural divi-



INFANTILE MORTALITY DEATHS UNDER FIVE YEARS

PERCENTAGES

Legend:

- More than 100
- 75 to 100
- 50 to 75
- 25 to 50
- 10 to 25
- Below 10

The map shows that the highest mortality rates (above 100%) are concentrated in the northern provinces, particularly in the Punjab region. Mortality rates decrease as one moves south and west, with the lowest rates (below 10%) found in the southern provinces, particularly in the Madras and Bombay regions.

(21) Bhadrav (57),
(22) Tippra (16),
in Tippra (16). Bhadrav (57),
in the different districts of
the statistics of infantile mortality is
higher among male than among female
and well known fact that in this country
the mortality is universally higher among
males than females. It is, however, also a
fact that in this country the mortality is
higher among male than among female
infants.

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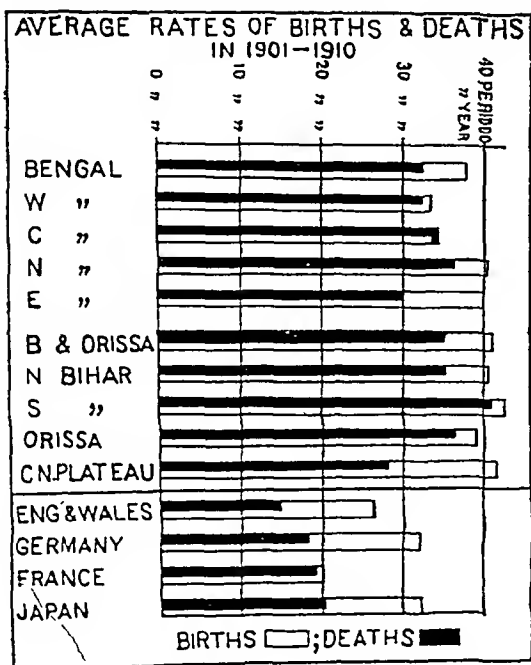
CASES OF PNEUMONIA

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

On the powers is not uncorrected
artificial food help to undermine
° Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1907.

596. A very large proportion of the deaths occur within the first month of life, but statistics are not available except for Calcutta. The number who fail to survive even for this short time may be gathered from the following note kindly contributed by Major W. W. Clemesha, I.M.S., Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal. The note is concerned primarily with the statistics compiled for 1909 by Dr. Pearse, the Health Officer of Calcutta, but throws so much light on the causes of infantile mortality, that it is quoted *in extenso*. It may, however, first be stated that over half of the children that died within a year of birth actually died in the first month. "All who have studied the subject of infant mortality in this country recognize that the causes of infant deaths fall under two main heads. First, conditions connected with the health of parents, such as premature marriage and the prevalence of such wasting diseases as malaria, which particularly affect the well-being of the mother. The second head is equally important, viz., the extremely insanitary conditions of child-birth and the appalling ignorance prevalent. The figures given by Dr. Pearse demonstrate these points to a most remarkable extent. Out of something like 2,700 children that die within the first month, more than 1,200, or nearly 50 per cent., come under the heads of premature birth and debility at birth. These deaths obviously come under the first heading named above: probably early marriage is the preponderating factor, because malaria is comparatively rare in Calcutta. Under the second heading practically another 1,000 children die of tetanus and convulsions, diseases which are occasioned by the ignorance in matters of hygiene relating to child-birth on the part of the mother and those attending to her. It appears that under these two heads about 2,200 out of 2,700 deaths can be accounted for. Grave social conditions, such as child marriage, are things which are difficult to alter and which the spread of education alone can hope to remedy. Deaths which are occasioned by tetanus are, however, entirely preventible. Even a little ordinary cleanliness and a little common knowledge would reduce the death-rate nearly one-half. Concerning the mortality of children between the ages of one month and one year, the causes are many and various. Bronchitis and chest troubles generally appear to account for a very large number of deaths. The children are not sufficiently clad in the cold weather, and, further, it is the weakly child (*i.e.*, the child of immature parents) which is most likely to contract fatal lung trouble."

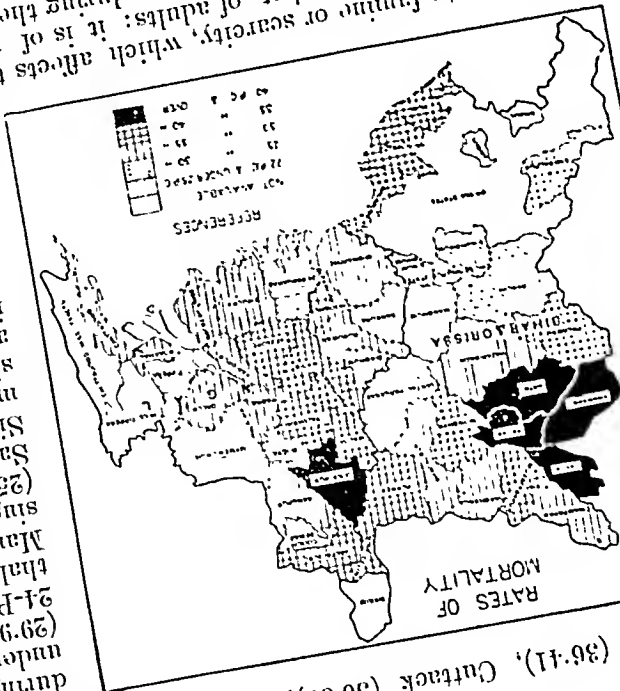
597. Though the crude birth-rate is very high, the death-rate is also high, and hence the excess of births over deaths is much smaller than in European countries. As regards the natural divisions of the two provinces, the death-rate is highest in South Bihar (41·2) and next highest in Orissa (36·5) and North Bengal (36·2). Then follow in order North Bihar (35·4), Central Bengal (34·3) and West Bengal (32·4). The rate of mortality is comparatively low in East Bengal (30·1) and is lowest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau (28·0). The last two natural divisions are conspicuous for a rapid growth of population and for high birth-rates. As regards individual districts, the average rate of mortality was highest during the decade in Patna (47·50) and next highest in Gaya (41·56), both of which have suffered from plague. After Gaya come Dinajpur, a malarious district (40·77), Saran (40·50) and Shahabad (40·13), both of which are plague-stricken districts, Rajshahi (39·85), Nadia (38·94), Darjeeling (38·52), Balasore (37·70), Palamau (36·85), Monghyr (36·84), Jalpaiguri (36·66),



Jessore (36.41), Cuttack (36.39), Purnea (36.38) and Murshidabad (36.28). The average death-rate during the decennium was under 30 per mille in Bogra (28.01), Raich (29.93), Son-24-Parganas (27.28), Son-24-Parganas (26.52), Mymen-24-Parganas (26.52), and Tippera (25.70) and was lowest in Singh (25.17), and Sambalpur (22.81). The map in the margin will show at a glance the average rates of mortality during the decade in the different districts of the two provinces.

In Bihar and Orissa as a whole the rate of mortality is higher than in Bengal, except at the reproductive age. This seems to affect the vitality of the young and the rate of occurrence in Bengal, but excess of the Hindu death-rate is especially noticeable in Orissa and North Bihar, which are centres of orthodox Hinduism. In Bengal, on the other hand, and in North Bihar and East Bengal in particular, the figures do not appear to corroborate this belief, as in these natural divisions the death-rate may be regarded as equal.

In West Bengal the difference (0.1 per mille) in the death-rate of the two communities is so small that their vitality may be regarded as equal. Turning to the figures for individual districts we find that in the Sanitary Commissioner's report for 1910, an abstract of which is given in the marginal table, we find that in 1910 the Hindus had a higher death-rate than the Muhammadans in every district of South Bihar and Orissa, and in all the districts of North Bihar except Saran. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau, however, they had a lower death-rate, in Ranelli, Singhbhum and the South Parganas, and



AVERAGE DEATH-RATE PER MILE FROM 1901-10.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	Province and Division.	Hindus.	Muhammadans (3-11).	Difference (3-11).
Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
West Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Central Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
North Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
South Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
East Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Chota Nagpur Plateau	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Orissa	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
South Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
North Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Central Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
West Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
East Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	Province and Division.	Hindus.	Muhammadans (3-11).	Difference (3-11).
Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
West Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Central Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
North Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
South Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
East Bengal	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Chota Nagpur Plateau	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Orissa	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
South Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
North Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
Central Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
West Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8
East Bihar	...	32.7	32.4	33.8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH MAIN RELIGION.

PART I.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

AGE	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
HINDU.								
0-5 ...	1,260	1,318	1,253	1,340	1,293	1,396	1,367	1,441
5-10 ...	1,178	1,450	1,433	1,400	1,493	1,419	1,491	1,387
10-15 ...	1,183	974	1,218	994	1,202	966	1,118	891
15-20 ...	845	850	871	830	809	771	771	742
20-40 ...	3,221	3,236	3,115	3,167	3,068	3,150	3,152	3,234
40-60 ...	1,558	1,514	1,615	1,606	1,633	1,609	1,609	1,630
60 and over ...	155	598	165	622	478	651	181	670
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
MEAN AGE ...	25'0	25'4	24'6	25'5	24'6	25'6	24'6	25'8
MUSALMAN.								
0-5 ...	1,467	1,601	1,451	1,573	1,555	1,683	1,537	1,819
5-10 ...	1,553	1,684	1,661	1,638	1,645	1,551	1,618	1,534
10-15 ...	1,213	1,009	1,283	1,032	1,230	982	1,171	913
15-20 ...	829	966	823	912	791	891	729	812
20-40 ...	2,994	3,074	2,965	3,054	2,908	3,009	2,962	3,100
40-60 ...	1,357	1,228	1,392	1,284	1,422	1,321	1,474	1,123
60 and over ...	413	436	425	477	449	527	475	589
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5
MEAN AGE ...	23'4	22'6	23'1	23'0	23'2	23'5	23'6	24'3
CHRISTIAN.								
0-5 ...	1,328	1,636	1,386	1,546	1,503	1,671	1,413	1,603
5-10 ...	1,497	1,574	1,478	1,585	1,511	1,579	1,360	1,502
10-15 ...	1,321	1,210	1,362	1,247	1,313	1,223	1,098	1,093
15-20 ...	814	871	887	912	884	878	808	912
20-40 ...	3,165	3,019	3,171	3,092	3,078	2,973	3,600	3,115
40-60 ...	1,357	1,264	1,373	1,283	1,344	1,236	1,370	1,257
60 and over ...	347	426	360	425	362	439	339	501
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	12
MEAN AGE ...	23'0	22'7	23'1	22'7	22'8	22'5	23'6	23'3
ANIMIST.								
0-5 ...	1,573	1,644	1,517	1,612	1,628	1,735	Not available.	
5-10 ...	1,756	1,696	1,816	1,733	1,893	1,737		
10-15 ...	1,301	1,134	1,432	1,215	1,415	1,188		
15-20 ...	840	891	880	914	818	839		
20-40 ...	2,837	2,975	2,692	2,881	2,533	2,757		
40-60 ...	1,315	1,219	1,294	1,226	1,300	1,221		
60 and over ...	378	434	369	439	403	472		
MEAN AGE ...	22'6	22'6	21'9	22'2	21'8	22'2		

PART II.

CENSUS OF 1911.

AGE	HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		CHRISTIAN.		ANIMIST.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL.								
0-5 ...	1,187	1,348	1,476	1,631	1,171	1,391	1,522	1,685
5-10 ...	1,356	1,411	1,690	1,703	1,191	1,347	1,691	1,725
10-15 ...	1,119	933	1,241	1,017	1,061	1,111	1,142	1,028
15-20 ...	903	1,017	839	1,009	815	905	748	932
20-40 ...	3,369	3,205	3,013	3,049	3,902	3,405	2,989	3,118
40-60 ...	1,692	1,516	1,339	1,181	1,484	1,305	1,481	1,093
60 and over ...	464	570	402	405	376	446	427	416
MEAN AGE ...	25'6	25'3	23'3	22'4	25'4	24'1	23'8	22'0
BIHAR AND ORISSA.								
0-5 ...	1,310	1,345	1,403	1,414	1,714	1,744	1,567	1,633
5-10 ...	1,563	1,474	1,718	1,553	1,658	1,674	1,774	1,688
10-15 ...	1,229	1,000	1,255	960	1,459	1,254	1,345	1,162
15-20 ...	805	746	764	697	814	816	665	884
20-40 ...	3,117	3,257	2,897	3,235	2,779	2,651	2,796	2,938
40-60 ...	1,528	1,567	1,474	1,512	1,245	1,244	1,270	1,250
60 and over ...	448	611	489	629	331	417	363	445
MEAN AGE ...	24'6	25'6	24'2	25'4	21'8	22'1	22'1	22'7

CHRYSLER DIVISION

Locality	NUMBER OF OTHER MOUNTAIN ADITS				NUMBER PER OTHER MOUNTAIN ADIT			
	0-2	3-12	13-15	16-20	0-2	3-12	13-15	16-20
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
51	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
53	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
54	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
55	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
56	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
58	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
59	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
60	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
61	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
62	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
63	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
67	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
68	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
69	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
70	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
71	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
72	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
74	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
75	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
76	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
77	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
78	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
79	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
81	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
82	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
83	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
84	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
85	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
86	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
87	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
88	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
89	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
90	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
91	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
92	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
93	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
94	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
95	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
96	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
98	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
99	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
100	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES—concluded.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER PER 1000 MALES AGED.					NUMBER PER 1000 FEMALES AGED.				
		0-5.	5-12.	12-15.	15-40.	40 and over.	0-5.	5-12.	12-15.	15-40.	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KUNJRA (Musliman) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	151	212	56	312	122	142	206	50	349	213
KURMI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	120	185	80	431	121	135	199	66	416	184
LEI CHA (Christian) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	120	178	83	402	217	126	183	89	401	221
LEI CHA (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	147	211	74	427	134	171	199	90	383	157
LOHAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	93	166	63	402	261	101	149	55	407	285
MAGH (Buddhist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	116	216	79	373	186	147	190	56	324	209
MAGH (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	116	217	76	365	196	136	197	66	403	194
MALLAH (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	123	196	69	312	206	133	176	45	401	212
MALO (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	121	172	64	412	227	135	167	61	419	214
MAL, PAMATHA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	161	223	91	351	170	159	215	70	378	150
MAYRA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	52	79	45	371	250	119	127	71	445	235
MLOH (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	154	213	63	329	237	260	231	111	245	80
MURMI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	123	163	76	395	210	171	143	42	426	178
MUGHAL (Musliman) ...	Bengal ...	62	66	74	543	211	105	84	57	506	219
MUCHI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	121	184	71	425	199	143	185	64	422	182
MUNDA (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	124	182	52	425	183	135	183	51	454	110
MUNDA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	166	214	83	373	161	161	211	71	361	193
MUNDA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	153	184	69	391	149	170	225	54	434	109
MURMI (Buddhist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	160	186	75	345	191	139	123	71	356	211
MUSAHAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	143	180	81	412	171	137	189	85	355	201
NAMASUDRA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	156	231	66	365	199	159	221	52	327	150
NUNYA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	156	193	71	393	201	145	146	54	421	187
NUNYA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	116	221	74	366	193	143	146	49	460	223
ORAON (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	164	185	75	349	209	173	201	59	411	116
ORAON (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	191	201	66	376	159	164	164	58	313	253
ORAON (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	147	184	59	416	191	169	124	69	419	119
PAN (Animist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	179	221	74	351	172	133	203	67	366	171
PAN (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	111	222	76	411	144	158	219	56	425	142
PAN (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	142	229	79	345	162	149	211	61	401	173
PATHAN (Musliman) ...	Bengal ...	105	166	77	447	205	139	191	63	421	193
PATHAN (Musliman) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	131	221	69	369	207	131	186	52	392	239
PATNI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	110	168	54	411	220	120	151	20	452	220
POD (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	144	210	73	379	150	166	199	66	401	163
RAJBANSI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	133	195	65	397	207	159	199	51	418	175
RAJPUT (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	84	119	61	516	217	115	172	76	421	216
RAJPUT (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	110	195	69	406	220	111	177	46	392	271
RAJWAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	131	226	72	359	209	135	193	63	406	203
HAUNIAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	139	216	73	341	192	155	201	60	351	227
SADGOL (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	111	162	79	419	230	116	137	67	410	250
SAIYAD (Musliman) ...	Bengal ...	120	172	74	429	205	133	183	66	415	203
SAIYAD (Musliman) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	133	213	71	360	223	131	147	56	359	237
SANTAL (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	122	224	75	359	187	165	213	67	391	161
SANTAL (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	146	223	90	367	134	185	202	103	371	139
SANTAL (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	148	212	71	375	191	161	205	66	411	157
SANTAL (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	151	189	100	391	199	133	195	122	356	164
SONAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	24	110	70	443	273	87	119	48	501	215
SUBARNABANIK (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	131	210	67	355	201	136	159	52	430	223
SUDDA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	100	110	75	460	255	103	118	85	436	253
SUDDA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	139	203	82	372	205	129	177	60	411	223
SUNRI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	111	174	54	345	213	150	160	71	385	234
SUNRI (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	115	212	74	370	199	134	189	63	391	219
SUTRADHAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	118	183	74	415	213	133	140	65	420	202
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	116	153	75	439	215	127	163	66	418	226
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	134	217	71	369	205	125	168	54	400	229
TELI AND TILI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	113	161	79	431	216	121	158	66	416	239
TIPARA (Animist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	137	213	69	349	193	137	193	59	396	215
TIPARA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	150	210	63	343	191	156	215	69	406	154
TIPARA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	166	213	60	359	172	146	230	66	379	139
TIYAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	137	185	59	376	213	169	177	87	396	171
TIYAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	145	223	56	374	202	161	200	46	401	192

SCHEDULE A.—PROTECTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 12
 AND OF PERSONS OVER 15—10; ALSO OF
 MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—10 PER 100 FEMALES.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(Contd.)	Female aged 12-19 Married females aged 12-19	Male aged 12-19 Married males aged 12-19	Total aged 12-19 Total married females aged 12-19	Total aged 12-19 Total married males aged 12-19	Total aged 12-19 Total married females aged 12-19	Total aged 12-19 Total married males aged 12-19

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO THOSE AGED 15—40; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40 PER 100 FEMALES.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN BOTH SEXES PER 100.						PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 PER 100 AGED 15—40.						NUMBER OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15 TO 40 PER 100 FEMALES OF ALL AGES.		
	PERSONS AGED 15—40.			MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40.			1911.		1901.		1891.		1911.	1901.	1891.
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	75	72	76	177	174	181	11	13	12	14	12	14	33	33	33
BENGAL	76	73	75	181	182	187	11	12	11	13	12	14	34	33	32
WEST BENGAL	61	64	64	157	163	167	11	13	11	15	11	15	33	32	31
Burdwan	58	60	59	147	157	157	11	14	11	16	10	18	33	31	31
Barham	66	72	93	137	172	152	12	14	13	16	12	18	34	32	32
Bankura	67	74	50	167	182	160	11	14	12	16	10	14	32	31	31
Midnapore	81	93	95	158	161	168	10	13	10	13	10	13	33	33	32
Hooghly	50	54	60	152	148	161	11	15	11	15	12	18	32	31	29
Howrah	37	61	68	159	160	184	10	11	10	15	12	17	33	32	31
CENTRAL BENGAL	60	64	68	167	174	181	10	13	11	15	12	16	33	32	31
24 Parganas	63	67	71	170	178	189	11	12	13	13	13	14	34	32	32
Calcutta	98	97	97	132	130	129	9	14	7	18	7	14	34	32	32
Nadia	68	74	78	171	183	189	11	15	13	17	14	18	32	31	30
Murshidabad	74	79	74	183	191	188	11	15	12	17	12	18	32	30	30
Jessore	62	64	71	161	163	177	10	11	11	13	13	15	33	33	32
NORTH BENGAL	78	77	77	195	191	190	10	10	10	11	12	13	34	34	33
Rajshahi	73	76	76	181	183	178	9	11	9	11	10	12	35	34	35
Dinajpur	81	78	76	201	191	187	9	8	9	9	10	10	34	36	35
Jalpaiguri	70	70	72	184	186	190	10	8	11	10	11	12	38	34	34
Darjeeling	61	59	56	179	184	186	9	11	8	10	8	10	32	34	35
Rangpur	80	73	72	199	192	187	11	10	11	11	11	12	31	34	35
Bogra	88	84	83	202	192	192	10	9	11	12	11	12	35	36	35
Pabna	77	82	83	184	193	199	10	13	12	13	14	18	34	33	32
Malda	83	74	83	206	195	205	10	13	11	14	11	17	32	31	31
Cooch Behar	72	72	73	205	212	210	11	10	11	10	14	13	31	30	30
EAST BENGAL	81	81	84	190	191	197	11	11	12	12	13	14	34	33	33
Khulna	75	71	73	187	185	194	12	11	12	12	13	14	34	33	32
Dacca	82	82	86	189	190	200	12	12	13	13	14	16	34	33	32
Mymensingh	86	82	83	201	199	205	11	10	10	11	12	14	34	34	33
Faridpur	76	73	82	181	191	193	12	13	13	15	14	16	34	32	32
Backergunge	73	74	78	174	175	185	12	10	12	12	13	13	35	34	34
Tipperra	82	84	83	189	197	193	13	8	13	10	12	11	32	34	34
Noakhali	85	83	86	202	201	204	13	9	14	11	15	15	32	34	34
Chittagong Hill Tracts	84	80	93	189	195	201	11	11	13	14	13	16	34	32	32
Hill Tippera	75	73	...	202	203	...	12	10	12	11	...	...	32	33	...
...	77	77	...	190	196	...	10	9	10	9	...	...	35	35	...
BIHAR AND ORISSA	73	71	78	170	164	173	11	15	12	16	12	16	33	33	33
NORTH BIHAR	73	72	76	164	162	168	13	17	13	17	13	17	34	34	34
Saran	73	73	79	159	153	182	15	19	15	19	16	20	33	33	33
Champanan	69	67	72	157	157	165	12	18	12	16	13	17	35	34	34
Muzaffarpur	73	70	76	159	154	164	15	20	15	20	15	19	34	34	33
Darbhanga	73	74	75	157	162	160	14	17	13	17	13	18	35	34	35
Bhagalpur	73	73	77	168	166	175	10	15	11	15	11	16	35	35	34
Purnea	76	73	75	190	187	187	9	12	10	12	11	14	33	32	33
SOUTH BIHAR	70	64	74	160	147	163	13	17	13	17	14	18	34	34	33
Patna	64	67	67	153	133	150	15	18	15	19	15	20	34	35	34
Gaya	71	65	74	161	150	166	13	16	13	16	14	17	34	34	33
Shahabad	65	64	73	154	150	162	10	15	10	16	12	19	34	33	33
Monghyr	78	69	80	169	154	171	14	18	13	17	14	18	34	34	33
ORISSA	65	65	69	152	151	152	11	15	11	16	12	18	33	33	32
Cuttack	67	66	71	155	154	163	12	17	11	17	13	20	33	33	32
Balaso	61	64	65	145	148	154	9	13	10	15	10	16	33	34	32
Puri	65	63	53	153	149	126	12	14	11	16	11	17	34	34	33
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	81	83	92	192	197	214	9	12	10	12	11	14	32	31	31
Hazaribagh	83	77	89	190	174	200	10	11	9	11	10	12	33	33	32
Ranchi	93	93	98	219	218	225	11	14	10	13	10	13	30	29	30
Palaman	83	83	...	195	191	...	8	12	7	10	...	...	33	35	...
Manbhum	73	75	87	181	180	202	10	13	10	13	11	15	34	33	32
Singbhum	79	77	89	216	218	243	9	11	8	10	11	12	35	34	32
Sonthal Parganas	85	89	94	200	210	218	11	13	12	15	13	15	32	31	31
Angul	76	75	77	188	186	193	8	11	8	11	10	12	32	33	32
Sambalpur	70	...	...	155	...	...	10	15	...	...	...	...	33	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States	79	...	...	188	...	...	8	11	...	...	...	...	33	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	78	...	...	201	...	...	10	13	...	...	...	...	30	...	...
SIKKIM	72	62	...	186	157	...	15	17	16	15	...	...	31	34	...

NOTE.—In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V-A.—PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO THOSE AGED 15—40, ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40 PER 100 FEMALES.

RELIGION AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Persons aged 15-40.	Males aged 15-40.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN, BOTH		PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 PER 100		MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15-40 PER 100 FEMALES OF ALL AGES.		1911.		1901.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
WEST BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
CENTRAL BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
NORTH BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
EAST BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
NORTH BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
BIHAR AND ORISSA—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
SOUTH BENGAL—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
ORISSA—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
SMALL NAGPUR PLATEAU—												
All religions...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Hindu...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Muslim...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31
Others...	11	11	12	12	31	31	32	32	31	31

CHAPTER VI.

SEX.

610. Throughout the census tables separate figures are given for each sex according to the subjects dealt with, but the tables which are most relevant to a consideration of the statistics are Tables I, II, VII and XI, and, for individual castes, Tables IX and XIV. Proportional figures illustrating the more important features of the returns are, as usual, given in Subsidiary Tables at the end of the chapter, viz.—

Subsidiary Table I.—General proportion of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

Subsidiary Table II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religion at each of the last three censuses.

Subsidiary Table III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religions and natural divisions.

Subsidiary Table IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes.

Subsidiary Table V.—Number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891-1900 and 1901-1910.

Subsidiary Table VI.—Comparative statistics of births and deaths by sex during the same two decades.

Subsidiary Table VII.—Number of deaths of each sex at different ages.

611. The proportion of the sexes in European countries (excluding those in the south-east of Europe) is very different from what it is in those other parts of the world for which reliable statistics are available. In the former females outnumber

COUNTRY.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.			
	At birth.		In at 100,000.	
	1870.	1900.	1870.	1900.
England ...	963	944	1,054	1,068
Scotland ...	915	935	1,025	1,057
Ireland ...	931	914	1,050	1,027
Germany ...	950	915	1,040	1,052
France ...	953	941	1,045	1,045
Italy ...	937	947	989	1,010
Spain ...	936	905	1,014	1,019

COUNTRY.	Year of census.	Number of females per 1,000 males.
Bulgaria ...	1905	962
Serbia ...	1900	946
Greece ...	1907	946
Egypt ...	1907	992
United States ...	1910	943
Canada ...	1901	932
Japan ...	1901	940
India ...	1901	943
...	1911	951
Bengal Bihar and Orissa ...	1901	929
...	1911	938

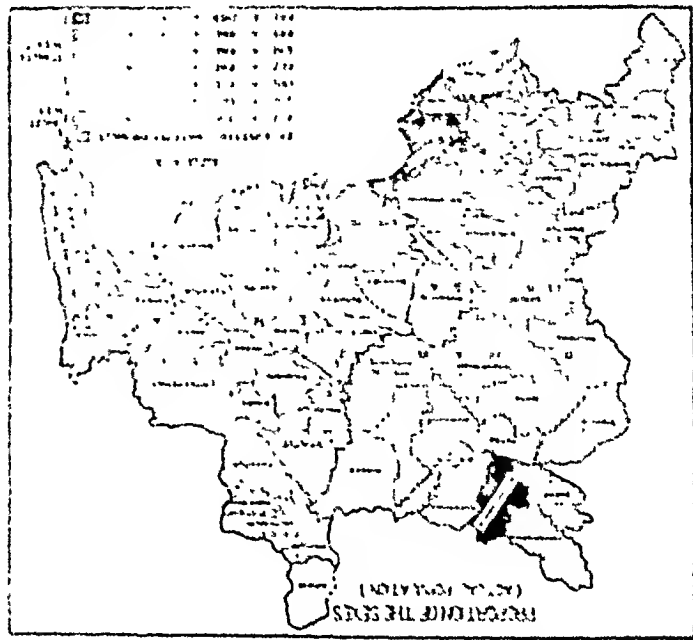
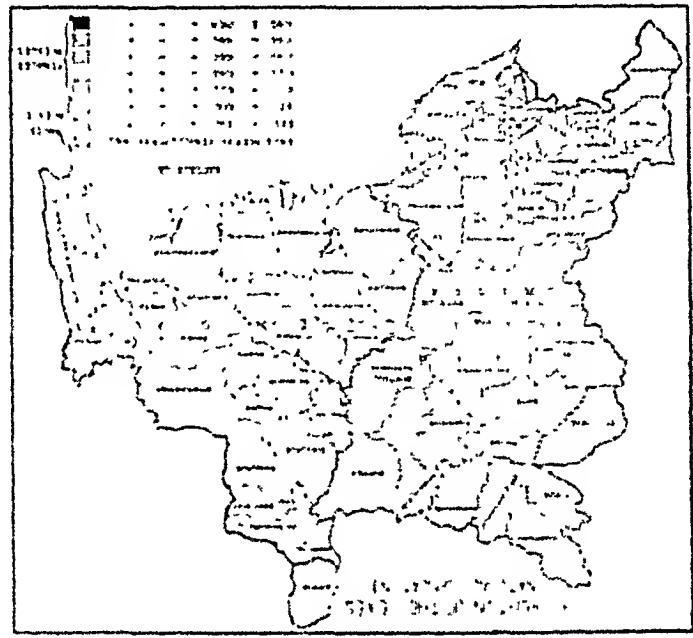
males in spite of a general excess of males at birth, as shown in the marginal table, from which it will be seen that this is a phenomenon common to both Latin and Teutonic countries. In India, the south-eastern countries of Europe, North America and other countries, such as Egypt and Japan, the reverse is the case. The deficiency of females in India has been ascribed by European statisticians, such as Von Mayr and Kirchhoff, to a supposed incomplete return of females, which is ascribed largely to "the unwillingness of Muhammadans, and to some extent of Hindus also, to mention to the enumerators the young women living in their zenana." The subject will be discussed later in this chapter, and here it will be sufficient to invite attention to the fact that the relative paucity of women is not confined to India.

612. The excess of males in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which has been shown in the marginal table above, is due to the preponderance of males in Bengal, for there is an excess of females in Bihar and Orissa. In the actual population of Bengal, *i.e.* the population actually enumerated in each district, including immigrants from outside, there are 945 females to every 1,000 males, whereas there are 1,043 females to every 1,000 males in Bihar and Orissa. Females are in defect

in every district of Bengal, except Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Malda, Dacca, Noakhali and Chittagong; in the latter eight districts the proportion of females varies from 1,000 in Midnapore to 1,087 in Chittagong. In Birbhum and Chittagong females are in marked excess in every district except Purnea (987, Parna 988) and Malabhum (963). To a small extent the difference between the two provinces is due to the large number of immigrants that pour into Bengal from Bihar and Orissa; the actual number of immigrants emigrated in Bengal is nearly 2 millions, among whom there are, roughly, only one female to every two males. In the actual population, therefore, the real proportion of the sexes is partly obscured by migration. The effect of migration, however, be estimated, if we exclude the immigrants from outside and include those who have emigrated, so as to get what is known as the natural population, *i.e.*, the population born in that tract, regardless of the place of emigration.

613. The proportion of the sexes in the actual and natural population of each district and natural division is shown in Subsidary Table I. from which it will be seen that the volume of migration is not sufficient to change the excess of females into a defect, or conversely, except in the marginally-noted districts. The net gain of males or loss of females on the census day turned the balance in the actual population in favour of males only in the colliery districts of Birbhum and Malabhum, and in the State of Hill Trappers. In the natural population of Bengal females are in excess only in the border districts of Burdwan, Malabhum, and Dacca.

NATURAL POPULATION		ACTUAL POPULATION	
District	1901	District	1901
Burdwan	1,087	Burdwan	1,087
Malabhum	963	Malabhum	963
Dacca	987	Dacca	987
Noakhali	988	Noakhali	988
Chittagong	1,087	Chittagong	1,087
Birbhum	963	Birbhum	963
Bankura	963	Bankura	963
Midnapore	1,000	Midnapore	1,000
Murshidabad	1,000	Murshidabad	1,000
Malda	987	Malda	987
Purnea	988	Purnea	988
Hill Trappers	1,087	Hill Trappers	1,087
Bengal	1,087	Bengal	1,087



Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda on the east, in the frontier State of Hill Tippera in the extreme south-east, and in Howrah in the south. Elsewhere males preponderate. The proportion of females is highest in the more distinctively Hindu localities, viz., West Bengal (994) and Central Bengal (972). It is lowest in the divisions which have a majority of Musalmans, viz., East Bengal (965) and North Bengal (965). In Bihar and Orissa also the proportion of females is highest in the most purely Hindu tracts, *i. e.*, Orissa (1,028) and North Bihar (1,019). The latter is closely followed by Chota Nagpur (1,018), which has a large Animist population. South Bihar has the smallest proportion of females, viz., 991 per 1,000 males. Females predominate in the natural population of every district, except the border district of Purnea, the inhabitants of which have many affinities to the Bengalis, and in Patna and Gaya. The deficiency in these latter two districts is to be attributed partly to plague, to which females are more liable than males.

614. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole the proportion of females in the actual population has been higher amongst Hindus than amongst Muhammadans at each

PROVINCE	NUMBER (000's OMITTED) OF—				NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.	
	HINDUS.		MUSALMANS.		HINDUS.	MUSALMANS.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	26,413	26,281	14,163	13,768	995	973
Bengal	10,848	10,097	12,377	11,860	931	958
Bihar and Orissa ...	15,565	16,184	1,776	1,908	1,040	1,074

of the last three censuses, but the Muhammadans have a higher, and not a lower, proportion of females than the Hindus in each province separately. This latter feature is common to all the natural divisions of

DIVISION.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES IN 1911.		NUMBER OF DISTRICTS IN WHICH THE EXCESS OF FEMALES IS GREATEST AMONG.—	
	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Hindus.	Musalmans.
Bengal ...	931	958	12	18
West Bengal ...	986	992	3	3
Central " ...	852	906	2	3
North " ...	881	955	1	8
East " ...	960	973	6	4
Bihar and Orissa.	1,040	1,074	11	12
North Bihar ...	1,037	1,066	...	6
South " ...	1,020	1,177	...	4
Orissa ...	1,080	1,118	1	2
Chota Nagpur Plateau.	1,016	975	10	...

Orissa except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, as Hindu males form the majority of the emigrants.

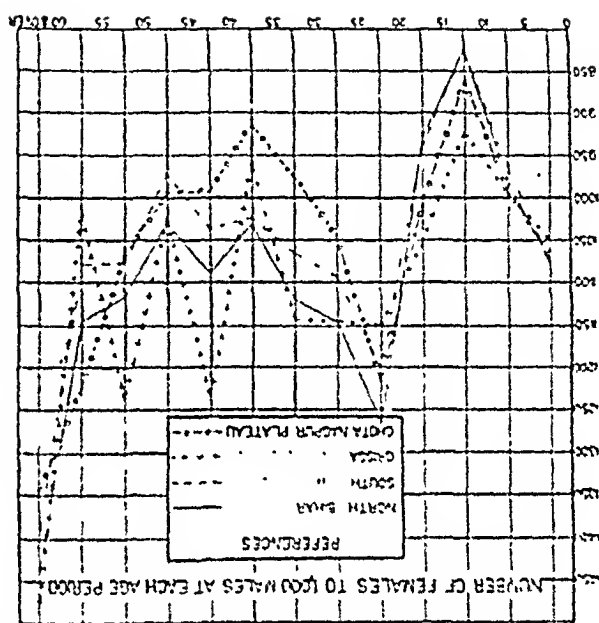
615. There is a general deficiency of females amongst all the Bengali Hindu castes, except Bagdi (1,010), Baishnab (1,205), Bauri (1,035), Bhumiij (1,078), Chasi Kaibartta (1,001), Sudra (1,106) and Tiyyar (1,074), all, be it noted, low classes. A few other castes or tribes, which are of Mongoloid origin (and cannot be called purely Bengali) also have a slight excess of females, viz., Khambu and Jindar (1,012), Kuki (1,001), Magh (1,040) and Mech (1,101), and also the Dravidian Oraon (1,055). In Bihar and Orissa nearly every caste has a preponderance of females, the exceptions being the three high castes of Bahlihan (967), Brahman (1,000) and Rajput (995), the ubiquitous Baniya (995) and the Animist Bhumiij (986). Statistics of emigration by caste not being available, it is impossible to say how far the varying paucity of males in the different castes of Bihar and Orissa is attributable to the exodus of their males; but it is noticeable that there is no striking deficiency among the Animist

Santalals and Oraons, who are pioneer races furnishing a large proportion of emigrants.

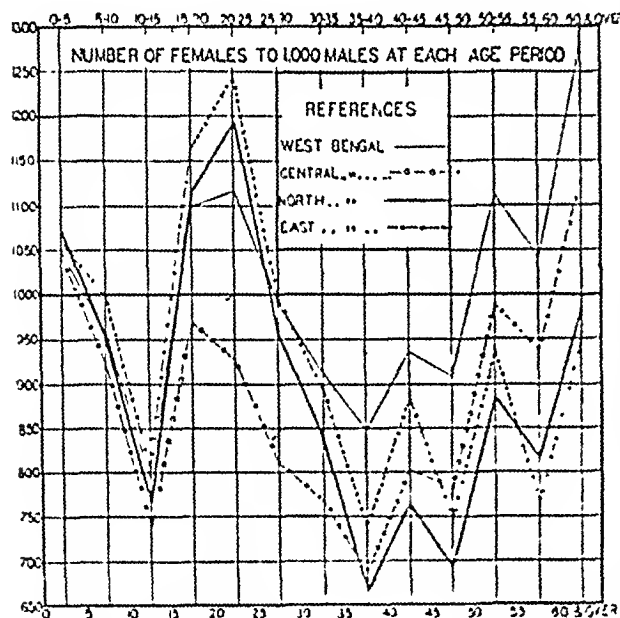
No correlation between social status and the proportion of the sexes can be traced, for in Bengal the Subarnabanks (815) have the lowest proportion of females, and then come in order Gola, Meeh, Brahman, Thari and Bhiniya, after the five castes mentioned above (Babhan, Brahman, Rajput, Baniya and Bhumi) the lowest proportion is found among the Boms, Golas and Kayasths, varying only from 1,002 to 1,001.

Two features in the returns are noticeable. First, there is a relatively small number of women among the Brahmans and Kayasths in both provinces, a feature which is not noticed in other castes that have representatives both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa. Secondly, females are generally in excess amongst the Mundas and Pravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur, e.g., Mundas, Oraon, Santals, etc., but are in marked defect among certain tribes and race castes of East and North Bengal, e.g., Chakma (891), Tipara (966), Koch (931), etc., which have a strong Mongoloid element. On the other hand, certain other Mongoloid races have, as already shown, an excess of females.

616. The inaccuracy of the age statistics, especially for females, is so great, that it is difficult for a conscientious statistician to place much reliance on the proportion of females to males at each age period, and it is therefore not proposed to discuss the figures in details. The following more salient and general features may, however, be noticed. As shown in Subsidary Table III and illustrated graphically in the marginal diagram, there is a deficiency of females in each natural division of Bengal at the age period 10-15. It changes into an excess at the next age periods 15-20 and 20-25, after which the deficiency reappears and goes on increasing till it reaches the maximum at the age period 35-40. After this, the proportion of females to males increases with the usual sharp rise at ages which are multiples of 10.



ago periods illustrate the special predilection of women for multiples of 10 in stating their age, while the steady increase in their relative number is due in part to their greater longevity, to which reference has been made in the last chapter.



below that line at most of the age periods.

617. Since 1881 the proportion of females to males in the actual population has steadily declined throughout Bengal. This is due partly to the increasing number of immigrants from other provinces, who are mostly males, and partly to the actual decrease in the relative number of females. That there has been such a decrease is apparent from the returns of natural population, the proportion of females in which has also been decreasing during the last thirty years in all the districts of Bengal except Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Bogra, Cooch Behar, Backergunge, Noakhali and Hill Tippera.

CASTES OF BENGAL	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1000 MALES	
	1881	1901
HINDU.		
Baldia ..	1,007	1,012
Birul ..	954	1,014
Bhulmal ..	952	972
Brahman ..	953	947
Chakmar and Muchi ..	1,006	1,024
Dhobi ..	1,003	1,011
Dom ..	1,004	1,010
Gaudhabari ..	1,001	1,007
Goala ..	971	970
Hajjam and Napti ..	974	1,005
Jogi ..	976	971
Kamar and Lohar ..	977	1,000
Kavasth ..	952	1,003
Kumbhar ..	950	1,009
Mayra ..	906	891
Namasudra ..	974	959
Pod ..	957	941
Rajbansi ..	950	956
Sadger ..	952	1,004
Subarnabandi ..	985	980
Sutradhar ..	937	952
Tanti ..	1,032	1,000
Teli and Tili ..	1,008	1,024
HINDU AND ANIMIST.		
Garo ..	942	941
Munda ..	1,022	1,006
Oran ..	1,023	1,003
Santal ..	1,019	1,004
Tippera ..	961	931

largely responsible.

PROPORTION OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE OF THE LOCALITY.		
	1901	1911.
West Bengal ..	1,038	1,016
Central ..	974	938
North ..	960	957
East ..	945	940
North Bihar ..	1,064	1,084
South ..	1,052	1,031
Orissa ..	1,056	1,043

the number speaking the native language of each locality, viz., Bengali

For, in the natural population, the proportion of females, which grew from 1881 to 1901, has fallen during the last decade, when emigration was greatly quickened. The districts of South Bihar, however, show a decline in the relative number of women since 1881, which may be attributed in part to plague, to which, as already stated, females succumb more than males. The decline in the proportion of females is also noticeable in the figures for each age period given in Subsidiary Table II, and to a greater or less extent in

movements of the people. In Bihar and Orissa, however, there is an excess of females in the actual population as in Europe, whereas in Bengal they are in defect, the effect of their lower mortality not being sufficient to bring their numbers up to, much less above, that of the males.

619. In some districts of Bihar the ravages of plague are reducing the proportion of females considerably. Its effects may be realized from the marginal table, in which figures are given for Patna, Shahabad and Saran, which have suffered more

DISTRICT.	NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.			
	Actual population.		Natural population.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Patna ...	1,020	944	921	951
Shahabad ...	1,048	1,062	1,034	1,010
Saran ...	1,200	1,151	1,071	1,012

than any other districts during the last decade, the total plague mortality representing a death-rate on 9, 3 and 8 per cent. respectively on the population of 1901. In order to discount the effects of migration, figures are given for natural as well as for actual population. Migration should help to increase the proportion of women in the actual population, because it has grown greatly in volume and the majority of the emigrants are males. Not only is the reverse the case, but the decline in the number of males is even greater in the natural population than in the actual population. Plague must be held largely, though not entirely, responsible for the change which has taken place in the sex proportion. Women are far more exposed to its attacks than men, owing to their living much more inside the house, and to their going about with bare feet, which are liable to be bitten by the plague-rat flea. Moreover, when plague breaks out, though the villagers leave their homes and encamp out in temporary huts, women will persist in returning either for the worship of the household god or to obtain food from the household store. The incidence of mortality among them is, in fact, more than half as great as among males, the plague death-rate for females in Bihar and Orissa during the five years 1905-10 being 11·7 per mille, while it was only 7·5 per mille among males.

620. A question which naturally arises is why the lower mortality of females in Bengal does not turn the balance of the sex proportion in their favour, as it does in European countries and also in Bihar and Orissa. In Bengal, however, the number of females brought into the world is, relatively

COUNTRY.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.		
	At census.	Births.	Deaths.
Europe (average) ...	1,038	948	946
England ...	1,063	964	938
Scotland ...	1,057	953	937
Germany ...	1,032	948	922
France ...	1,032	961	930
Ireland ...	1,027	914	1,018
Bengal ...	945	941	895
Bihar and Orissa ...	1,043	955	940

* The figures for European countries are for 1900.

to males, fewer than in Europe or Bihar and Orissa, so that, *ceteris paribus*, the proportion of females must naturally be lower. Further, the conditions of female life in Bengal are far less favourable to their chances of survival than in Europe. The principal factors in question are briefly as follows:—

(1) The first, and not the least important, is the neglect of females from an early age. As is well known, male children are ardently desired, and the birth of a girl is generally unwelcome. This is especially the case among castes where the father has to pay heavily for a bridegroom and has already had several girls. As a natural consequence, girls receive less attention than boys, and, though constitutionally stronger, their natural advantage in this respect is minimized.

(2) The second factor is early marriage and premature sexual intercourse and child-bearing. In Bengal girls are generally married at a tender age and are usually allowed to cohabit with their husbands as soon as they attain puberty: they often menstruate in the 12th year, and conceive in the thirteenth. In fact, wives aged 15 or 16 are either mothers of children (living or dead), or are suspected of being barren. Early coition and premature maternity very often do irreparable injury to the young wives' constitution, and naturally raise their death-rate at this period of life.

(3) To some extent, also, infantile mortality is indirectly the cause of mortality among mothers. An abnormally large proportion of infants die

either within the first month or first year of life. Their deaths, by shortening the period of suckling, diminish the interval of child-bearing and thus help to keep up a high birth-rate, while conceptions following in quick succession naturally rest upon the health of the mothers.

(1) The conditions attending child-birth further increase the dangers of a woman's life. The account given in the next chapter may so far be anticipated by saying that the methods of midwifery are crude and the surroundings of the young mother generally insubstantial.

(2) Lastly, reverence may be made to the practice of abortion by females who stray from the path of virtue—generally, young widows who have succumbed to the temptations of the seducer. The dangers of this practice in undermining the health or even causing premature death are too well known to require mention.

621. On all these accounts, it might reasonably be expected that, relatively to males, more females should die in Bengal than in Europe. The proportion (892) of female deaths to male deaths, however, does not, at first sight, show that this is the case, for it is lower than the average for Europe (916). The explanation of this apparent anomaly appears to be as follows:

Both male and female births depend on the same cause, viz., the number of married females of reproductive age, whereas male and female deaths depend on two distinctly different things, namely, the numerical strength of the male and female population. Hence, in drawing any inferences from their mutual proportion, we must take into account the relative strength of the male and female members of the community. In Europe females outnumber males, while in Bengal they form a minority. It is

EUROPE (Average)		Bengal	
1000 Males	1000 Females	1000 Males	1000 Females
21.1	19.1	21.1	19.1

EUROPE (Average)		Bengal	
1000 Males	1000 Females	1000 Males	1000 Females
21.1	19.1	21.1	19.1

EUROPE (Average)		Bengal	
1000 Males	1000 Females	1000 Males	1000 Females
21.1	19.1	21.1	19.1

EUROPE (Average)		Bengal	
1000 Males	1000 Females	1000 Males	1000 Females
21.1	19.1	21.1	19.1

are born, but less die, in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal or even in

Europe. Since the time of Aristotle, various conflicting theories have been put forward regarding the causation of sex, but no satisfactory conclusion has yet been arrived at. An account of such theories is given in Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* and in Geddes and Thomson's *Evolution of Sex*, as also in some of the previous Census Reports. The limits of space forbid a discussion of these theories with reference to the sex statistics of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, but the following may be very briefly noticed:—

(1) The offspring has a tendency to be of the same sex as the elder parent, and the tendency varies with the difference in the relative ages of

*The figures for European countries are taken from an article, "The Recent Growth of Population in Western Europe," by Sir J. A. Baker, K.T., C.S.I., published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, December 1909.

the parents. This theory is consonant with the fact that in Bengal, where husbands are, with very few exceptions, considerably older than their wives, the proportion of male births is greater than in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, where they are more equal in age.

(2) An intense desire of the parents may have some effect on the sex of the child. In India the universal desire of parents is to have male children, and various expedients, *e.g.*, charms and amulets given by *sadhus*, *fakirs*, etc., offerings to gods and goddesses, etc., are resorted to in order to obtain its fulfilment. Among the Hindus there are special religious ceremonies like *Punsavan* (male-making), a brief account of which is given in the next chapter. Needless to say, universal as is the desire for male children, the proportion of male births varies greatly in different parts of the country.

(3) In mountainous countries more boys are born than girls.* This theory receives some confirmation from the figures for Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where females are in a minority, but not from the sex statistics of Chota Nagpur, where females are in marked excess. In the plains of Bengal, moreover, females are in defect.

(4) Differences in sex proportions are due to race rather than locality or climate.† The Dravidian races to which the people of Chota Nagpur belong have an excess of females, while the Mongoloid tribes of East and North Bengal have a paucity of women. In fact, the proportion of females to males is, as shown in the margin, generally lowest in the tracts where the Mongoloid element in the

TRACTS	Actual population	Natural population
Bengal	345	270
Darjeeling	811	991
Chittagong Hill Tracts	810	900
Co. of Bihar	873	917
Chota Nagpur	977	929

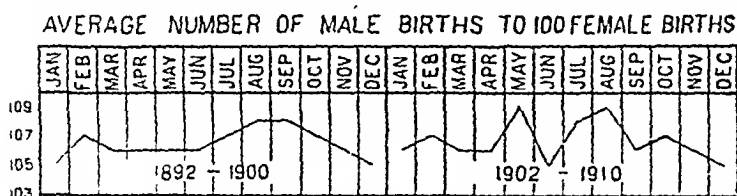
population is strongest.

(5) Consanguineous marriages produce a considerable excess of male births. This theory is not consistent with the fact that the Muhammadans, who allow cousins to marry, have a lower proportion of males than the Hindus, who do not.

A short account of the popular ideas regarding the causation of sex, together with a description of the ceremonies performed in order (a) to make a woman conceive and (b) to secure male offspring, is given in the next chapter.

623. Before bringing this chapter to a close, one interesting fact may be briefly noticed, viz., that the proportion of the sexes at birth is not uniform throughout the year.

Statistics of average monthly births by sex from 1902 to 1909 have been compiled for Bengal and are illustrated in the marginal



of male births, relatively to female births, is least in December and January and greatest in August. Except for this, no general correlation is traceable between the season of gestation and the sex of the child.

* Westernmarch's *Human Marriage*.

† Bengal Census Report for 1891.

‡ Appendix IV, p. XXII, Bengal Census Report of 1901.

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1900	1901	1902	1903
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Year	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406	2407	2408	2409	2410	2411	2412	2413	2414	2415	2416	2417	2418	2419	2420	2421	2422	2423	2424	2425	2426	2427	2428	2429	2430	2431	2432	2433	2434	2435	2436	2437	2438	2439	2440	2441	2442	2443	2444	2445	2446	2447	2448	2449	2450	2451	2452	2453	2454	2455	2456	2457	2458	2459	2460	2461	2462	2463	2464	2465	2466	2467	2468	2469	2470	2471	2472	2473	2474	2475	2476	2477	2478	2479	2480	2481	2482	2483	2484	2485	2486	2487	2488	2489	2490	2491	2492	2493	2494	2495	2496	2497	2498	2499	2500	2501	2502	2503	2504	2505	2506	2507	2508	2509	2510	2511	2512	2513	2514	2515	2516	2517	2518	2519	2520	2521	2522	2523	2524	2525	2526	2527	2528	2529	2530	2531	2532	2533	2534	2535	2536	2537	2538	2539	2540	2541	2542	2543	2544	2545	2546	2547	2548	2549	2550	2551	2552	2553	2554	2555	2556	2557	2558	2559	2560	2561	2562	2563	2564	2565	2566	2567	2568	2569	2570	2571	2572	2573	2574	2575	2576	2577	2578	2579	2580	2581	2582	2583	2584	2585	2586	2587	2588	2589	2590	2591	2592	2593	2594	2595	2596	2597	2598	2599	2600	2601	2602	2603	2604	2605	2606	2607	2608	2609	2610	2611	2612	2613	2614	2615	2616	2617	2618	2619	2620	2621	2622	2623	2624	2625	2626	2627	2628	2629	2630	2631	2632	2633	2634	2635	2636	2637	2638	2639	2640	2641	2642	2643	2644	2645	2646	2647	2648	2649	2650	2651	2652	2653	2654	2655	2656	2657	2658	2659	2660	2661	2662	2663	2664	2665	2666	2667	2668	2669	2670	2671	2672	2673	2674	2675	2676	2677	2678	2679	2680	2681	2682	2683	2684	2685	2686	2687	2688	2689	2690	2691	2692	2693	2694	2695	2696	2697	2698	2699	2700	2701	2702	2703	2704	2705	2706	2707	2708	2709	2710	2711	2712	2713	2714	2715	2716	2717	2718	2719	2720	2721	2722	2723	2724	2725	2726	2727	2728	2729	2730	2731	2732	2733	2734	2735	2736	2737	2738	2739	2740	2741	2742	2743	2744	2745	2746	2747	2748	2749	2750	2751	2752	2753	2754	2755	2756	2757	2758	2759	2760	2761	2762	2763	2764	2765	2766	2767	2768	2769	2770	2771	2772	2773	2774	2775	2776	2777	2778	2779	2780	2781	2782	2783	2784	2785	2786	2787	2788	2789	2790	2791	2792	2793	2794	2795	2796	2797	2798	2799	2800	2801	2802	2803	2804	2805	2806	2807	2808	2809	2810	2811	2812	2813	2814	2815	2816	2817	2818	2819	2820	2821	2822	2823	2824	2825	2826	2827	2828	2829	2830	2831	2832	2833	2834	2835	2836	2837	2838	2839	2840	2841	2842	2843	2844	2845	2846	2847	2848	2849	2850	2851	2852	2853	2854	2855	2856	2857	2858	2859	2860	2861	2862	2863	2864	2865	2866	2867	2868	2869	2870	2871	2872	2873	2874	2875	2876	2877	2878	2879	2880	2881	2882	2883	2884	2885	2886	2887	2888	2889	2890	2891	2892	2893	2894	2895	2896	2897	2898	2899	2900	2901	2902	2903	2904	2905	2906	2907	2908	2909	2910	2911	2912	2913	2914	2915	2916	2917	2918	2919	2920	2921	2922	2923	2924	2925	2926	2927	2928	2929	2930	2931	2932	2933	2934	2935	2936	2937	2938	2939	2940	2941	2942	2943	2944	2945	2946	2947	2948	2949	2950	2951	2952	2953	2954	2955	2956	2957	2958	2959	2960	2961	2962	2963	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643. Widow marriage (*dwitya* or *sanga* or *thain*) is very common in Orissa, and presents some peculiar features which may be mentioned here. It obtains among almost all castes, except the Bengali settlers, the Brahmans, the Karans and the Mahanaik section of the Khandaits, who are gradually working up to a higher standard of orthodoxy. The ceremony is generally of a simple character. Some ornaments and cloth are given to the bride, and the caste people have a feast. The particular ornament the presentation of which by the bridegroom to the bride appears to be indispensable, is a *bala* or bangle, so that widow marriage is sometimes called *Baladewa* (giving a *bala*). An odd number is very unlucky. A man may therefore marry a widow without danger if it is his second or fourth marriage, but not if he is a bachelor marrying his first or a widower marrying a third wife. When a bachelor takes a widow wife, he first goes through a form of marriage to a *sahara* tree. One of the branches of the tree is lowered and placed in his hand and a garland is tied round his wrist, as is generally done in the case of marriage with a woman. Then the widow is brought before the bridegroom, garlands are exchanged, and the bridegroom presents a *bala* to the bride and makes her wear it. If a widower marries for a third time, he also marries a *sahara* tree before he takes the widow as his bride, so that the tree becomes his third wife and the widow the fourth wife. The idea is simply superstitious. The Koltas say that if a bachelor marries a widow, he will become an evil spirit after death; he therefore goes through a mock marriage with a flower before the real marriage with the widow. There is a similar custom among the Halwais of Bihar. When a Halwai bachelor marries a widow, the ceremony takes place, as is the usual practice, in the widow's house, but before going there the bridegroom is formally married in his own house to a sword or a piece of iron, which he bedaubs with vermilion as if it were his bride.

644. The provisions of the Brahmo Marriage Act (III of 1872) do not appear to be utilized to any great extent for the re-marriage of widows. The total number of marriages celebrated under it in Bengal during the decade 1901-10 was only 335 (of which two-thirds took place in Calcutta), and in 34 cases only were the brides widows.

645. A special form of widow marriage, which is common among aboriginals and low Hindu castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and is also practised to a certain extent in Bihar, is that which is sometimes called the levirate. Levirate is the designation of the Jewish custom by which a dead man's brother had to marry his widow, in order that he might continue his line—raise up seed to him, as it is commonly called.* The first son begotten by him succeeded to the dead man's property. This is a misnomer as applied to the Hindu custom by which a widow may be married to one of her husband's younger brothers. It must be a younger brother, and there is no idea that such a marriage is necessary in order that he may act as a kind of substitute for the dead man and produce offspring. In fact, he may marry the widow even though she already has sons, and he need not necessarily be a bachelor or a widower. The idea is that the woman belongs to the husband's family because they have paid the bride-price, and that her property must remain in the family. This idea is translated into practice by some castes and races. Among the Santals a younger brother who takes the widow as his wife (or co-wife if he has already been married), does not go through any marriage ceremony and no bride-price is paid, as they say they have already paid for her and she belongs to the family. Among the Hos and other castes, if either the younger brother or

* Cf Deuteronomy, XXV, 5-10 "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel. And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate unto the elders and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother. Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her, then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, the house of him that hath his shoe loosed."

the widow refuse to marry, and she marries some one else, her husband has to refund the bride price originally paid for her. Among the Gaudas, the second husband of the woman is outcasted, if he fails to pay. Among the Bijnahals the second husband has ordinarily to pay Rs. 5, two *kulus* of rice (a *kulu* is a basket, which holds about ten soers) and five goats as a fine to the caste people, which are utilized for a feast. If a Bijnahal marries the widow with the consent of the *debur* (husband's younger brother), he has to give a feast on a much smaller scale, one *kulu* of rice and one goat being considered sufficient.

The marriage between the widow and her husband's younger brother is in any case not obligatory as among the Jews. Either may refuse the marriage, though among castes with whom the practice is in vogue it is generally recognized that it is the proper thing for her to consent. Still it is not absolutely inalienable on her: the caste people will not force such a marriage on her, though they will try their best to obtain her consent. If she does marry him, she retains the privilege of preparing offerings of milk, cakes, etc., for the gods and the ancestors, and of participating in other ceremonies, which she loses if she marries out of the family. Should both parties consent, the ceremony is of the same simple nature as at an ordinary widow marriage. In Orissa if the younger brother is a bachelor, he is first married to a flower before the ceremony is performed, just as he would in the case of any other widow.

6-6. The only locality where the Jewish conception of the levirate appears to be implicitly understood is Orissa, where the practice is known as *Devamastupatti*, i.e., begetting a son through the husband's younger brother. This idea perhaps accounts for a curious modification of the custom which prevailed in Orissa over a century ago, by which a man could marry his brother's wife during a prolonged absence. Mr. Motte, in describing his journey through Balasore in 1766, wrote:—

"From this part of Orissa come all that people improperly called by the English Balasore bearers—a circumstance which contributes in some measure to the depopulation of the country. Seven thousand of the stoutest young fellows go into Bengal, and are employed as chairmen, leaving their families behind. These people stretch the Levitical law so, that a brother not only raises up seed to another after his decease, but even during his absence on service, so that no married woman lies fallow."

At the present time, if a husband has gone to Bengal or elsewhere for work and has been absent for two or three years, his wife can re-marry, and her choice is not confined to her brother-in-law. She is married as a widow, the bridegroom presenting her with some ornaments, including the indispensable *bulla* or bracelet. Sometimes also a feast is given to a limited number of the eastmen. Strictly speaking, the woman commits bigamy, but though she is looked down upon by the society to which she belongs, the union is generally recognized as a marriage. Another instance of the domesticating effect of emigration is seen in Saran, where illegitimate births and the abandonment of illegitimate children are far more common than elsewhere. This seems to be a direct result of the absence of the husband or head of the family.

6-7. A mock marriage is the preliminary to the real marriage among the Bagdis. Early on the wedding morning, before the bridegroom starts in procession for the bride's house, he goes through a mock marriage to a *mahua* tree. He

MOCK MARRIAGES.

embrazes the tree and bedaubes it with vermillion; his right wrist is bound to it with thread, and, after he is released from the tree, this same thread is used to attach a bunch of a *mahua* leaves to his wrist. Among the Kharwars not only the bridegroom but also the bride goes through the form of marriage to a mango tree, or at least to a branch of the tree, as a preliminary to marriage. The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur make the parties marry different trees, each separately in their houses on the wedding morning. The bride marries

separate room is allotted to each, and they are given a daily allowance of food from the zamindar's store-room, which they cook themselves. A few only, who are favourites of the Rani, are allowed to take their food from her kitchen. "Almost all the Rajas and big zamindars", writes one correspondent, "insist on having and get young unmarried girls as presents when they marry. The greater the number, the greater the *eclat* of the occasion. These girls are maids of all work, and the more handsome among them share the beds of their mistresses' husbands. This practice goes further in some cases, and it is not uncommon that, at the time of marriage, one or more of these girls are honoured with a garland and the girl so honoured is called Phul Bai and receives treatment almost on a par with that of the Pat Rani or principal wife." The custom is falling into desuetude with the advance of education and the raising of ethical standards. The example set by that enlightened ruler, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhunj, has had not a little to do with the result, for he would not allow any such presents to be given at his marriage and was the first to protest against the practice.

652. Polyandry may be of two kinds, viz., matriarchal, where a woman marries several men who are not related to each other, and fraternal, where brothers have a common wife. Fraternal polyandry only is found in this part of India, where it is practised by the Bhotias, and, in a modified form, by the Santals. Property among both races descends through the male and not through the female, as is the custom where maternal polyandry is in vogue. The rules regulating cousin marriage among the Bhotias of Sikkim are probably connected with the institution of fraternal polyandry. There it is not considered right that a man should marry his cousin on his father's side, though recently there have been a few cases where a man has married his father's sister's daughter. He may marry his cousin on his mother's side, whether the daughter of his mother's brother or of his mother's sister. The reason given is that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's. Should cousins on the paternal side marry, it is said that the bone is pierced, resulting in course of time in various infirmities. The Santals so far practise fraternal polyandry that a man's younger brothers have a recognized right to intercourse with his wife; they must, however, observe a certain amount of decency and not make too open a display of their relations. According to the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, the younger brothers formerly enjoyed this privilege even after they were married, but at present the wife is usually common property only while they are unmarried.

653. Polygamy is recognized as admissible, but is generally prohibited by its expense or inconvenience, for few men can afford more than one wife or bear the domestic discord that the presence of two or more wives entails. Marrying more than one wife is, moreover, regarded by the better classes of Hindus as disreputable, unless a man's wife is barren, or has not borne him a son who will secure his salvation after death, or suffers from some incurable disease. The Sauria Paharias, or Maler, of the Sonthal Parganas polygamy is a recognized institution, but is regulated by definite rules. A man may have several wives, and may even marry five or six sisters, in order of age, and she consents to his marrying her sister to wife. The first wife is subordinates. The wives live in the harem, and the husband has intercourse with a younger wife, he is liable to punishment by the community, but is let off with a warning, but if he continues his relations with his wife's younger sisters he is liable to punishment. He commonly enjoys this privilege until his first wife becomes pregnant, he must make her his principal wife. On the contrary, she resents it, though Santal wives are usually

extremely jealous. A Santal uncle also commonly has sexual intercourse with his wife's nieces, this being a recognized privilege of his.

654. As is well known, polygamy was formerly common among the Kulin Brahmins. Vidyasagar mentions five men, resident in the same village, of ages varying from 20 to 70, who had an aggregate of 230 wives; the minimum number was 16, the husband in this case being only 20 years old, and the maximum was 62. The practice is dying out and the Kulins are becoming monogamous with the spread of education and a higher ethical standard. It is not yet, however, extinct: a Bengali gentleman informs me of three cases within his own knowledge in which 60, 8 and 4 wives have been married. The first two cases occurred in the last generation, while the third occurred in this generation, the gentleman concerned being a M. A. and B. L. Polygamy is also practised by the Malathi Brahmins, though it is falling into dis favour. It has given rise to a class called Bikanwas or vendors, who derive their name from the practice of selling themselves, or their minor sons, to girls belonging to lower groups. Some have as many as 40 or 50 wives, who live with their parents and are visited at intervals by their husbands. This form of polygamy is due to hypogamy, i.e., the practice by which a man marries his daughter to a member of a higher group in the caste. 655. It is the usual custom for a Hindu bride to be married in her parents' house and to stay there till the marriage is consummated, when she finally goes to her husband's house. Among the Kayabans, however, the bride goes to the bridegroom's house to be married. Until very recently it was the custom for the bride to be carried to the bridegroom's house on the back of her sister's husband; but they have now given up this custom as degrading. Another curious custom among them is that when a marriage takes place the bridegroom's sister's husband has the privilege of sitting near the altar and of erecting platform trees round it. Among the Bediyas in Jessore a girl when married does not go to live in her husband's family. A separate loft (*tong*) in the compound of the bride's father's house is allotted to the couple, or the bride's father gives them a boat to live in, if the family live on the waters.

PECULIAR CUSTOMS.

The Kolts of Orissa have a unique custom, viz., that when the marriage of an eldest son or eldest girl is celebrated, the parents themselves have to go through a ceremony of remarriage (called *sup-dibaha*), which the child is not allowed to see. Possibly this is an expedient to ward off any insinuations as to the illegitimacy of their first child, or it may be a relic of a time when the couple began to live together informally, the ceremony being performed subsequently in order to legitimize their offspring. Among the Binjals a man takes a wife when he succeeds to a zamindari, even though he may be married already. The new wife is the Pat Rani or principal wife.

In Sambalpur one peculiar ceremony is performed at the time of marriage by all classes. Before it takes place, some married women of the bridegroom's household go out at night to a river or tank and fill a *loti* with water. They take it to seven other households and ask them to give some water in exchange for some of that in the *loti*. By the time they get back, the water has become a mixture of water from seven houses. With this the bridegroom is bathed on the day of marriage, and is thereby purged of his unmarried state. A similar ceremony is performed in the house of the bride. With this may be compared the practice of Pokhra Khandai, which is observed by the Tharus and Tikulihars of Champaran. Formerly rich men celebrated their daughters' marriages by having tanks dug, water from which was used in the ceremony. The bride's father took water and grain in his hand and gave them to the bridegroom, saying, "I give these to you with my daughter." The only survival of this practice now consists in the bride's and bridegroom's sisters' husbands having to dig earth. They also have to fry grain, this custom being called Lawa Bhunjar. It is said that formerly the celebration of marriages, and other religious and social ceremonies, began with the offering of sacrifices to fire, the oblations consisting of grain. The grain, after being parched by the bride's and the bridegroom's sisters' husbands, is mixed together, and the bride and bridegroom both eat it. Another curious ceremony is found among

the Mundas. When the bridegroom's procession arrives near the house or village of the bride, it is met by a procession from the bride's house. When the two processions meet, the mothers or the aunts (either paternal or maternal) of the bride and bridegroom advance with pitchers of water in their hands. Then they sprinkle water on one another with mango leaves, and, after washing one another's feet, embrace.

BIRTH CUSTOMS.

656. THE treatment of women and children at child-birth in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is generally regulated by the Sasthi system, which is so called because the worship of Sasthi, the tutelary goddess of young children and of women at child-birth, is an essential feature in it.

TREATMENT AT CHILD-BIRTH.
SASTHI SYSTEM.

The expectant mother is taken to a lying-in room (*sutika ghar*) shortly before delivery. The character of the room depends on the means and enlightenment of the family, but generally it is one of the worst rooms in the house, or a shed is erected outside in the compound. Among the poorer classes, the woman's accommodation is wretched. A portion of one of the living rooms may be screened off, or she may have to use the verandah; some doctors even state that the cowshed or kitchen is occasionally used. As a rule, when a separate room is assigned, it is small, dark and ill-ventilated. Bad as the ventilation would naturally be, the perfusion of air is often absolutely impossible owing to windows and apertures being closed with mud or stuffed with rags; this is done in order to prevent the mother and child catching cold, or because of a superstitious belief that it is necessary to keep out evil spirits. The outside shed, moreover, is often damp, and no attempt is made to admit the sunshine. Among the better castes, the mother is regarded as impure, after giving birth to a child, for 30 days, if it is a girl, and 21 days if it is a boy, and among some of the lower castes for 6 or 12 days. It would therefore be out of the question to furnish the room, and her bedding is poor and meagre. She generally has some straw or an old torn mat to lie on, though sometimes a charpoy or *taktarosh* is allowed. A quilt made of dirty old rags serves as a coverlet, while her head rests on a dirty pillow or even a brick. However hot the weather, a fire is kept burning in the room day and night for at least five and, sometimes, as long as 21 days. The belief is that, unless the room is kept at a high temperature, the child will be an invalid or liable to catch cold all his or her life, while the mother will get pneumonia or typhoid. The more ignorant believe that the fire has magic power to save mother and child from the influence of evil spirits. Sometimes, however, the child is suffocated by the acrid fumes: all the same, its death is put down to malevolent demons. For the first five days at least, the mother is at the mercy of a low-caste midwife, who is called *agani* in some parts of Bengal, as it is her duty to keep up the fire (*agni*). No male may enter the room and the women of her family may not touch her: if they do, they have to be purified by a bath before resuming their household duties. No doctor can attend on her because of her impure state—this of course is not the case with the educated classes. In Orissa, should it be necessary to seek medical advice, a drop or two of oil that the young mother has touched is put into water, and the *kabiraj* or doctor makes his diagnosis from the way it floats and prescribes accordingly.

Heat is believed to be necessary for a speedy recovery. In addition to the warmth of the fire, the mother and child have hot dry fomentations, and the child after being rubbed with mustard oil is laid out in the sun for hours at a time: this is believed in some places to strengthen the cranial bones. Cold drinks are prohibited, as it is thought that they may bring on suppuration of the womb. Water is either not given at all or very sparingly for the first few days: in any case it is warm or tepid. To keep up her strength, the mother is given a concoction of which the main ingredients are hot spices, such as pepper and ginger, and warm *ohi*; when she can digest solid food, she eats fried rice (*chura*) and fried garlic.

On the fifth or sixth day the woman and child have a bath, and she is sometimes allowed to change her room. In any case the lying-in room is cleaned—not too soon, as in many parts the ashes of the fire are allowed to remain as they are till this day, while the sweepings of the floor and the dirty foul-smelling clothes are kept in a corner. The practice in this respect is not uniform, for the room is very often carefully cleaned soon after delivery. In Midnapore, it is reported that after a child is born, the mother has to pass her hands and feet over some burning straw: the ashes of the straw, her soiled clothes and other refuse, a comb with a few strands of her hair, and a little turmeric, which has been rubbed on her left arm, are put into a pot, which is kept in a corner of the room and serves as a receptacle for refuse till this day.*

657. The sixth day is a very important one, as it is the day of the worship of Sashti, which means "the goddess of the sixth." In the evening, a representation of the goddess is made with cowdung (or in some places, of earth), in which some cowries are stuck. This is placed on the wall of the lying-in room, with a pot of water and some mango-leaves before it, and worshipped by the family. On the night of this day, it is believed, the Creator writes the destiny of the child on its forehead in indelible characters. An inkpot and pen are therefore placed ready for use at the door of the room. The antiquity of the practice is evident from the fact that an iron stylus and palm-leaves are frequently provided. When the sixth day is over, there is rejoicing, as the first six days are a critical period for tetanus—that common cause of death among infants, the mythical cord being generally cut with dirty instruments (*e.g.*, a split bamboo or a conch-shell) and cowdung ashes applied to the freshly-gent end. It is believed to be caused by evil spirits, who are specially apt to attack both mother and child during her confinement. To protect them, various devices are adopted. The skull of a cow smeared with vermilion, with cowries stuck in the sockets of the eyes and, in some places, with a red rag across the horns, is frequently, but not invariably, placed on the outside wall of the room to drive them away. Iron is also commonly employed to ward off their attacks. In some places, an iron sickle or sword is placed under the mother's bed,† or a sword, spear or other iron weapon is stuck up at the door, or several iron articles are hung up over it, *e.g.*, an iron spade, hoe, harrow and axe. Old shoes and bits of old net, or thorny twigs, are also suspended over the door, and sometimes the father fires off a gun in the belief that the noise will scare away the evil spirits.

The ceremonies observed by Maithil Brahmins in the Southal Parganas have several peculiar features. As soon as a child is born, straight lines about five inches long are drawn on the walls of the room, five for a daughter and ten for a son. On the sixth day, milk is sprinkled upon the head of the mother and the new-born babe. This must be done by the sister-in-law of the woman; ethnologists may be able to account for the choice of the latter. In the evening, the worship of Sashti takes place. A square is painted on the walls, in the centre of which is a figure of Sashti. To this figure the family make oblations, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. The figure remains on the wall for six months, after which it is washed out with cows' milk.

KRISHNA SYSTEM OR HARIJOT.

658. Another method of treatment is known as the Krishna or Satya-narayan system, or as Harijot. It is mostly followed by Vaisnavita families, though not confined to them, *e.g.*, it is resorted to when women have had still-births. It is a more rational method, and is accompanied by fewer restrictions about food and drink. No fire is kept burning in the room; no *ghil* or concoctions of spices are administered. The woman is allowed cooling drinks, and given ordinary food. She is not regarded as unclean, and need not therefore be banished to an out-house and left to the midwife's merities, but is at

* This is not a universal practice: in some households the pot is thrown away at once. † A cure for cramp is said to consist in placing a common iron key at the foot of a bed. Biochemistry, p. 98].

whose names they bear. There is also an idea that virtue is acquired by mentioning the name of a god or goddess in addressing a child. Now-a-days such names are not so frequently given, but melodious or poetical names, *e.g.*, Jyothsna (moonshine) for a girl.

Among the low castes names are selected more or less at random. A child may be named after the day of the week on which it was born, *e.g.*, Sombari (born on Monday), or the name may mark some physical peculiarity, or it may even be the designation of some common article.

Among the Bhuiyas of the Orissa States the name of the grandfather is generally given to the eldest son, that of the great-grandfather to the second son, and then the names of collateral relatives according to seniority; but it is not unusual to give a name that commemorates some incident or event that happened on the day of the child's birth. Thus, if the child is born on the anniversary of a festival, he may be called after it, *e.g.*, as Dasahara. If a European happens to pass through the village on the day of a child's birth, the child will be named Saheb or Gora (white man), while, if it is visited by a Musalman, a dealer, a peon or a constable, the child's name will be Pathan, Mahajan, Chaprasi or Sipahi (sepoy) as the case may be*.

664. If women have failed to bear children before, or if their children have been still-born or have died shortly after birth, opprobrious names are given in the belief that this will avert the evil eye or fail to attract the god of death. Such names as Tinkauri and Panchkauri are supposed to mean that the child is worth not more than three or five cowries. Similar names are Sachunia (the broomstick), Kangalia (the poor), Haran (the lost one) and the like. A boy needing special divine protection is often named Haribola. Superstitious parents will not disclose the names to outsiders and use such terms as Meghar Bap (father of Megha), Tukir Ma (mother of Tuki), etc. In Orissa there are often fictitious sales of children in order to save them from a premature death. The parents sell them at a small price to women belonging to such low castes as Dhoba, Hari, Dom or Ghasi, and repurchase them at a higher price. There is an actual, though momentary, transfer, for the children are handed over to the low caste woman, who gives them back to the parents after anointing them with turmeric powder mixed with water and oil. Similar sham sales are effected at the shrines of gods and goddesses, the priests in this case being the buyers. Among the middle and low classes children are named after the caste of the women to whom they are sold, so that a boy may be called Dhobai, Hari, Pau, Ghasia or Dom, and a girl Dhobani, Hariani, etc. Such names are often given too by parents without any fictitious sale. The belief underlying these transactions is that the parents have committed some sin which can only be expiated by the death of the child and that the low caste woman takes the place of the parents and acts as a scapegoat.

665. If a pregnant woman dies before delivery, her womb is ripped open and the foetus extracted. This gruesome task is performed by the husband himself at the burning ghat. The *raison d'être* of the practice is said to be the hope of saving the life of the unborn child, but as it is postponed till the body is about to be cremated, this hope must be rarely, if ever, fulfilled. It is noticeable too that the foetus is buried while the woman is burnt, and it is probable that the origin of the practice was to prevent the woman becoming an evil spirit and injuring the family. The Bhuiyas of the Orissa States burn the embryo and the corpse on opposite banks of a stream, the idea being that as no spirit can cross a stream, the mother is unable to become a witch without union with her child. In all other cases the Bhuiyas bury their dead. When a pregnant Oran woman dies, her ankles are broken and her feet wrenched backward to prevent her spirit walking; a bundle of thorns and a heavy stone are also placed over her grave to prevent the spirit getting out.

666. As is well known, it is the duty of Hindus to observe twelve purificatory rites, called *Sanskaras*, beginning with conception and ending with marriage, which are

DEATHS IN PREGNANCY.

RITES OF PREGNANCY.

intended to partly a man from the faint transmitted through his parents. Three of these are rites of pregnancy, viz., *Gurbbudhan*, *Punsavan* and *Simantonmanu*. *Gurbbudhan* is a ceremony which should be observed at the first appearance of the menses and be followed by cohabitation. It is intended to consecrate impregnation, the idea being as stated by Monier Williams, that a husband, before approaching his wife, should secure the solemn imprimatur of religion on an act which may lead to the introduction of another human being into the world. This ceremony is now rarely observed except by the thoroughly orthodox. Even those families who recognize it as obligatory consider that their duty is discharged by a symbolic performance, a gold ring being passed under the bride's cloth. *Punsavan* is a ceremony which should be observed three months after conception, and before the period of quickening, with the object of securing male offspring. *Monu* is performed, the sacred fire being kindled and libations made of *ghî*, rice, plantains, etc. The husband touches the navel of his wife with a piece of gold and utters certain *mantras* at the dictation of a priest, by which the blessings of the gods of fire, water, and air are invoked. This ceremony also is almost obsolete. *Simantonmanu* is a ceremony designed for the purification of the womb and the unborn child, which may be observed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy. The main feature of the ceremony is that the husband parts the hair of the head of his wife with certain articles sanctified according to Vedic rites. This is done only in the case of a first pregnancy, and has fallen into desuetude except in very orthodox families. Certain other rites which are not *Sanskrits* are observed far more commonly. The first of these is *Lanchamritu*, which takes place in the fifth month. A mixture is made of five *amrits*, viz., milk, curd, *ghî*, sugar and honey, which are purified with *mantras* by the priest and given to the pregnant woman to drink in order that the child may be born with a pure spirit and a healthy constitution. Female friends and neighbours are invited to be present, and are given a feast. In Eastern Bengal a similar ceremony, called *Suptamritu*, is held in the seventh month, and sometimes also in the ninth month, when it is called *Vadamanu*. A woman who is expecting her first child is also given a series of entertainments in order that she may keep up her spirits and that her child may have a happy disposition. The first of these is called *Kanchi Suddi*; *suddi* means the desire or craving of a pregnant woman. It takes place in the fifth month when the fact of pregnancy is clear. She is given various articles of food to eat, such as sweetmeats, fruits, etc., on an auspicious day; there is general rejoicing in the family circle, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. From the seventh month till delivery, more entertainments are given which are called *Pakka Suddi*, or *Saddi-bhukshan*. The nearest female relatives are expected to entertain her in turn and present her with a new *sari*. She has to put this on before eating, and is given various dainties to eat. Children are invited to sit with her and to help her in doing justice to the good fare. A little boy (never a girl) first of all hands her a morsel of food in order that she may give birth to a male child. The object of these entertainments is to keep her bright and cheerful; incidentally she secures a good stock of *saris*, a new one being given to her on each occasion.

CAPSAION AND DETERMINATION OF SEX.

667. The desire of Hindu parents is naturally to have male children, and there are various beliefs regarding the measures necessary to obtain male offspring. The general idea is that the male element must be able to prevail over the female element, in other words, that there must be an abundance of semen. It is also believed that the male principle is strong on even and the female on odd days; consequently, intercourse on even days (from the 4th to the 16th day after the commencement of menstruation) will produce a male child, and on odd days a female child. Various devices are adopted in order to ascertain the sex of the child before birth. Sometimes a *gundu* or astrologer foretells it by drawing figures with a piece of chalk; to make his calculations, he must know the numbers of letters in the

names of the wife and husband. and the month in which the pregnancy commenced. Another common method of divination is as follows. A stone pestle and an earthen plate or lamp are covered with two cane baskets. A small boy is asked to uncover one of the two. If the basket over the pestle is taken off, it is believed the child will be a male; otherwise, it will be a girl. Occasionally offerings are made under a banyan tree on the day before the *Simantonnayan* ceremony, and the husband takes a leaf off the tree. The edge of this is steeped in the juice of a plant called *kantikari* and held to the nose of the wife. If she sneezes, it is believed there is a male child in the womb and, if not, a female child. There are also, of course, ideas, which are common to women in many countries, that the sex of the child can be known from the position of the womb and the colour of the nipples, that if the expectant mother looks dark and thin during her pregnancy, the child will be a male, etc. Some women also think that if conception takes place in the bright half of the lunar month, it will result in the birth of a male child. and, if it occurs in the dark half. in the birth of a female.

RELATIONSHIP.

668. Hindu females are debarred by custom from mentioning the names of their husbands and of their husbands' superior relatives, such as his father, his mother and his elder brother. Males do not, as a rule, mention the names of their daughters-in-law or of the wives of their brothers' or sisters' sons, but there is no strict rule on the subject as there is in the case of women. Orthodox women generally refer to their husbands' elder brothers and other superior relatives of their husbands by mentioning them as the "father of so and so." A husband, however, is usually called by his wife not the father of her son, but the son of her son, there being some superstitious objection to the use of the term "father" in connection with one's own husband. This, though the old custom, is not the universal practice, for in Calcutta and its neighbourhood women who have been educated not only call their husbands their son's fathers. but sometimes go further and actually call them by their names. Orthodox old-fashioned Hindu women not only never mention the names of their husbands and his near relatives, but also refrain from using words which are the same as or similar to those names. In order to avoid the difficulty arising out of this practice, curious devices are resorted to. Thus a woman, whose husband's name happens to be Madhu will, when speaking of honey (of which the word *madhu* is a Bengali equivalent); either refer to it in a round-about way by calling it *chakbhanga* (that which is taken out of the beehive) or transform it arbitrarily into Kadhu. Similarly, if the name of a husband's elder brother happens to be Panchu, the woman, in counting, will avoid the word *vanch* (five) because it bears a similarity to the name. and call it *nach* (a dance).

669. Great respect is paid by Hindu women to their husbands' elder brothers, whom they may not even speak to. Among the Santals there are special restrictions on the relations between an elder brother and his younger brother's wife. They must not touch one another; they cannot enter the same room, or remain together in the courtyard, unless others are present. Should she come in from work in the fields, and find the elder brother sitting alone in the courtyard, she must remain in the village street, or in another verandah of the house, till some other people enter the house. As a rule, too, she must not sit down in his presence: should it be really necessary for her to do so, she must sit on a low stool.

A similar rule is observed by the Mundas, among whom the younger brother's wife is forbidden to mention the name of the elder brother, or to sit in his presence, or touch him. The husband is similarly forbidden to mention the name of his wife's elder sister or to touch her. *Baynal* is the name given by Oraons to relations subject to such restrictions. The Revd.

A. Gignard, s.j., of Tongo, in Kauch, writes:—"A man is *bugnulus*, and a woman is *bugnuli*, to his and her younger brothers' wives; and the latter are *bugnuli* to them. Again, a woman is *bugnuli* to her younger sisters' husband, and he is *bugnulus* to her. Between persons of different sexes, this relationship imports that they must never remain alone together, never touch each other's things, never walk in one another's shadow. Except in cases of absolute necessity, they are not allowed to, and will not, speak to each other. If two married brothers have separate houses, and the elder of the two calls at the younger's but does not find him at home, he may, if pressed by hunger, ask his sister-in-law for a little rice, but he must do so from the door-step. She will listen with her back turned towards him, and the rice will be put out on the threshold. If the younger brother is at home, his sister-in-law will leave the place directly the elder brother enters. This family bar lasts as long as life; and it will be upheld even with respect to, and by, a widow or widower rendered perfectly helpless by lameness and invalidity. The relations of a man with his wife's younger sister, and of a woman with her husband's younger brother, are perfectly free from trimmings and restrictions. Between two females (e.g., a woman and the younger brother's wife) the *bugnuli* relationship imports nothing beyond an exaggerated respect on the one side, and motherly love on the other."

Among Oryza castes, such as Sahars and (and as a woman will step aside and leave the road, out of respect, for her husband's elder brother, her husband's maternal uncle and her younger sister's husband, but not for her elder brother's son sit together at a meal, she cannot leave her seat first, even if she has finished her meal, but must wait till the nephew rises.

670. The maternal uncle plays an important part in the family life of many castes and tribes. At the time of *unnaprasu*, which is an essential rite for Hindu children, he has the privilege of putting rice first into the child's mouth. At weddings many castes pay particular honour to the bride's maternal uncle, who receives special presents, this custom being known as *mal bhatu* or *mal bhatu*.

Among the Orans he cuts off the hair on a newly born babe's head. This must be done shortly after birth; otherwise, the child would be boycotted for life. Young children are subject to fleshy excrescences of the scalp, which multiply and spread, developing into sores. Any such growth should be burnt, as soon as it appears, with a piece of heated iron; but the operation cannot be a success unless performed by the child's maternal uncle and his wife, who will even take the dust of their feet, in spite of the difference of age. The nephew and niece may not take any food left by the uncle and aunt, and that there might be even accidental touching of the food or the plate. A maternal uncle will also give his daughter in marriage to his sister's son. Such a marriage (called *bhaindu*) is looked upon as the most honourable form of marriage. The maternal uncle not only gives away his daughter, but also bears all the expenses of the marriage, provides the gastro-feast, etc., and will not take anything from the bridegroom. Through *bhaindu* is allowed, the reverse, i.e., the marriage of a man's son with his sister's daughter, is not permissible.

PART II—STATISTICAL.

671. As pointed out in 1901, the most striking fact brought out by the

UNIVERSALITY OF MARRIAGE.

statistics of marriage is the universality of the institution, especially among females. The number of persons other than those suffering from some bodily or mental affliction, who go through life unmarried, is extremely small. In England over 60 per cent. of the males and 58 per cent. of the females, but in Bengal only 51 per cent. of the former and 34 per cent. of the latter are unmarried. In Bihar and Orissa

This part has been written in collaboration with my Personal Assistant, Babu Nabakrishna Basak, M.A., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

		CIVIL CONDITION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES																							
		MALE												FEMALE											
		0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100		
ENGLAND	UNMARRIED	408											357												
INDIA	MARRIED	492											754												
BENGAL	WIDOWED	511											336												
MARWAR	UNMARRIED	443											504												
BOHEMIA	MARRIED	469											474												
CP & BERAR	WIDOWED	435											57												
MADRAS	UNMARRIED	535											427												
PUNJAB	MARRIED	523											383												
	WIDOWED												424												

the percentage is lower still, viz., 11 amongst males and 32 amongst females. In this latter province Hindus are in a strong majority, representing over four-fifths of the population, and, as is well known, it is a religious obligation for a Hindu to marry and beget a son, and also to get his daughters married before they attain puberty: the very name of son (*putra*) is due to the fact that he is the means of saving his father's soul from the hell called *put*. The universal prevalence of marriage among Hindus has had its effect on other sections of the community, for many have the same blood in their veins, being converts from Hinduism or the descendants of converts, while those who are on the border-line of Hinduism, and aspire to acknowledgement as Hindus, naturally emulate the example of orthodox Hindus. The prevalence of marriage is also, to a large extent, due to the fact that the prudential considerations of more advanced communities are not entertained. Apart from the price of a bride, it is no great expense for a man to take a wife, especially if he belongs to a joint family. Among the lower classes he has all the greater inducement to do so, because a wife is not only a domestic necessity but also a valuable helpmate, for she supplements the husband's income by work in the fields, etc.

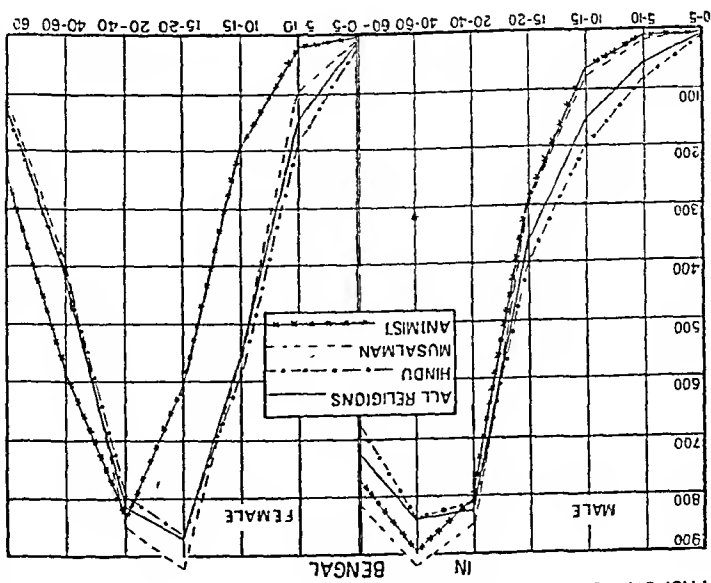
672. The more prominent features of the statistics for age and sex are

673. In Bengal only 2½ per cent. of the females and 22 per cent. of the

males are unmarried after they are 15 years of age. In Bihar and Orissa the proportion is 6 and 18 per cent. respectively. In the former province there are two unmarried youths aged 10 to 15 to every unmarried girl of the same age: in the latter the proportion is 4 to 3. After 20 years of age only one woman in 83 remains unmarried in Bengal, and one in 40 in Bihar and Orissa. The unmarried females consist of the following:—(1) Genuine spinsters, who are found amongst aboriginal and semi-Hinduized races, and also in some sections of the higher Hindu castes, such as Kulin Brahmans in Bengal, Karyans and Khadauts in Orissa, and Rajputs, Brahmans and Babhans in Bihar. Among these castes hypergamy and the high price of bridegrooms often make it impossible for marriageable girls to be married till they are advanced in years. (2) Females suffering from infirmities like leprosy, blindness, etc., who cannot therefore get husbands. (3) Concubines, who are often kept ostensibly as maid servants, as in Orissa. (4) Prostitutes, who are not recognized as married, though they often go through a mock ceremony of marriage. Some idea of the proportion of prostitutes in the unmarried female population may be gathered from special statistics compiled for prostitutes in Calcutta. Here one-fourth of the prostitutes aged 20 and over returned themselves as unmarried; they represent half the total number of unmarried females of that age who were enumerated in Calcutta, and 4 per cent. of the total number enumerated in Bengal. As it is only reasonable to suppose that a large proportion of the prostitutes outside Calcutta are also unmarried, it may fairly be assumed that fallen women account for a considerable number of the unmarried females who are beyond the teens.

674. The percentage of married males is higher among Hindus than

among Musalmans in every natural division of the two provinces, except West Bengal, North Bengal and the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The proportion of married females, however, is higher amongst Muhammadans in all parts of Bengal, and lower in all parts of Bihar and Orissa except Chota Nagpur. As regards different age periods, the proportion of married persons in the male population is higher among Hindus than among Muhammadans or Animists up to 20—40, but lower in the subsequent years. The same phenomenon is



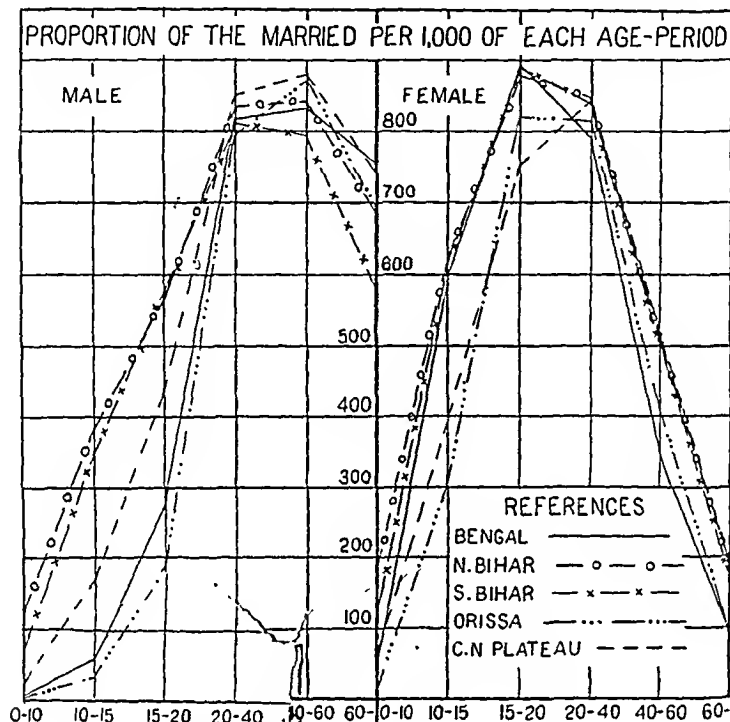
MARRIAGE BY RELIGION.

AGE PERIOD.	MARRIAGE PER 1,000 UNMARRIED.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
0-5	2524	413	2971	419
5-10	207	420	319	473
10-15	218	110	302	130
15-20	152	8	30	21
20-30	82	18	63	11
30-40	12	2	16	4
40-60	8	13	9	3
60 and over	...	...	...	...

* The fact that the proportion of married males is lower at 0-5 than at 5-10 seems due to the fondness for the number 5 in the returns and the consequent exaggeration of the age of infants who are under 5.

observable in the female population. Between 5 and 10 years of age one out of every eight Hindu girls in Bengal has gone through the marriage ceremony, and over two-thirds of those aged 10 to 15, whereas the proportion in the Muhammadan community is 9 and 56 per cent. respectively. The marginal diagram illustrates graphically the prevalence of early marriage and the prohibition of widow re-marriage amongst the Hindus of Bengal.

675. Bengal being a homogeneous province, there is not so much difference between the proportion of the married in different localities as there is in Bihar and Orissa with its four natural divisions having divergent characteristics. In the accompanying diagram, therefore, showing the proportions at each age period, Bengal has been treated as a whole, but each division of the other province has been plotted separately. Marriage appears to be a more universal institution, both among Hindus and Musalmans, in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal. In the general population (including both Hindus and Musalmans) the proportion of married persons of both sexes is highest in North Bihar and



lowest in Orissa: in the former 545 per mille, and in the latter 439 per mille, are married. Among the Hindus the proportion of married women is lowest in North Bengal (427 per mille).

676. The next point to notice is the prevalence of early marriage and its extreme form, viz., infant marriage, which exists in Bihar and Orissa, but is comparatively rare in Bengal. In the latter province 20,333 infants under five are married and 1,978 are

INFANTS UNDER 1 YEAR OF AGE—

RELIGION	MARRIED.				WIDOWED.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.		BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
All religions	61	126	1,253	1,277	4	8	96	157
Hindu	32	82	1,089	1,363	1	5	89	388
Muhammadan	23	36	103	163	3	3	6	67
Animist	4	4	56	47	...	...	1	2
Buddhist	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

and Orissa, the proportion of married women is lowest in North Bengal (427 per mille). In Bihar and Orissa, the proportion of married women is highest in North Bihar and lowest in Orissa: in the former 545 per mille, and in the latter 439 per mille, are married. Among the Hindus the proportion of married women is lowest in North Bengal (427 per mille).

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gone through the marriage ceremony, while 553 are widowed. The proportion of married persons of both sexes is highest in North Bihar and lowest in Orissa: in the former 545 per mille, and in the latter 439 per mille, are married. Among the Hindus the proportion of married women is lowest in North Bengal (427 per mille).

Animists, Buddhists, Christians are also represented, though sparingly

marriage as a religious sacrament, essential and irrevocable. "The act itself, when completed, is best viewed in the light of a sacrament; the steps leading up to it are best viewed in the light of a contract."* Their *Sastras* enjoin the marriage of girls before puberty. Infant marriage is not contemplated, but the nubile age is fixed at 8 to 10 or 12 at the latest. A contributory factor is the number of restrictions imposed by the rules relating to consanguinity, endogamy (i.e., marriage within a certain circle), exogamy, (i.e., marriage outside a certain circle) and hypergamy (i.e., marriage in a circle of higher social status). The effect of these rules is naturally to make parents anxious to get their daughters safely married before they attain an age when the sway of the passions may lead to irregular attachments and frustrate their observance. Among the Muhammadans not only has early marriage no religious sanction, but marriage is a civil contract, which admits of dissolution during the lifetime of the parties; in fact, it may even be entered into temporarily for a short period. Strictly, therefore, a Muhammadan girl should be old enough to be an intelligent party to the contract, and to give her free consent. In spite of this, early marriages are commonly celebrated, though not to the same extent as in the Hindu community.

681. The usual practice of the Animists is to marry only girls who are

TABLE I.—MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN 1901.				
Province.	Married.	Divorced.	Married.	Divorced.
Bengal.	7,153	48	17	4
Aryas.	7,043	47	16	4
Untouchables.	110	1	1	0

old and strong enough to be real help-mates. The same principle is observed by the Himalayan races, who form a large section of the Buddhists. Proportionately, the number of children who are married while still of tender years is far higher among the Aryas. It must be remembered, however, that the Arya movement in Bihar—it has not spread to Bengal—is of recent origin and has

not yet had time to produce its full effects, while those hitherto attracted by it have been, to a large extent, members of low castes that practise early marriage. The figures for Christians do not distinguish between Indian and other Christians, and the presence of married children among them must be attributed to converts whose children were married before they embraced Christianity.

682. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the returns for the numerous castes dealt with in Subsidiary Table V, but the following salient features may be briefly noticed.

1. Early marriage is more common amongst the lower castes than amongst the

TABLE V.—MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN 1901.				
Province.	Married.	Divorced.	Province.	Married.
Bengal.				
Brahmins	144	14	Bengal.	121
Kshatriyas	154	14	Untouchables	13
Vaisyas	154	14		
Untouchables	154	14		
Bihar and Orissa.				
Brahmins	144	14	Bihar and Orissa.	121
Kshatriyas	154	14	Untouchables	13
Vaisyas	154	14		
Untouchables	154	14		
Mongoloid races.				
Bodhis	144	14	Munda	121
Orissas	154	14	Orissas	13
Khamti (Jumla)	154	14		
Lepcha	154	14		
Mishmi	154	14		
Chakma	154	14		
Kuki	154	14		

higher, as shown in the margin. (2) Amongst castes common to both provinces, those who are natives of Bihar and Orissa marry at an early age far more commonly than those who are indigenous to Bengal. (3) Early marriage is comparatively rare amongst Himalayan castes and tribes, and also amongst aboriginal castes and tribes of Mongolian or Dravidian origin. (4) Early marriage is generally more common amongst Hinduized than amongst non-Hinduized members of aboriginal races. This, again, illustrates the influence of the Hindus upon their Animist neighbours.

682. Three causes might naturally be expected to operate against the practice of early marriage, or at least against its gaining greater vogue. These are (1) the wider diffusion of education, and incidentally, to a small extent, greater familiarity with a higher ethical standard, (2) the increase in the cost of living and (3) its consequence, or concomitant, viz., the rise in the price of brides and bride-grooms. There are grounds for the belief that these three factors are

producing some result, for as shown in the margin, early marriages decreased to a small extent between 1891 and 1901, and to a greater extent in the subsequent decade, when the factors in question came more fully into play. The decrease is common not only to all the main religions, but also to all the natural divisions except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where early marriages appear to be on the increase, presumably as a result of the progressive Hinduization of its aboriginal population.

683. Some idea of the varying extent to which the marriage of widows prevails in different localities and among different communities may be gathered from the figures showing the number of widows among females aged 15—40, as this period includes women of marriageable age, who are not so old as to be barren or to have lost their personal attractions, and to be debarr'd thereby from marrying again.

684. In North Bihar, though early marriage is more common than elsewhere, the proportion of widows of the reproductive age is lower than in any other natural division. As a low age of marriage must naturally result in a high proportion of widows, this phenomenon is only explicable by the greater frequency of widow remarriage. There is a comparative paucity of widows in Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which seems to be due partly to the higher age at which marriages are contracted and partly to the practice of widow remarriage. This latter practice appears to be least in vogue in the more distinctively Hindu centres of Bengal, viz., West Bengal and Central Bengal.

685. The marginal statement illustrates the well known fact that widow marriage is much more frequent amongst Muhammadans than amongst Hindus. It also shows that, amongst the Musalmans, have more widows than other communities, such as Animists and Buddhists, who marry at an adult age and allow their widows to remain. The difference in this respect between the Brahmins, who allow widow remarriages, and the Hindus, many of whom do not, is noticeable, but what is even more striking is that among those who have become adherents of the Arya Samaj, women are more than even among the general Hindu community.

NATURAL DIVISION.		AT		RELIGION.		HINDU.		MUSLIM.	
BENGAL		164	224	113	164	113	164	113	164
West Bengal		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
Central "		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
East "		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
BIHAR AND ORISSA		122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
North Bihar		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
South "		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
Chota Nagpur Plateau		101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101

Number of widows per 1,000 females aged 15—40.

RELIGION.		HINDU.		MUSLIM.		OTHER.	
ALL RELIGIONS		42		42		42	
Hindu	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Muslim	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Other	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Animist	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Buddhist	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Jain	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Sikh	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Christian	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Other	42	42	42	42	42	42	42

Number of widows per 1,000 females aged—

Not compiled, the actual figures being very small.

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

686. The figures for castes given in Subsidiary Table V establish the following facts. (1) The proportion of widows (per 1,000 females aged 20—40) is very small amongst the Himalayan tribes and castes, *e.g.*, Bhotia (67), Gurung (54), Lepcha (33), Khambu and Jimdar (73) and Mürmi (53). (2) It is generally higher amongst the Hinduized members of aboriginal tribes than amongst the non-Hinduized :

Number of widows per 1,000 females, aged 20—40.

	Hindu.	Animist.
BENGAL.		
Garo	90	87
Munda	88	64
Oranoh	136	87
Santal	113	122
Tippera	43	34
BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
Bhumij	134	111
Munda	134	138
Oranoh	104	91
Fau	123	86
Santal	188	

as already stated, the former practise early marriage more than the latter. (3) It is generally high amongst Baidyas (191), Brahmans (258), Kayasths (276), Rajputs (283) and other castes forming the upper strata of Hindu society. The proportion is higher still amongst Góalas (323), Chasi Kaibarttas (302), Kumbhars (307), Nama-sudras (304), Sadgops (326), Sutradhars (285), Telis and Tilis (313), etc. All of these are castes ranking low in the social scale, who look upon the prohibition of widow remarriage as a visible sign of respectability and good status. (4) Widows are comparatively few amongst the low castes, like Chamars (140) Doms (197), Muchis (181), etc., who allow widow marriage freely, especially in Bihar and Orissa.

687. Widows are relatively more numerous than widowers at all ages and in all religions. Even in the Muhammadan community, where the remarriage of widows is not only countenanced, but even enjoined by Muhammadan law, widowers remarry far less frequently than widows. The disparity of the number of widowers and widows is even more pronounced in the case of the Hindus, who allow men to marry as often as they please, but, to a large extent, lay a ban on widows taking a second husband. The restrictions on marriage already referred to are, however, effectual in making the number of men who have the

Proportion of the widowed per mille of each sex in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

AGE.	ALL RELIGIONS.		HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		ANINIST.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
ALL AGES ...	43	190	53	212	26	160	30	114
0—5 ...	...	1	1	2	...	1	0.1	1
5—10 ...	2	7	4	10	...	4	0.3	2
10—15 ...	6	24	9	30	2	17	1	7
15—20 ...	13	54	17	67	7	35	8	30
20—40 ...	41	170	48	190	29	139	36	100
40—60 ...	133	573	133	575	68	396	85	394
60 and over ...	256	858	296	857	178	879	210	737

courage to contract a second marriage less than in the case of either Musalmans or Animists.

688. Both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa there has been a steady decline during the last three decades in the proportion of widows at almost all age periods.

This seems to be due to the gradual rise in the age of marriage, and partly perhaps, in a small degree, to the greater prevalence of widow marriage. Amongst the educated members of some of the higher Hindu castes of Bengal, there is, as is well known, a movement in favour of the marriage of young widows, and a few such marriages have actually taken place among Hindu families of high social status. The proportion of widowers at different age periods has increased during the decennium amongst the Hindus and Animists, as well as in the general population of the two provinces, but has decreased among the Muhammadans.

689. The early marriage of girls is often associated with widow marriage, *e.g.*, in North Bihar both early marriage and widow marriage are more prevalent than elsewhere. Castes which get their children married

RELATION BETWEEN EARLY MARRIAGE AND WIDOW MARRIAGE.

at a tender age often allow widows to take a second husband, as will be seen

from the marginal table. The first group consists of castes with a low proportion of widows of the reproductive age and a high proportion of married girls of 5-10. The second group consists of castes in which the converse is the case. To this rule, however, there are many exceptions in the case of Hindu castes in Bengal, like those shown in the third group, which look upon the prohibition of widow marriage as a token of respect-ability, but at the same time generally marry at an early age. It must be remembered, moreover, that widow marriage is not inconsistent with the absence of early marriage, for there are many communities, *e.g.*, Christians, Brahmos, aboriginal tribes, etc., which marry when they are adults and allow their widows to resume the married state if they desire to do so.

CASTE.	LOCALITY.	Number of married girls per 1,000 aged 5-10.	Number of widows per 1,000 females aged 20-40.
I.—Dhanuk	Bihar	630	132
Do. ...	Do.	370	123
Do. ...	Do.	409	131
II.—Babbar	Orissa	113	228
Kauri ...	Orissa	96	148
Karni ...	Do.	17	192
Kajasth ...	Bengal	83	276
Kajasth ...	Bihar	60	217
Khandait	Orissa	42	194
III.—Bargul	Bengal	244	278
Gundhabank	Do.	156	241
Gaula ...	Do.	313	322
Kaburra	Do.	210	330
Sadgop	Do.	218	326

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART I.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF
1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD AT EACH OF THE
LAST FOUR CENSUSES.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

RELIGION, SEX AND AGE.	UNMARRIED.				MARRIED.				WIDOWED.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL RELIGIONS.												
MALES	481	477	478	467	476	482	480	493	43	41	42	40
0-5	991	990	993	960	9	10	6	39	2	2	1	1
5-10	912	911	915	899	56	57	53	168	6	5	6	6
10-15	852	857	856	872	152	158	168	185	13	12	12	14
15-20	626	608	594	581	361	350	394	329	41	37	38	34
20-40	138	134	132	133	845	829	830	852	133	106	107	97
40-60	24	26	21	21	639	668	652	682	258	240	215	231
60 and over	21	21	11	19	723	739	711	750	258	240	215	231
FEMALES	327	313	315	297	483	483	481	490	190	199	204	213
0-5	952	977	953	884	17	22	16	111	1	1	1	3
5-10	851	838	827	813	112	156	167	601	7	8	6	30
10-15	422	402	372	313	554	572	601	657	21	28	24	65
15-20	77	77	61	50	869	868	882	885	54	53	54	189
20-40	15	16	10	9	815	804	809	802	176	178	181	568
40-60	7	7	4	4	120	115	116	117	573	578	580	828
60 and over	6	6	3	6	138	131	117	136	858	863	860	828
HINDU.												
MALES	453	450	454	445	494	501	498	508	53	49	50	47
0-5	987	935	990	945	12	15	9	54	1	3	1	1
5-10	913	919	922	758	83	85	75	234	4	7	3	8
10-15	790	782	777	537	201	204	215	147	9	7	8	16
15-20	592	567	556	401	418	429	429	417	17	15	15	43
20-40	139	141	110	134	813	817	819	819	48	42	43	113
40-60	29	33	24	26	838	844	846	861	133	123	126	261
60 and over	26	25	19	22	678	701	701	714	298	274	281	837
FEMALES	297	290	291	278	491	492	487	495	212	218	222	227
0-5	974	968	978	861	24	30	21	133	2	2	1	6
5-10	804	793	791	300	182	197	201	668	10	10	8	34
10-15	343	370	350	300	557	600	621	658	30	30	29	79
15-20	72	75	69	50	861	859	876	871	87	66	65	205
20-40	13	14	8	9	797	792	793	795	190	194	199	366
40-60	6	7	4	3	419	416	418	431	573	577	578	837
60 and over	6	5	3	5	137	132	117	138	857	863	880	837
MUSALMAN.												
MALES	524	516	513	504	450	457	460	469	26	27	27	27
0-5	998	996	997	938	2	4	3	12	...	...	...	...
5-10	931	940	982	898	19	19	18	99	2	2	3	3
10-15	920	912	904	822	78	86	93	349	7	8	8	9
15-20	696	675	657	642	297	317	335	353	29	29	28	28
20-40	125	116	111	119	846	855	861	853	98	70	68	64
40-60	12	11	8	9	920	919	924	927	178	176	176	168
60 and over	11	10	4	11	811	814	820	821	178	176	176	168
FEMALES	362	351	341	322	478	478	479	485	160	171	180	193
0-5	993	947	938	918	6	12	11	79	1	1	1	3
5-10	901	887	872	822	95	108	124	636	4	5	4	22
10-15	426	402	346	292	557	578	638	686	17	20	18	42
15-20	444	44	33	29	921	917	930	929	35	39	37	163
20-40	11	11	7	7	850	842	841	830	139	147	152	592
40-60	4	6	4	4	400	391	385	404	596	603	611	873
60 and over	4	4	3	6	117	112	101	121	879	884	896	873
CHRISTIAN.												
MALES	588	594	599	597	385	374	375	377	27	32	26	26
0-5	998	997	994	994	2	3	6	6	...	...	...	...
5-10	999	994	938	957	6	6	11	42	1	1	1	1
10-15	969	970	965	822	30	29	34	174	6	4	6	4
15-20	813	812	780	708	181	184	214	398	26	32	25	22
20-40	266	305	302	380	663	673	673	837	78	99	79	80
40-60	64	59	74	83	868	842	847	857	211	216	184	184
60 and over	41	39	37	69	748	745	779	747	211	216	184	184
FEMALES	497	492	492	467	395	387	389	401	108	121	119	132
0-5	998	996	996	989	2	4	4	10	1	1	3	1
5-10	992	992	988	847	7	7	9	598	3	5	4	20
10-15	893	872	855	333	104	123	141	597	18	19	22	436
15-20	415	430	380	333	567	551	598	597	87	111	101	113
20-40	83	93	89	83	824	796	810	804	377	411	418	777
40-60	42	32	34	32	531	557	568	532	743	764	770	777
60 and over	31	29	23	35	226	207	207	185	743	764	770	777

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART I.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF
1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD AT EACH OF
THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—continued.

THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—concluded.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA—concluded.

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART II—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION
OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD IN 1911.

[illegible]

Kaibarttas and Pods, have reached a very fair average of literacy. There is, however, a fall in the proportion of Chasi Kaibarttas compared with 1901, which is due to a number of Jaliya Kaibarttas returning themselves as Chasi: the number of educated persons among the Chasis is relatively $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as among the Jaliyas. The Pods, on the other hand, have made great strides, the proportion of literates having been nearly doubled. Considerable advance has also been made by the Namasudras and Rajbansis, but in spite of this only one in every 20 can read and write, whereas among the Chasi Kaibarttas one in nine, and among the Pods one in seven, can do so. The Maghs are the most advanced among the Buddhists, the proportion being the same as among the Chasi Kaibarttas. Of the Nepalese races, the Newars, who are nearly on the same level as the latter, come first, and then the Gurrungs and Jimdars. Of the Bhotias only 6, and of the Lepchas only 3 per cent. can read and write. Among the Musalman classes the proportion of literates is very low, except among Saiyads, of whom 18 per cent. are literate. None of the lower Musalman classes have a proportion of even 5 per cent.

698. Considering how much higher a standard was imposed by the definition of literacy at this census, it was not to be expected that there should be any remarkable

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

increase in the number of literates. There has, however, been an addition of 632,222, or $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in which all parts of the province share except Nadia and Midnapore. In the former there is a falling off of 2,448, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, corresponds to the general loss of population. The change, however, must not be ascribed to this, or to a decline of literacy, but to the good work of the census staff. There was, as already stated, actually an increase in the number of literates aged 15 years or more, amounting to nearly 5 per cent., but this was wiped out by the large decrease among those under 15 years of age. The fact is simply that the enumerators very properly declined to enter as literate children who could not write and read a letter. In Midnapore where the number of literates has fallen by 30,876, or 10 per cent., five-sixths of the decrease has occurred among young persons under 15 years of age. Nearly the whole of the decrease is found in the Ghatal, Tamuk and Contai subdivisions, where the number of literates has fallen in every thana but Kedgerie and Nandigram, two adjoining thanas in the extreme south-east. In the Sadar subdivision there is a decline in three thanas, two of which (Debra and Garhbeta) adjoin the Ghatal subdivision; the third is Midnapore in the centre of the district, where, however, the decrease (346) is very small. Altogether, 15 out of 26 thanas show a decrease and, as they contain a population of Bengali Hindus and adjoin the districts of Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas, in which conditions are similar, and in which the number of literates has risen considerably, one would *a priori* expect an increase rather than a large decrease. On the other hand, it is in this area that educated and intelligent Bengali enumerators are most numerous and that the new definition of literacy would be understood and followed. We may safely infer, therefore, that the decrease is not real, but due simply to the care with which the instructions were followed. Even with this decrease, Midnapore stands fifth in order of literacy among the districts of Bengal, $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population being literate. Considering the fact there are 145,000 Animists (mostly Santals) in the district, who only contribute 551 literates, the present proportion of literates to the total population is remarkably high, and it is difficult to understand how in 1901 it could have been second in the list of literates, being surpassed only by Howrah. In this district, as well as in Nadia, the decrease is a testimony to the care with which the new definition of literacy was applied.

699. The result of this, as of the last, census is to show that the advance of education among females is relatively more rapid than among males: the actual increase of female

FEMALE EDUCATION.

literates (90,342) is only a sixth of that returned for the stronger sex, but proportionately the growth (56 per cent.) has been thrice as great. The greatest advance has been made by Central Bengal, where the proportion of female literates has risen from 16 to 24 per mille. In West Bengal and East Bengal the gain represents 3 per mille, bringing up the ratio to 11 and 9 per mille respectively, while in the backward division of North Bengal it has risen from 3 to 5 per mille.

700. The last decade has witnessed a further diffusion of English education in Bengal, for the number of persons returned as literate in English has increased by 181,569, or 57 per cent., bringing up the total to 198,136, of whom 39,555 are Europeans, literates, one in every seven of those able to read and write has a knowledge of English. The aggregate is made up of 169,651 males, or 2 per cent. of the male population, and 28,182 females, or 1 per mille of the female population. Among the former there has been an increase of 172,600, or 58 per cent., and the latter of 8,969, or 16 per cent.; the high proportional figure in the latter case is of course due to the small number returned in 1901. The proportional growth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as that for general literacy and is little short of remarkable, in view of the higher standard required for entries of literacy, but, as already stated, I am of opinion that the definition prescribed was not strictly followed in recording literacy in English. It seems, for instance, *prima facie* improbable that one out of every 12 Hindu boys under 10 years, and one out of every six aged 10 to 15, who have learnt to read and write should be so precocious as to be able to write a letter to a friend in English and read the answer to it. Yet this is what the returns would lead us to believe.

Naturally those who have sufficient acquaintance with English to be able both to read and write it are found in commercial and industrial centres No less than a quarter of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta, enumerated in the metropolitan districts of the 21-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, among which Howrah is *facile princeps*, the ratio for males being 7 per cent. and for females 5 per mille. Next comes Darjeeling, where the presence of a European community is evidenced by the proportion for females being double as high as in Howrah.

The distribution by religion of those who are literate in English is naturally much the same as for general literacy. Excluding Europeans, the known converts are educated by the Indian Christian community, whose converts are 9 per cent. The proportion among the Hindus is a little under 2 per cent., but it is thrice that returned for Buddhists and six times that returned for Musalmans (3 per mille). The order of precedence among different castes is different from that for general literacy. The first place is held by the Subarnabanki, to whom, however, the Baidya is very little inferior. Then come in order the Brahman, Kayasth, Gaudhabanki and Agarwala.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

GENERAL RESULTS.

701. From an educational point of view Bihar and Orissa lag far behind Bengal, for only 1½ millions, or 1 per cent. of the population, are literate. Of these, 1,131,000 are females, the male literates by 19 to 1. Altogether 7.6 per cent., or one in every 13, of the males can read and write, but among the females only one in every 50.

At each age period too the proportion of literates per mille is far lower than Bengal as shown in the marginal statement for literate males per mille. Persons aged 15 and over who have seen of the aggregate number of literates, but represent only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population at that age.

702. Orissa is far more advanced than any other of the Provinces in learning to read and write number 1,250,000, or over four-fifths of the aggregate number of literates, but represent only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population at that age.

Age period.		Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
0-10	...	21	9
11-15	...	138	63
16-20	...	193	101
21 and over	...	116	116

Distinction by Locality.
Orissa is more advanced than the North Bihar, where the literates are estimated at 1,250,000, or 1 per cent. of the population. North Bihar is more backward than the South Bihar, where the literates are estimated at 1,250,000, or 1 per cent. of the population.

the proportion of literates being under 4 per cent.; and the Baotia of the Province is the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where only one of every 36 can read and write. Three districts stand in a class by themselves, viz., Patna and Balasore, which share the first place, 6·8 per cent. of their inhabitants being literate, and Cuttack, which is but little inferior with a ratio of 6·6 per cent. In only one other district, viz., Puri, is the proportion over 5 per cent. In the Feudatory States and in no less than six districts, viz., Champaran, Hazaribagh, Palaman, Singhbhum, Angul and Sambalpur, it falls below 3 per cent. The position of Champaran is noticeable, for it is far inferior to any other district of Bihar. The lowest place is held by Palamau, where the ratio is under 2 per cent. Among the denizens of cities one in every seven can read and write, the proportion being one in four among males and as low as one in 31 among females.

703. The returns for Hindus and Musalmans are very different from those for Bengal, for they are on exactly the same level from an educational point of view, the proportion of literates among both being 4 per cent. The latter figure is exactly the same as among the Musalmans of Bengal, and it is obvious therefore the followers of the Prophet are not more advanced in Bihar and Orissa, but that the Hindus there are far more backward than their co-religionists of Bengal. This is largely the result of the large number of uncivilised aborigines in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, who have been absorbed into Hinduism. The Hindus of that tract number nearly 9 millions, or nearly three-tenths of the population of the Province, but they contribute under 300,000 literates, or one-fifth of the literate population.

From the marginal statement it will be seen that in the Province as a

DIVISION.	PRO PORTION OF LITERATES PER MILLE.			
	HINDUS.		MUSALMANS.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
BIHAR AND ORISSA.	81	3	79	5
North Bihar ...	71	3	63	3
South Bihar ...	83	1	123	10
Orissa ...	127	1	132	9
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	63	3	86	6

whole the males are, relatively, more, and the females less generally educated among the Hindus than among the Musalmans. It will also be seen that education is more widely diffused among the followers of the Prophet in every division except North Bihar, where, however, the Musalman community is strongest, numbering $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or two-fifths of the Musalman population of the Province. If the education of Musalmans had proceeded as far in this division as it has elsewhere, the provincial average of literacy among them would be greater than among Hindus. Purnea is the only district, in this division in which the proportion of literates among Musalmans does not fall below that for Hindus. Outside it there are only two districts (Balasore and the Sonthal Parganas) which return a higher ratio for Hindus than for Musalmans.

Taking the figures for male literates only, we find that 6 per cent. of the Hindus in the Chota Nagpur Plateau are literate: in Palamau the average is half that figure. Owing partly to the low standard of Champaran, the proportion is only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in North Bihar, whereas it is 9 per cent. in South Bihar. Relatively the greatest number of Hindu male literates, viz., 12·7 per cent., is found in Orissa, while it exceeds 13 per cent. in both Cuttack and Balasore. The only other districts in which more than 10 per cent. of the Hindus are literate are Patna (12) and Puri (11). The proportion of male literates to the male Muhammadan population exceeds 10 per cent. in no less than 11 districts as well as in the Feudatory States. In three of these districts, viz., Singhbhum, Angul and Sambalpur, it rises above 26 per cent., but the actual number is very small, and a large proportion are probably immigrant Musalman traders. Excluding these three districts, the most advanced Musalman community is found in Patna, where 17 per cent. of the males and 2 per cent. of the females can read and write, and then in Cuttack, where the corresponding ratios are 16 and 1, respectively. As regards natural divisions, Orissa and South Bihar have relatively the largest number of educated Musalmans, and North Bihar the least: the proportion of literates in the division last named is only half what it is in the two former.

As in Bengal, the small Brahmin community is the most educated next to the Europeans, two-thirds of their number being able to read and write. Next come the progressive Aiyas, a new set who give a leading place to education in their propaganda. Though the set is of recent origin in Bihar, and although its ranks are mainly recruited from the lower castes, already one in every five can read and write; it is noticeable that the proportion of female literates ($4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) is also unusually high. Among Indian Christians 8 per cent. are literate, which is only one-third of the figure returned for Bengal. The converts are, however, drawn from a different section of society, and are chiefly aboriginals. When it is considered that among their heathen brethren (the Animists) only one in every 200 is literate, and that a large proportion of them are young children, the extent of literacy among them must be regarded as striking testimony to the educational work of the missionaries.

704. The proportion of literates among Anglo-Indians, viz., 87 per cent., is a little higher than in Bengal where the poor Khatals of Calcutta lower the average. The most educated Indian caste is the writer caste of Kayasths, among whom one in every three can read and write. The second place is shared by Kharans, the writer caste of Orissa, and those keen traders the Aggarwals, the proportion of literates among both being one in four. They are followed by the Satyads, of whom 18 per cent. are literate, and the Brahmins (17 per cent.). The only other castes in which the ratio is 10 per cent. or more are the Banishnabs (12 per cent.), Babhans (10 per cent.) and Kalwars (10 per cent.); this proportion is, however, nearly reached by the Banaryas and Rajputs. The abyss of ignorance is found among the Animist races, among whom the average number of literates varies from 1 to 7 per mille. The latter figure is returned for the Hos, who may therefore be regarded as the least ignorant of the Animist tribes.

705. The number of persons literate in English is only one-sixth of that returned for Bengal, aggregating 81,888, of whom all but 5,321 are males. The net increase since 1901 has been 21,094 or 37 per cent., to which females contribute only 1,722.* The figures appear more reliable than those for Bengal, for applying the same tests we find that (1) only one-twentieth of the literate population is literate in English, (2) only one out of every 44 Hindu boys under 10 who can read and write has a similar proficiency in English, and (3) the proportion of those aged 10 to 15 is only one in 23. (Of the total number, 8,018 are Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Armenians, leaving an aggregate of only 73,870, viz., 71,794 males and 2,076 females, for the Indian population of the province. The figures are so small that there is no object in discussing the local variations in detail. Patna leads the list, 1 per cent. of its males having an acquaintance with English, but it owes its position mainly to the presence of a British regiment at Dinapore. Elsewhere the average is very low, and in those districts which rise above the mark the higher proportion of literates can be attributed to Anglo-Indian colonies or to European missionaries, employees in coal mines, iron works and other industrial concerns. As in Bengal, the Brahmins have the most general acquaintance with English, and then the Aiyas. The proportion among the Muhammadans (3 per mille), low as it is, is higher than among Hindus (2 per mille), who include so many low-castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginals. The Kayasth is easily first among the individual castes. The second place is held by the Satyads, and the third by the Kharans of Orissa, followed closely by the merchant caste of Aggarwals.

706. Since 1901 the number of literates of both sexes has increased by nearly 110,000 or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., viz., 53,000 or 7 per cent. for males, and 25,000 or 55 per cent. for females.† The latter figure clearly demonstrates the rapid strides being made by female education, though the actual number of girls or women who have learnt to read and write is still small, amounting only to

* In calculating the increase, Sandalpur and the Panchayats are not available for 1901 and the Panchayats have not been included in the calculation. In making this calculation, the statistics for 1901 are available for them. † In making this calculation, the statistics for 1901 are available for them.

76,000. The proportional growth of female literates is nearly exactly the same as in Bengal, but in the case of males it is less than half what it is in that progressive Province.

There has been a decrease in the number of literates in five districts and eight Feudatory States. Nowhere is the decrease as great as in Orissa, where the three districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore have an aggregate loss of 47,000, the percentage of decrease being 14 per cent. in Cuttack, 17 per cent. in Balasore and 26 per cent. in Puri. The compilation for these three districts was most carefully checked, the work being done over again to make sure that there was no mistake, and the results worked out yet again by the tick system as well as by sorting. The decrease is simply due to the fact that in Orissa many more learn to read than to write. The population is largely composed of devout Vaishnavas, whose object is to learn enough to be able to read Vaishnava scriptures, the knowledge of writing and composition being a secondary consideration. It is common to find people who can read printed matter, especially sacred books such as the Bhagavat Gita, but cannot write more than their names or the letters of the alphabet. All of these are necessarily excluded from the returns by the more precise definition of literacy. The same phenomenon is noticeable in eight of the Orissa Feudatory States, viz., Baramba, Tigiria, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Baud, Patna, Bamra and Kalahandi. The decrease in Nayagarh is extremely large, the number of literates falling from 12,000 to under 5,000, but *a priori* the figure for 1901 is suspicious, for the percentage ($8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) of literates to the total population was thrice as high as the average for the Orissa States, and at this census no district in the whole of the province has such a high ratio.

There also has been a falling off of nearly 5 per cent. in Muzaffarpur, the greater part of the decrease occurring in the thana of Hajipur, in which, it may be noticed, the general population also declined by 5 per cent. The proportion of literates in this thana has fallen from 6 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but the latter ratio is well above the average for the district. In this thana too the figures were thoroughly checked, and the results verified by the tick system. The only other district in which there has been a loss of literates is Hazaribagh, where it amounts to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This district is a backward one, where no considerable increase could be expected in face of the new definition, and it is noticeable that in the neighbouring district of Palaman the number of literates has risen by 66 only—an addition altogether incommensurate with the general growth of the population.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PROVINCES.

707. The statement below has been prepared to show the extent of literacy in the two provinces dealt with in this report, compared with the other main provinces in India, and the rate of progress in each. Two age periods have been selected, viz., 5–15* and 15 and over, the former being the age period adopted by the Education Department as representing children of school-going age† : as explained in a former chapter, it includes all children 5 years old but under 15 years of age. The statement has unfortunately to be somewhat long, because in order to see what progress has been made, one has to consider not only the number of literates, but also the actual population from which they are drawn : for example, from the decrease of literates aged 5–15 in Bombay, one might assume that the education of the younger generation was declining instead of advancing, whereas it is really due to the loss of population of that age. The actual figures are, moreover, of interest as showing the numbers with which the Education Department in each province has to deal.

* In Table VIII statistics are given only for the age periods 0–10 and 10–15 and not for the period 5–15, but it may fairly be assumed that no children under 5 are literate (i.e., able to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it), the number of literates returned as aged 0–15 is therefore taken as identical with the number aged 5–15.

† The Education Department, instead of taking the census figures, calculates the number as representing 15 per cent. of the population. The basis of this calculation is fallacious, for the actual proportion is 27 per cent. for males and $25\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for females in Bengal, and 28 per cent. for males and 25 per cent. for females in Bihar and Orissa.

PROVINCE.	Ages 15-19.				Ages 20-29.				Ages 30 and over.			
	Popu- lation.	Litera- ture.	Per cent.	Popu- lation.	Litera- ture.	Per cent.	Popu- lation.	Literature.	Popu- lation.	Literature.	Per cent.	Popu- lation.
BENGAL ...	1911 ...	1901 ...	...	49,203,642	3,312,231	7.7	12,216,133	629,799	27,610,001	2,309,730	8.4	2,003,132
BOMBAY ...	...	...	...	+3,421,331	+632,223	...	1,006,120	+46,810	...	...	...	...
	Actual ...	Proportional ...	...	8.0	+21.5	...	8.0	+0.6	...	...	...	...
MADRAS ...	...	...	...	+1,616,108	+233,810	...	-628,889	-24,380	...	...	...	...
	Actual ...	Proportional ...	...	6.1	+1.4	...	0.3	-7.0	...	...	...	...
UNITED PROVINCES ...	...	...	...	+3,247,091	+693,507	...	+182,122	+101,024	...	...	...	...
	Actual ...	Proportional ...	...	8.5	+28.5	...	+1.8	+20.7	...	...	...	...
BIRAR AND OAH ...	...	...	...	-479,799	+141,335	...	-37,041	+66,809	...	...	...	...
	Actual ...	Proportional ...	...	0.9	+0.5	...	0.3	+33.8	...	...	...	...
Variation ...	...	...	...	-1,145,037	+109,485	...	-429,750	+6,853	...	...	...	...
	Actual ...	Proportional ...	...	3.5	-8.5	...	5.0	+2.0	...	...	...	...

The figures for Bengal and Madras are the estimates of 1901 and 1902 respectively. The figures for Bombay are the actual figures of 1901 and 1902.

708. In respect of literacy Bengal is superior to the other Provinces. Not only can it boast of a larger number of persons able to read and write, but the proportion of the latter to the whole population is higher than elsewhere. Next to it comes Madras, which is fast advancing to the same level, and then Bombay, which, however, contains only half as many literates. The proportional increase of literates aged 5-15 of 1902 over 1901 is a little in excess of the general growth of the population, but is much below that recorded for Madras and the United Provinces, the latter of which has a heavy leeway to make up. In Bengal, however, those who have actually learnt to read and write far outnumber those enumerated in either of these provinces; their number is 57 per cent. greater than in Madras, and is more than twice as great as it is in either Bombay or the United Provinces. The ratio of literates aged 15 and over is greater than in any other Province. It is even greater than in that Province, for in 1902 growth of population, it is 21 per cent. for the general population, 112 per cent. for literates in Madras being 250 per cent. and 112 per cent. for the general population. It is also a little less than in Bengal, but it exceeds by 100 per cent. the corresponding ratios in Madras being 250 per cent. and 112 per cent. for the general population. The United Provinces, having a population of 27,610,001 in 1901, and 32,000,000 in 1902, shows an increase of 15 per cent. in population, and a 100 per cent. increase in literates. The ratio of literates aged 15 and over is 10.1 per cent. in 1901, and 11.2 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 5-15 is 1.8 per cent. in 1901, and 2.0 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 20-29 is 0.3 per cent. in 1901, and 0.6 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 30 and over is 0.3 per cent. in 1901, and 0.6 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 15 and over is 10.1 per cent. in 1901, and 11.2 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 5-15 is 1.8 per cent. in 1901, and 2.0 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 20-29 is 0.3 per cent. in 1901, and 0.6 per cent. in 1902. The ratio of literates aged 30 and over is 0.3 per cent. in 1901, and 0.6 per cent. in 1902.

MISCELLANEOUS.

advance between 1891 and 1901 cannot be called rapid, the number of scholars rising by only 74,000 or 7 per cent., while the number of schools fell by 4,500; this, however, was not a real loss, as it was due to small, inefficient or ephemeral schools being closed down. The progress made during the last decade has been remarkable, there being an addition of nearly 4,000 schools and of 428,000 pupils: the proportional increase of the latter is no less than 38 per cent. The most noticeable feature in the returns is the advance made in female education, for girls' schools have been trebled in number and the students have multiplied over threefold: the actual number is still however, comparatively small, being 6,401 and 149,000 respectively. Primary education among boys has made the greatest strides; though the number of primary schools has decreased slightly, the number of pupils has risen by 200,000 or 26 per cent., and now aggregates over a million. High schools have 126,000 students on the rolls, the growth since 1901 being 33,000 or 35 per cent. The number (108,000) reading in Middle schools is less, but the increase in the decennium, viz., 51,000 or 89 per cent., has been greater. On the other hand, the popularity of Middle Vernacular schools is declining; they are now fewer by nearly 300 and have 12,000 fewer pupils than 10 years ago. Those who are sufficiently advanced for a collegiate education number 11,554 or 29 per cent. more than in 1901; of these, 9,304 attend Arts Colleges and 1,221 are students in Law Colleges.

The returns for Bihar and Orissa show much the same general features, there being a decrease of educational institutions between 1891 and 1901, but an addition of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the number receiving instruction. As in Bengal, the advance in the next decade was rapid, schools being more numerous at its close by nearly 4,000 and pupils by 237,000 or 50 per cent. There are now 27,000 colleges and schools with an attendance of 715,000, of whom 568,000 or four-fifths are pupils in primary schools. In this province also there has been a notable expansion of female education, the number of girls' schools rising since 1901 from 533 to 1,245, and of female scholars from 11,000 to 31,000. The number of students in High schools is 23,000 or a fifth of that in Bengal, while Middle English and Middle-Vernacular schools taken together have only 24,833 pupils or two-thirds of the number found in the Bengal Middle Vernacular schools alone. Collegiate education is also on a far smaller scale, there being only 11 colleges with 1,311 students. It is noticeable that there is only one Law College with 11 students, while Bengal can boast of 11 such colleges with 1,221 students.

711. The statistics of the results of University examinations, which will be found in Subsidiary Table VIII, are of considerable interest. They show that between 1891 and 1901 there was a very large increase in the number both of candidates for different examinations and of those who satisfied the examiners. During the last decade, however, though there has been a moderate increase (9 per cent.) in the candidates for matriculation, *i.e.* the Entrance examination, and a large increase (24 per cent.) in those appearing at the F.A. or Intermediate examination, there has been a relatively large decrease in the number of aspirants for the B.A. or B.Sc. and M.A. or M.Sc. degrees, and also of those examined in Medicine and Civil Engineering. The number of those who appeared at the Law examination, however, increased by over one-third, and they are now equal to two-thirds of the candidates for the B.A. or B.Sc. degree. I am not in a position to say how far these results are due to the revised University regulations. It is possible that prospective candidates for the degrees mentioned are deterred by the higher standard now demanded, but, on the other hand, it is noteworthy that, compared with 1901, the proportion of candidates that have succeeded in passing is higher in every case. In 1901 as many as 56 per cent. of the candidates passed the Entrance examination, but in no other examination did the proportion reach 43 per cent. In 1911, however, there was no examination which half or more of the candidates did not pass, and in the case of the Entrance examination the proportion rose to over 70 per cent. The increase in the ratio is especially great in the case of the B.A. or B.Sc. examination, which is now 61 per cent., or more than treble that of 1901.

712. Subsidiary Table X, which has been compiled from the records of the Bengal Library, throws a certain amount of light on the literary activity of the people during the last

decade. Statistics of previous decades for each of the new provinces could

not be obtained owing to the partition and re-division of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, we find that the number of vernacular books printed and published during the ten years ending in 1910 is 1,291 or 27 per cent. more than in the preceding decade. In Bengal, works in Bengali account for nearly two-thirds of the total number, while English books represent a fifth. In Bihar and Orissa, though the *Vidyas* constitute less than two-thirds of the population, the books written in *Vidya* represent over half of the total number, and those in Hindi and Urdu one-fourth. The study of Sanskrit is still largely in vogue, but it comes fifth in the list for the two provinces. The extent to which it is studied is more apparent from the returns of bilingual books, those published in Bengali and Sanskrit during the decade number- ing 1,410, or nearly half the total number of bilingual works printed and published in Bengal. Bengali and English books come second with a total of 907. In addition to this, Sanskrit was counted with English in 198, and with Bengali and English in 256, books. In Bihar and Orissa again the study of Sanskrit led to the publication of 552 books in Sanskrit and Orissa, and 491 in San- skrit and Hindi.

LANGUAGES.	1901-10				1891-1900			
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	United Provinces.	Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	United Provinces.	Total.
Sanskrit	1,410	491	1,291	3,192	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Hindi	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Urdu	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Persian	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
English	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Bengali	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Other	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Total	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073

TABLE. Statistics of the number and circulation of newspapers and periodicals in each province during the years 1891, 1901 and 1911 will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter. The statement of circulation must be received with some caution, and the figures regarded as an estimate only. It must also be borne in mind that the circulation of newspapers is not confined to subscribers. The dissemination of news is far wider than the figures would indicate, for it is the common practice for any one who happens to be literate in a village to read the newspaper to the assembled villagers and receive their plaudits. If nothing more, for doing so. Of the newspapers published in Bengal, 66 with a circulation of 118,000, are written in Bengali. Their number has increased by 50 per cent. in the last 20 years, and their circulation has been doubled. Daily newspapers have not found much favour among Bengalis, and the great majority are weekly publications. There are 51 newspapers, written in English but owned, edited and read by Indians, all but eight of which are published weekly or monthly; their circulation is put down as 50,000. Monthly magazines are by far the most popular class of periodicals, accounting for four-fifths of the total number; there are 89 published in Bengali with 12,000 readers, and 46 published in English with 50,000 readers.

LANGUAGES.	1901-10				1891-1900			
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	United Provinces.	Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	United Provinces.	Total.
Sanskrit	1,410	491	1,291	3,192	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Hindi	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Urdu	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Persian	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
English	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Bengali	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Other	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073
Total	1,291	491	1,291	3,073	1,291	491	1,291	3,073

In Bihar and Orissa journalistic enterprise has not made much progress. The total number of newspapers is only 28, of which 8 are in English, 8 in Hindi and 6 in *Vidya*; their aggregate circulation is under 14,000. The number of newspapers has, however, been doubled in the last 10 years, and the circulation has gone up by 60 per cent. The circle of readers of periodicals is also small, and only 16 are published, all but one of which are monthly publications.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND RELIGION.

RELIGION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE.												NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE ILLITERATE.			NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE IN ENGLISH.		
	All ages.			0—10		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.			Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
BENGAL.																		
All religions ...	77	140	11	21	3	136	18	189	19	199	13	923	860	989	11	20	1	
Hindu ...	118	210	20	39	6	223	32	280	34	276	22	882	790	980	18	35	1	
Musalman ...	41	79	2	9	1	70	4	106	4	123	3	959	921	998	3	5	1	
Christian ...	466	521	402	165	153	488	300	595	568	664	495	534	479	593	361	410	304	
European and other Christians.	883	906	851	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	117	94	149	873	896	541
Indian Christians ...	243	236	196	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	757	714	804	87	113	53
Brahmo ...	783	812	752	309	332	946	938	1,000	964	959	863	217	188	248	602	692	568	
Buddhist ...	91	170	9	12	1	103	9	191	15	279	13	909	830	931	6	10	4	
Animist ...	5	9	4	1	2	7	3	12	1	15	4	995	991	1,000	1	1	01	
BIHAR AND ORISSA.																		
All religions ...	39	76	4	9	1	66	6	103	7	114	4	961	924	916	2	4	3	
Hindu ...	41	81	3	9	1	70	5	110	6	119	4	959	919	907	2	4	1	
Musalman ...	41	79	5	10	2	68	8	110	9	122	6	959	921	995	3	6	1	
Christian ...	103	139	64	25	20	147	97	224	115	210	68	897	861	932	46	63	29	
European and other Christians.	845	857	828	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	155	143	172	825	838	897
Indian Christians ...	76	107	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	924	893	955	17	28	5
Brahmo ...	634	635	633	250	333	633	939	737	706	782	712	366	365	367	474	503	315	
Buddhist ...	72	127	5	...	...	79	...	124	...	182	8	928	873	995	10	14	5
Animist ...	5	10	1	1	2	9	1	16	1	14	1	995	990	999	1	2	001	
Arya ...	197	344	46	97	22	359	103	447	81	431	44	803	656	954	31	61	...	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.		BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.		Bengal		WEST BENGAL		CENTRAL BENGAL		24-Parganas		NORTH BENGAL		EAST BENGAL		Bihar and Orissa		WEST BENGAL		CENTRAL BENGAL		NORTH BENGAL		EAST BENGAL		Bihar and Orissa		WEST BENGAL		CENTRAL BENGAL		NORTH BENGAL		EAST BENGAL	
1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		16		17		18	
Total.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1																					

CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGE.

714. At this census revised instructions were issued regarding the entry of language in the schedules. In 1901, it was laid down that the language to be entered was that ordinarily spoken by each person, but this led to some curious results, persons returning not their native language but that which they commonly used in intercourse with the outside world. One German missionary working among the Mundas, for instance, returned Mundari as his language, and another, whose converts consisted of Oraons, as Oraon, while some Frenchmen engaged in the silk industry entered English as the language which they ordinarily used. To prevent such anomalies, it was laid down at this census that the language to be returned was that which each person ordinarily spoke in his own home: in the case of infants and deaf-mutes* the language of the mother was to be entered. This change in the instructions has led to greater accuracy in the returns. It was realized that the native language was to be returned, and not that which an immigrant might use in his new environment. The increase, for example, in the number of Marwari speakers from 11,000 to 37,000 is only partly explicable by increased immigration, and is mainly due to the revised instructions. The same cause has led to considerable variations in the case of languages for which another character is used, such as Bengali in Purnea, which is commonly written in the Kaithi character: in this district the number of Bengali speakers has increased eight-fold. Similarly, in the Orissa Division, where the Musalmans speak Urdu but use the Oriya character for it, the number returned as speaking Hindi and Urdu has risen by nearly 60 per cent.

715. Statistics of the languages returned will be found in Imperial Table X, where they are arranged under three main headings, viz., languages of India, Asiatic and African languages foreign to India, and European languages. In Bengal the languages of India are grouped in four classes, viz., Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Munda and Dravidian, a few entries being also placed under the heads Siamese-Chinese and Mon-Khmer. In Bihar and Orissa there are four groups, viz., Aryan, Munda, Dravidian and others. In this chapter the discussion of the figures will follow a scheme of classification drawn up by Sir G. Grierson, and prescribed by the Census Commissioner. At the end of the chapter three subsidiary tables are given as follows:—

Subsidiary Table I—Shows the distribution of the total population by language.

Subsidiary Table II—Shows for each district the number of persons speaking different languages per mille of the population.

Subsidiary Table III—Gives comparative figures for tribal languages, showing how many persons belong to the tribe and how many of them speak the tribal language.

716. It was realized that it would be hopeless to expect the people themselves to return their languages with any philological exactitude. The linguistic and dialectic distinctions made by the linguistic survey are not recognized, and its terminology is more or less foreign to the people. A person speaking Bihari, for instance, does not call his language Bihari, but Hindi, and he does not recognize such names as Magahi, Bhojpuri and Maithili as designations for different dialects of that language. In these circumstances, it was not attempted to obtain a record of them. All that it was possible to do was to lay down that the name by which a language was commonly known should be entered in the schedules. Some people were not contented with this simple rule. The Tiyars in the Patna State, for instance, returned Bengali as their mother-tongue, though their language is indubitably Oriya and is known as such.

* In one case the language of a deaf-mute was returned as *Atpat*, an onomatopœic word describing the sounds he emitted.

717. The Musahmans were strongly averse to their language being entered as Hindi, and were anxious to have it returned as Urdu. The Hindus were opposed to the entry of Urdu, and complaints were received that, in some cases, Hindu supervisors or enumerators changed or tried to change entries of Urdu into Hindi. The question of the entry was, in fact, regarded as a question of religion. It was assumed that Hindus must speak Hindi and Musahmans Urdu, though the great majority speak neither one nor the other, but Bihari. The attitude of both shows strange ignorance of history, for Urdu largely owes its existence to the Hindus employed in the Mughal administration. Urdu arose when the Hindus took to Persian education; if they had not been an apt medium for receiving and spreading the new dialect, Urdu would as little have formed itself during the reign of Shahjahan as under the rule of the Pathans.* However this may be, the result of the agitation on the subject is that the number of persons recorded as speaking Urdu has jumped up from 89,477 to 1,12,039. Even in Bengal no less than 151,438 persons returned their language as Urdu, over two-fifths of the number being inhabitants of Midnapore.

718. There was also a tendency to return Persian and Arabic as the language ordinarily spoken, though the number of persons born in Arabia or Persian, or who are the descendants of Persians and Arabians, is very small. In many cases it was found that Persian was used as an honorific designation for the language spoken by Musahmans, or as a name for some form of an Aryan language spoken by aborigines, e.g., it was returned as the language of some Santals and Koras who had left their homes and spoke a corrupt form of Bihari. Arabic was also put down as the language of Musahmans who knew the Koran, or of Biharis who were present in Bengal at the time of the census. Some kinds of Shahabad, who were enumerated in Khinda, were thus credited with a knowledge of Arabic, though one might as well expect Bomis to speak Sanskrit. Arabic was also entered in Orissa for Tamil, this being a corruption of Arava, a name given to Tamil by speakers of Telugu. Inquiry was made in as many cases as possible regarding the actual language entered as Arabic and Persian, with especial success in Bihar and Orissa, where the real number was found to be only 55.

719. The greatest difficulty was caused by the language of various aboriginal races, such as the Koras, Karmahs, Mundas, Orans and Santals, being entered simply as Kol, Kolhe or Kolha. Kol, in one form or another, is used indiscriminately in many parts for Oran, Mundari, Santali, Karmah (a dialect of Santali) and other non-Aryan tongues, and the discovery of the real language was no easy task. Such entries were checked as far as possible by reference to the entry of caste and birth-place, but in many cases the caste was also recorded as Kol, and the district of birth gave no clue as to the real race. In such cases local inquiries were made, and specimens of the language actually spoken were obtained. This difficulty was most felt in the 21 Orissa States, where there were over 117,000 entries of Kol or Kolha. The classification of these entries has given somewhat different results from those obtained in 1901, when 92,000 entries of Kol were treated as Ho (in addition to 29,000 actual entries of Ho), whereas all such entries in the five Federatory States then attached to the Central Provinces were classified as Mundari. A similar difficulty was presented by entries of Koras, which is a generic name for catch-workers of any caste, and also of a separate tribe. The language returned as Koras varied greatly in different parts, being Santali in one place and Mundari in others, but Oran in the great majority of cases.

720. The Thars of Orissa State were a further source of perplexity. In some parts where an aboriginal tribe or caste speak an Aryan language, it does so with certain tribal peculiarities, and the language is not called Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, etc., but is referred to by the name of the tribe or caste concerned, the word Thar (i.e., sign or symbol) being added. Common entries of this kind were Bindhani Thar, the language spoken by the Bindhanis or blacksmiths, Thar.

* H. Blochmann, *The Hindu Rajas under the Mughal Government*, Calcutta Review, Vol. LII, pp. 321 and 322.

last ten years, which is 1 per cent. less than the rate of growth among the general population. In Bihar and Orissa it is spoken by 2,295,000 or 6 per cent. of the total population, the border districts of Purnea, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum accounting for over nine-tenths of the total number. Since 1901 the aggregate in this province has risen by 736,000, but there would have been an increase of only 78,000 or 5 per cent.

YEAR.	Hindi.	Bengali.
1901	1,773,455	91,877
1911	1,202,568	749,018
Variations ...	-570,887	+ 657,141

had it not been for the variations in Purnea, as shown in the margin. In a great part of that district it is difficult to say whether the language is Bengali or Bihari, for Bihar fades imperceptibly into Bengali and *vice versa*. In the main, however, it is Bengali with an admixture of Hindi, but it is written in Kaithi, the Bihari character, and not in Bengali. The paucity of the number returned as Bengali speakers in 1901 is due to the fact that the enumerators recorded this mixed dialect as Bengali on the strength of the written character, without regard to its philological nature. At this census, however, the character in use was not taken into consideration, but only the spoken language. It must not be imagined, therefore, that in Purnea Bihari is being replaced by Bengali. Sir G. A. Grierson estimated the number of Bengali speakers at 603,000, or nearly one-third of the population in 1901, and if that ratio is adopted, the Bengali-speaking population would be 663,000.

726. No attempt was made to collect statistics of dialects of Bengali, except Mal Paharia, and only three others appear in the returns, viz., Chakma, Kharia Thar and

DIALECTS OF BENGALI.

Pahira Thar.

Mal Paharia is, as the name implies, the vernacular of the Mal Paharias, nearly all of whom are found in the Sonthal Parganas. In that district no less than 34,414 persons,

MAL PAHARIA.

or nine-tenths of the total number of Mal Paharias, were returned as speaking this dialect. It is not a separate language, but merely a corrupt form of Bengali with here and there a Dravidian word, and it is said to resemble Kharia Thar. The Mal Paharias come of the same stock as the Maler or Sauria Paharias, but are a Hinduized and more civilized section residing in a different part of the district. They have cut off all connection with their congeners and have adopted the language of their more civilized neighbours. One group only retain the Malto language of their ancestors, and have not yet learnt the dialect used by the Mal Paharias of the south and west. They are found in Tappa Kunwarpal, a rugged tract difficult of access which lies on the boundary between the Sauria and Mal Paharias, and are said to be undistinguishable from the Saurias in language, habits and appearance.

Chakma is a debased dialect spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and written in an alphabet akin to that of Burmese. In

CHAKMA.

1901 it was returned by 44,000 persons or one-third of the inhabitants of that district, but the number is now only half that figure.

Kharia Thar, or the language spoken by the Kharias of Manbhum, is treated as a patois of Bengali by Sir G. A. Grierson, whose classification has been followed. Though

KHARIA THAR AND PAHIRA THAR.

over four-sevenths of them are returned as Animists. they are said to have lost their distinctive language, unlike members of the tribe in adjoining areas. Pahira Thar is the vernacular of the Pahiras or Paharias, a small community found in the same locality as the Kharias, viz., along the Dalma range of hills in Manbhum. Little is known about them or their language. They are said to be cognate to the Kharias, and Sir G. A. Grierson states that their dialect is the same, being called Kharia Thar or Pahira (Paharia) Thar according to the speakers.

727. Hindi and Urdu are spoken by altogether 26,850,000 persons, viz., 24,932,000 or two-thirds of the total population, in Bihar and Orissa, and 1,917,000 or 4 per cent.

HINDI AND URDU.

in Bengal. Since 1901 the number has decreased by 360,000 in the former province, but this does not represent a real loss. The change in the instructions about the entry of language has, as already shown, brought

about a decrease of nearly 571,000 in Purnea. It has also been effectual in reducing the number of aboriginals returned as speaking Hindi instead of their tribal language. Not to multiply instances, the number of Santals speakers in the Southal Parganas has risen by 28,000, though the Santals themselves are reduced in numbers. In Bengal, the Hindi-speaking population has grown by 430,000 or 29 per cent., the result mainly of immigration from Bihar and Orissa: the males speaking Hindi outnumber the females by 2 to 1. Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, where the mill hands are recruited chiefly from up-country, contribute one-third of the increase. Between them they contain 731,000 speakers of Hindi or Urdu, or over one-third of the total number in Bengal. A large increase is also registered in North Bengal, where the speakers of Hindi are more numerous by 182,000 or 42 per cent., than they were 10 years ago. This division now contains nearly 600,000 persons with whom Hindi or Urdu is the mother-tongue.

Urdu, as stated above, represents, for the greater part, merely the language spoken by Musalmans. It is impossible to say what the real number of speakers of Urdu is, but it is certain that the majority of those who returned Urdu as their mother-tongue speak either Hindi in a more or less debased form, or pure and unadulterated Bihari. True Urdu is spoken by the higher classes of Musalmans and by immigrants from up-country. In Orissa also the local Musalmans, though far remote from their Urdu-speaking co-religionists, and surrounded by speakers of Oriya, have preserved a fairly pure, though not very grammatical, Urdu as the language of their home life. They are, however, unable to write it in its proper character, but use the Oriya script. The revised instructions have brought about a great increase in the returns for Urdu in the sea-board districts of this sub-province; in Cuttack alone the number has risen from 1,459 to 52,600.

728.

Bihar.

nized as languages in the prescribed scheme of classification, in which they are classified as Bihari, Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi. By far the most widely spoken of these languages is Bihari, the language of Bihar. It is not, however, confined to that sub-province, but also extends into Chota Nagpur and even into the Orissa States. It has three dialects, viz., Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili. Bhojpuri is so-called after the *argana* of Bhojpuri in Shahabad and is *par excellence* the vernacular of Shahabad and the adjoining district of Saran. It extends on the west into the United Provinces and on the south into Ranehi, where Sir G. A. Grierson identifies it with the language called Nagpuri. In local estimation, however, Nagpuri should be classed as a separate dialect. It has, it is said, affinities to both Magahi and Bhojpuri, but the resemblance to the former is very much more marked. On the north, Bhojpuri is found in Champaran where there is a sub-dialect called Madhesi—literally the language of the middle land: the aboriginal Tharus also speak Bhojpuri, though some suppose that they have a distinct vernacular. Magahi or Magadhi derives its name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha, the nucleus of which consisted of the district of Patna and the north of Gaya. It is pre-eminently the vernacular of South Bihar, where it is current in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Monghyr. It spreads on the east into Malda, on the south and south-west into Hazaribagh and Palamau, and on the south-east into Manbhum, Singbhum and the Chota Nagpur States. Maithili, the third of the dialects, is the language of the ancient kingdom of Mithila, the limits of which correspond to the modern Tirhut. It is now the vernacular of North Bihar, excluding the district of Champaran and Saran. South of the Ganges it is inflected by Magahi, the result being a dialect called Chikka-Chikki, owing to the frequent use of the word *Chik* in the conjugation of the verb substantive.

In the Linguistic Survey of India the number of speakers of Bihari in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is estimated at 23,143,888, viz., Bhojpuri 6,991,972, Magahi 6,565,758 and Maithili 9,586,158.* An estimate based on the results of the present census is somewhat above this figure, the

* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 14, 15, 32, 33, 44, 45, 187, 224, 278, 300, 311-14.

total for Bihari being estimated at 24,691,193, viz., Bhojpuri 7,095,023 Magahi 6,862,676 and Maithili 10,736,794.*

729. Bathudi or Bathuri was returned as the language of 137 persons in the Orissa Feudatory States and Balasore. Specimens of the language were obtained, and it was found to be a patois of Hindi written in Oriya. The total number of Bathudis is 51,817, nearly all of whom were enumerated in the Orissa Feudatory States, mainly in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. There is unfortunately very little information regarding them or their origin. They are generally regarded as being of aboriginal descent, but according to a recent writer they were originally Buddhists with a rank equal to that of Brahmans, who sank to a low status on the destruction of Buddhism. Like Brahmans, they wear the sacred thread and observe *vraddha* on the eleventh day, but many of their observances are like those of aboriginals. In Mayurbhanj old buildings showing a high standard of civilization are attributed to them, and there are traditions of their having been a dominant race. Traces of Buddhist worship are still found among them, Dhamaraj and Jagannath (who is regarded as an incarnation of Buddha) being two of their principal deities; it is noticeable also that formerly only Bathudis were allowed to officiate as priests in the worship of Dhamaraj. They say that their name was originally Batula or Bathula, but in Keonjhar they are known as Bahuri or Bamu, and it seems not impossible that they have had some connection with the Bamis of Orissa, who appear to be distinct from the Bamis of West Bengal.

730. Kurmah is a corrupt form of Magahi, which, as the name implies, is the tongue of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur (not the Bihari cultivating caste of the same name). It was returned as the language of 211,111 persons in Manbhum, where the Kurmis number 291,729. It is not confined to them, however, but is spoken by many other castes. This patois is also known as Khotia or Khotia Bengali, and is written in the Bengali character. Locally it is regarded as a corrupt form of Bengali. It is reported that even in Ranchi, though Bihari words are used, the terminations are often Bengali. In Mayurbhanj it is usually called Kurmi Bengali or Kurmali Bengali, as well as simply Kurmi. With regard to its character, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhanj wrote as follows:—"The mother-tongue of the Kurmis of Mayurbhanj is Bengali, with the peculiar intonation belonging to them. These Kurmis have, as a rule, come from Midnapore and settled permanently in Mayurbhanj. Their dialect shows traces of Hindi and Oriya as well, but it cannot be called either." A corrupt form of Magahi is also spoken in thamas Gola and Kashtuar, and in part of thama Rangah in the south-east of Hazaribagh. This patois, which is called Het Gola, contains Bengali words and phrases and locally is considered to be Bengali.

731. There were 3,038 entries of Kurumali in the schedules of the Orissa States, which have been classified as Hindi on the authority of the Linguistic Survey. "Kurumali",

* The basis of the calculation, which is the same as that adopted by Mr. Gut in 1901 is as follows:—

Magahi includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Patna and Gaya; (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ Hazratnagar, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ Monghyr, (4) $\frac{1}{2}$ Mubla and (5) $\frac{1}{2}$ Raichur and Palamou, also $\frac{1}{2}$ of the persons speaking Hindi and Urdu in the South Bihar Parganas, 9,444 persons in the Chota Nagpur States and 7,320 in the Orissa Feudatory States.

Maithili includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Darbhanga and Bhagalpur, (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ Muzaffarpur (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ Monghyr and (4) $\frac{1}{2}$ Patna, and also $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Hindi and Urdu speakers enumerated in the South Bihar Parganas.

Bhojpuri includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Champaran, Saran and Shahabad and (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ Palamou and Ranchi. It also includes 103,966 immigrants from the United Provinces to Bihar and Orissa comprising immigrants from the districts of the United Provinces where Bhojpuri is spoken, viz., the whole of the Gorakhpur Division, Benares, Ghazipur, Ballia, $\frac{1}{2}$ Mirzapur, $\frac{1}{2}$ Jampur and $\frac{1}{2}$ Fyzabad.

According to another method of calculation, the number of Bihari speakers may be estimated at 25,131,627. The basis of this latter estimate is as follows:—In Bihar and Orissa, excluding the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, the number of Bihari speakers is taken to be the number of those returned as speaking Hindi or Urdu, after deducting (1) those who speak Eastern Hindi (116,574 in Sambalpur and the Orissa States and 508,898 elsewhere), and (2) of immigrants from the Central Provinces and United Provinces, except those from Gorakhpur, Ballia, Benares, the Benares State, Ghazipur and Mirzapur who speak Bihari. In Madia those who returned Hindi and Urdu as their language are assumed to be Bihari speakers. Elsewhere the estimate of Sir G. A. Grierson has been adopted, adding an extra 10 per cent for increased emigration.

† Nagendra Nath Basu, *Modern Buddhism in Orissa* (1911), pp. 15—36, 145.

writes Sir G. A. Grierson, "on examination, turns out to be another instance of Eastern Magahi. Here the corrupting element is more Oriya than Bengali, and, moreover, the specimens received being written in the (Oriya) character, they have necessarily acquired a further resemblance in orthography to that language, which probably does not properly belong to them. Instances of borrowing from Oriya abound, but even some of these are curious distortions. On the whole the dialect agrees very closely with the Kurnali Thar of Mandhum."

732. Panch Pargana or Tamaria is a dialect spoken mainly in the five Parganas of Tamur (whence the name Tamaria), Still, Karamda, Kane and Banda. According to the

Linguistic Survey of India—"It closely resembles the Kurnali Thar of Mandhum. The principal apparent difference is the result of the characters employed in writing. In Mandhum the character adopted is the Bengali, and the language is looked at, so to speak, through Bengali spectacles. Hence words are spelled as a Bengali would spell them. In the Parganas, on the other hand, the Kauri alphabet is used, and the language is looked at through Hindi spectacles." According to the Deputy Commissioner of Kanchi (Mr. W. B. Thomson), "Panch Pargana or Tamaria is really a composite language formed of Bengali, Oriya and Bihari words and terminations. As spoken by some castes, it has a distinct resemblance to Oriya, and as spoken by others to Bengali, while as spoken by Kauris and a few other castes who originally came from Bihari, it resembles Bihari. There is no valid reason why it should be classed as a dialect of Bihari rather than of Bengali or Oriya." Tamaria is also the name of a form of Bhumy spoken by the Tamarias, a section of the Bhumy tribe who were originally settled in the Tamur *pargana* of Kanchi. Those who returned to Tamaria as their languages outside Kanchi have been treated as in 1901, as speaking this Bhumy dialect, but it is quite possible that this classification is wrong, and that some of them really speak Tamaria Magahi and others Tamaria Bhumy.

733. Oriya is returned for 7,820,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa, where it is the language of one-fifth of the population.

The number returned as speaking Oriya in this province has risen by nearly two millions or 55 per cent. since 1901, but this is mainly due to the transfer of Sambhar and five Oriya-speaking States from the Central Provinces. (Owing to this transfer and to the addition of Ganpur and Bani, the number of persons speaking Oriya has been nearly doubled in the Orissa States. (Outside Orissa the language is practically only spoken in Singbhum and the Chota Nagpur States. In Bengal there are 291,000 speakers of Oriya, of whom two-thirds are resident in Midnapore. Practically all the remainder are immigrants, there being only one female to every eight males. Midnapore is the only district in the Presidency where Oriya is a native language, and here it is almost confined to the south of the district bordering on Balasore. It is a curious mixture of Bengali and Oriya, but according to Sir G. A. Grierson it is Oriya in its essence. "It has put on strange clothes like Peter in the 'Tale of a Tub,' but the heart that beats under the strangely embroidered wastcoat is the same." Babu Monmohan (Chakravarti) informs me that it differs from the main Oriya language not only phonetically but also in grammar, and should be regarded as a distinct dialect of Oriya. The returns for the last three censuses show that this form of Oriya is being first replaced by Bengali, the number of Oriya speakers in Midnapore being 572,798 in 1891, but falling to 270,495 in 1901, and again to 181,801 in 1911. The greater part of the decrease has occurred in the south and south-east of the district, viz., in the three thanas of Dantua, Gopiballabpur and Eggra, where the aggregate has fallen from 255,800 to 171,031 since 1901. The speakers of Oriya now represent only one-third of the total population of these three thanas, whereas in 1901 they accounted for two-thirds of it. In Eggra, Oriya has practically disappeared, the number being reduced from 57,292 to 160. On the other hand, there has been an increase of 40,000 in Rannagari,

where the Oriya speakers now form two-thirds of the inhabitants instead of one-seventh as in 1901. These variations are due to the character of the language which is partly Bengali and partly Oriya, and to the instructions that the language ordinarily spoken in the home was to be entered. In the first three thanas the tendency of the people is obviously to regard their language as Bengali, and in the latter to look upon it as Oriya.

734. The Mediate group is represented by Eastern Hindi, which is the language of Oudh, Baghelkhand and Chhattisgarh. In the provinces dealt with in this report two dialects of Eastern Hindi are current in two widely separated areas. One dialect is known as Awadhi, literally the language of Oudh, which is spoken by Musalmans in five districts of Bihar. In Muzaffarpur this dialect is spoken by low caste Musalmans, the majority of whom belong to the Jolaha or weaver caste. It is hence known locally as Jolaha Boli. In Saran, Awadhi is not spoken by the lowest class of Musalmans, who use the local Bhojpuri, but by those of the middle class, and is known locally as Bihari Hindi. In Champaran, Awadhi is spoken by middle class Musalmans, and by people of the Tikulihiar caste: the Awadhi spoken by the latter is locally known as Tikulihiari, and that spoken by the middle class Musalmans is called Shekhai. On the south the dialect is current among the Musalmans of the districts of Gaya and Shahabad. "This Musalman dialect is an interesting survival of the influence of the former Muhammadan Court of Lucknow. It is frequently heard by Europeans in Bihar, as it is used as a kind of language of politeness by uneducated non-Musalmans of the same country, much as Urdu is used by their betters."* The total number of persons in the five districts above-mentioned with whom it is the common vernacular is estimated by Sir G. A. Grierson at 504,454. The number of persons speaking Awadhi outside this area is estimated by him at 111,358, viz., 3,214 in Bhagalpur, 1,230 in Orissa and 106,814 in Bengal.

735. Laria or Chhattisgarhi is a dialect of Eastern Hindi spoken in Sambalpur and the five States transferred from the Central Provinces, viz., Patna, Sonpur, Bamra, Rairakhol and Kalahandi. It is usually called Laria in this area, Laria meaning simply "eastern." It is thus equivalent to "the language of the east," just as Awadhi is sometimes called Purbi. Sir G. A. Grierson is of opinion that this dialect found its way through Jubbulpore and Mandla, being introduced in comparatively late times by the Aryans who first settled there. Thenceforward, owing to its geographical isolation, the dialect developed its own peculiarities. He estimates the number of Laria speakers in Sambalpur and the five neighbouring States at 176,643, and in the remaining Orissa States at 1,311. The number of persons returned as speaking Hindi or Urdu in the former group is 115,263 (70,650 in Sambalpur and 44,613 in the five States), and inquiry shows that their language is really Laria. Sir G. A. Grierson classes Binjhari, Kalanga and Bhulia as broken dialects of Laria; but no distinction between them and Laria is recognized locally. They are regarded merely as the ordinary Laria spoken by members of the castes after whom they are named.

736. The languages grouped under this head, and spoken in the two provinces dealt with in this report, are Western Hindi. Rajasthani, Gujarati, Panjabi and Banjari (one of the Bhil dialects), which are chiefly spoken by immigrants.

Western Hindi is the designation of the modern Indo-Aryan vernacular of the Gangetic Doab and the country to its north. The principal dialect is Hindustani, whose home is the Upper Gangetic Doab in the country round Meerut, but which is commonly employed as a *lingua franca* throughout the north of India. The Persianized form of Hindustani is known as Urdu, and there is also a Hindi form of Hindustani which was invented by the teachers of the college at Fort William and owed its origin to the need of text-books for the college. "It was intended to be a Hindustani for the use of Hindus, and was derived from the indigenous Sanskrit. Owing to the popularity of the first book

written in it, and to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindus without their religious prejudices being offended, it became widely adopted and is now the recognized vehicle for writing prose by those inhabitants of Upper India who do not employ Urdu." Urdu, as already stated, has been returned as a generic term for the language of Musalmans in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and includes not only Urdu spoken by indigenous Musalmans and the Hindu immigrants from the north of India, but also Hindi and Bihari.

737. Rajasthani is a term applied to the language of Rajputana, and its most important dialect is Marwari. The latter is returned as the mother-tongue of 37,478 persons (19,145 in Bengal and 18,333* in Bihar and Orissa), all, needless to say, Marwari immigrants or their descendants. In Calcutta alone, where there is a wealthy and influential community of Marwari merchants, it is returned for 8,968 persons. There is a large increase over the figures of 1901 (10,625), which is partly due to greater immigration, for the number of persons born in Rajputana and enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has risen from 40,572 to 51,747. The greater part of the increase however is to be attributed to the greater accuracy of enumeration resulting from the revised instructions about the entry of languages.

738. Gujarati is shown as the speech of 7,382 or 3,014 more than in 1901. All of these are immigrants, except 282 persons in Midnapore called Siyalpur, who speak a corrupt form of Gujarati called Siyalpur. They are a small community with criminal propensities, which are probably an hereditary legacy. They seem to have migrated to their present home about 150 years ago, and were probably camp-followers of the Marathas. Their vernacular, which is derived from a dialect closely related to Gujarati Bhili, shows that they came from Western India, probably from the border districts between Central India, Rajputana and Bombay, which are the habitat of Bhili tribes.

Rajputani appears in the returns as the language of 6,595 persons. These are immigrants from the Punjab, who come to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, leaving their wives at home: there are approximately ten males among them to every female. Half of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.

739. Banjari, or as it is sometimes called Labhani, is one of the Bhili dialects, which is spoken by the Banjaras, a well-known tribe of grain and salt carriers in Central India. At this census 6,804 Banjaras were enumerated in Sambalpur and the Orissa Feudatory States, but the number who returned Banjari as their language was only 5,747. They are not found outside this area, but apparently they formerly penetrated to Bihar, for there is a reference to them in the *Rivaz-us-Salatin*, in which it is stated that Ali Vardi Khan sent an expedition under a Rohilla Afghan named Abdul Karim Khan (who is described as the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga) "against the Banjara tribe, who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. Abdul Karim Khan, subduing the Banjara tribe, gained a large booty."

740. Eastern Pahari is the name given in the Linguistic Survey to Naipali, or as it is sometimes called Khaskura, though the latter designation is not usually employed by the Nepalese themselves in this part of India. It is the *lingua franca* of the Nepalese, being the language of the Hindu castes and also a vernacular spoken by those tribes who have a tribal language of their own. They speak the latter among themselves, but Naipali in their intercourse with others. At this census it was returned

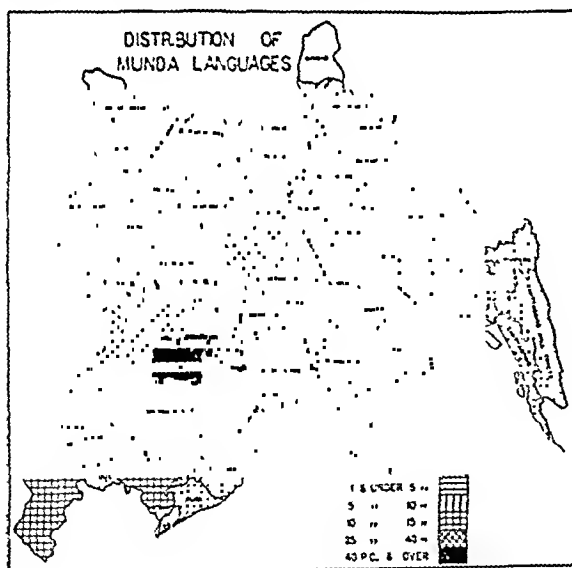
LOCALITY.	1911.	1901.	Increase per cent.
Darjeeling	...	56,768	25
Rajpurn	...	32,356	184
Bikini	...	28,078	19,836
	...	11,403	45,320
	...	15,836	77

*Including 26 persons in Monghyr, whose language was entered as Jaintia.

by 121,587 persons, viz., 90,811 in Bengal, 28,078 in Sikkim and 2,625 in Bihar and Orissa. The remarkable increase which, as shown in the margin, has taken place since 1901 in Jalpaiguri is due mainly to the fresh influx of immigrants from Nepal; the number of those born in Nepal and enumerated in the district has risen from 19,000 to 31,000. In Darjeeling some of the increase may perhaps be due to tribal languages being abandoned, but the greater part must be attributed to the change in the instructions about language, which made it clear to the enumerators that the mother-tongue was to be entered in the schedules. In Sikkim the growth must be ascribed largely to the present census having been more complete than its predecessors, as a result of which an addition of 49 per cent. in the general population of the State is now recorded: the proportion of Naipali speakers to the total population, viz., one-third, is the same as it was ten years ago. Two-thirds of the persons in Bihar and Orissa whose language was returned as Naipali are inhabitants of the frontier districts of Bhagalpur and Champaran. In Bhagalpur the number has risen from 523 to 1,395; the latter figure agrees very closely with that returned in 1891, viz., 1,171. In Champaran, on the other hand, the number has fallen from 7,231 to 515. The decrease is extraordinary, but I can offer no explanation for it.

711. The languages of the North-Western group are represented only by Sindhi and Kachchhi, which were returned for a small number of immigrants, viz., 113 speakers of Sindhi and 113 of Kachchhi. Marathi, which belongs to the Southern group, is more strongly represented, being returned by 3,756 persons.

712. The Austro-Asiatic family is divided into two sub-families called Mon-Khmer and Munda. The former is represented by only 70 speakers of Khasi, whereas the latter has 3½ million speakers. The great majority speak the language designated Kherwari by Sir G. A. Grierson, to whom we



owe the discovery that Santali, Mundari, Bhumij, Birhar, Koda, Ho, Turi, Asuri, Agaria and Korwa are not separate languages, but closely connected dialects of one and the same language. These dialects are spoken mainly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and in a few outlying districts, as well as by emigrants to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling or to the Barind in Dinajpur and Malda. The other languages of this sub-family are Kharia and Juang, which are also current in the same area. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the Munda languages are

spoken by one-fifth of the total population, the highest proportion being reached in Singhbhum (60 per cent.), the home of the Hos. Then come the Sonthal Pargauas (37 per cent.), which is one of the main centres of the Santals, and Ranchi (30 per cent.), where Mundas and Kharias are in greatest strength. Outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau the Munda languages are most commonly spoken in the adjoining district of Bankura (9 per cent.), where there is a strong Santal community, and in Dinajpur (7 per cent.), where the Santals are settling in the Barind.

743. Santali is by far the most widely spoken of all these dialects, being the speech of over 2 millions of people. The actual increase since 1901 represents 18 per cent., whereas

the Santal community has grown by 13 per cent. Under this head are classified Mahli and Karnali, which are dialects of the main language. Over one-third of the speakers of Santali (as distinct from Karnali and Mahli) are found in the South Parganas, while Manbhum and the Orissa Feudatory States each account for one-sixth of the total number; outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau over 156,000 are found in Midnapore, 114,000 in Dinajpur and nearly 100,000 in Bankura. There appear to be no signs of the Santals abandoning their language, for Santali has been returned by no less than 96 per cent. of the tribe.

The ease is different with the speakers of Karnali. For though 21,842 persons returned their caste as Karnali in Bihar and Orissa, only one-third spoke that sub-dialect. The Karnalis are an aboriginal caste of iron-smelters and black-smiths found mainly in the South Parganas and Hazaribagh. Mahli also appears to be dying out, there being 25,000 speakers of it who represent under one-third of the tribe: 15,000 of these are inhabitants of the South Parganas.

741. Mundari is spoken by a little over half a million or one-fourth of the number that speak Santali. The greater number of persons whose speech is Mundari are found in Ranchi, where the total is 350,000; Singhbhum and the Orissa States account for another 100,000. Among the Mundas, as among the Santals, there appears to be no defection from the tribal language, which is spoken by 94 per cent. of the race. The number of Mundari speakers has increased by no less than 30 per cent. since 1901, owing mainly to the secession of Mundas caused by the transfer of Sambalpur and five Feudatory States from the Central Provinces. A part of the increase is also accounted for by a number of persons being classified as speakers of Mundari who were grouped with the Hos at the previous census.

745. Ho is far more centralized than Santali, being practically confined to Singhbhum, the two adjoining States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, and the Orissa States. Singhbhum alone contains two-thirds of the total number, while in the Orissa States they are mainly found in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, of which the border narveses with Singhbhum. The Hos have retained their language to a remarkable degree, the actual number of speakers (420,000) falling short of the number belonging to the tribe by less than 2,000.

746. The Bhumi, on the other hand, have to a very large extent given up their own language, only 35 per cent. of them speaking it. The number returning it as their mother-tongue has risen since 1901 by 19,000 or 20 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, but has fallen by 3,000 or 13 per cent. in Bengal. The majority of the Bhumi in the latter province are inhabitants of Midnapore, where they have adopted the language of their Bengali neighbours: only one-third of them still speak their own language. In Bihar and Orissa the Bhumi are found in greatest strength in Manbhum, which contains 116,000 of them. Here less than 7,000 or 6 per cent. speak Bhumi, but this is an improvement on 1901, when barely 2 per cent. returned Bhumi as their language. Commenting on this result, Mr. Coupland, formerly Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, writes:—"The small number of persons speaking Bhumi is perhaps partly accounted for by the fact that the Bhumi of Eastern Barabhum at any rate, and probably of a larger area, profess Bengali as their mother-tongue, though they speak freely with their Santal neighbours in so-called Santali, which a closer examination by an expert would probably show to be a survival of their own original dialect. The aspirations of the upper grades of Bhumi to take position as Rajputs and the general spread of Hindu religious ideas among them, no doubt, account largely for the extent to which they have given up their own language for Bengali." In Singhbhum the adoption of Bengali has not proceeded so far, for 35,000 out of 52,000 Bhumi returned their ancestral language as their mother-tongue.

747. The most widely spoken of the other Kherwari dialects is Kora (or Koda or Kuda) which is returned as the speech of 24,000 persons. Considerable difficulty was experienced over the entries of Kora, especially in the Orissa States where it is called Kuda or Kura; for, in addition to being the name of a tribe, it is used as a generic name for earth workers, who call their language as well as their caste Kora. In Sambalpur and some of the adjoining States, such as Rairakhol and Brama, the Kisans, who speak a corrupt form of Oraon, call themselves Kuda or Kura: in their case, therefore, the language returned as Kuda is Oraon. In Pal Lahara and Sonpur the Koda language is also corrupt Oraon: the speakers in the former calling themselves Kisan, or Koda, or Dhangar Koda. In Mayurbhanj however it is Mundari, and in Nilgiri it is reported to be really Santali, the speakers calling themselves Matia or Kuda. Special care was taken to classify the entries of Kuda or Koda in the Orissa States under their proper head both for caste and language; but it is not certain that there has been the same accuracy in other places, where the Koras are immigrants among a foreign population, and it is consequently not so easy to obtain reliable information about them. The discrepancy between the number of Koras (95,480) and the number speaking the Kora dialect (24,035) is therefore probably not so great as would appear at first sight, as the name Kora is commonly used by various castes of earth-workers who do not belong to the Kora tribe or speak their language.

748. The other Kherwar dialects are numerically insignificant, aggregating only 21,832, as shewn in the margin. Agaria has practically disappeared, for only four per mille of the tribe still speak it. Turi again is spoken by only one-tenth of the Turis,

			1911.	1901.
Agaria	...	...	112	323
Asuri	...	...	4,006	3,126
Birhar	...	...	1,038	526
Birjia	...	...	1,323	1,377
Korwa	...	...	8,904	15,882
Singli	...	...	1,614	173
Turi	...	...	6,449	3,220

but Asuri and Birjia hold their own: Birjia is a sub-dialect of Asuri. Half the Birhors speak Birhar (or Birhor), while two-fifths of the Korwas are true to the speech of their forefathers. The decrease shown against the latter language is due to the transfer to the Central Provinces of Jashpur and other States in which the wilder Korwas live. Singli, which is shown separately, is said to be a form of Korwa. The revised instructions about the mother-tongue being spoken must be held responsible for the increase among the Turis, the whole of which has occurred in Ranahi and North Bengal, notably in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri.

749. Juang is the language of the primitive tribe of the same name, so primitive, indeed, that they had no knowledge of the metals until the 19th century, while their women wore only leaves till 1871 when they were first clothed by order of the Government. They number 12,480, nearly all residents of the Orissa States, and Juang is spoken by 12,313.

Kharia is fairly widely diffused. It is spoken mainly in Ranchi and the Orissa States, but Kharia colonies are also found in Sambalpur and the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri. The number of persons speaking this language has risen by 34,000 or 43 per cent. since 1901, owing to the addition of Sambalpur and the adjoining Feudatory States.

750. The languages of the Dravidian family are spoken by 918,000 persons and belong for the most part to the Dravida group, which comprises the indigenous languages of Oraon, Malto and Malhar, and also Tamil, which is spoken by immigrants from Madras. Oraon is the language of 677,000 persons, of whom 559,000 were enumerated in Bihar and Orissa, and 117,000 in Bengal. In the former province the language is chiefly spoken in the Chota

Nagpur Plateau, notably in Kanchi, which contains 358,000 Oron speakers.

The Orons however are a pioneer race, who are found far afield. "Labour is the birthright of the pure Dravidian; whether hoeing tea in Assam, the Dyaks or Ceylon, cutting rice in the swamps of Eastern Bengal, or doing scavenger's work in the streets of Calcutta, Kangoo and Singapore, he is recognizable at a glance by his black skin, his squat figure and the negro-like proportions of his nose." It is this pioneer spirit which accounts for their presence in districts so far from their homes as Burma, the 24-Parganas, Kanchi, Bhaupur and Jalpaiguri; over 58,000 speakers of Oron were enumerated in the district last named, where they furnish a large proportion of the labour force on the tea gardens. The number speaking the language has risen by 24½ per cent. since 1901, and now constitutes nine-tenths of the tribe.

751. Kisan was returned as their language by 1,547 persons in Sambhapur and the Orissa States, and by 191 labourers in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri. It was classified as

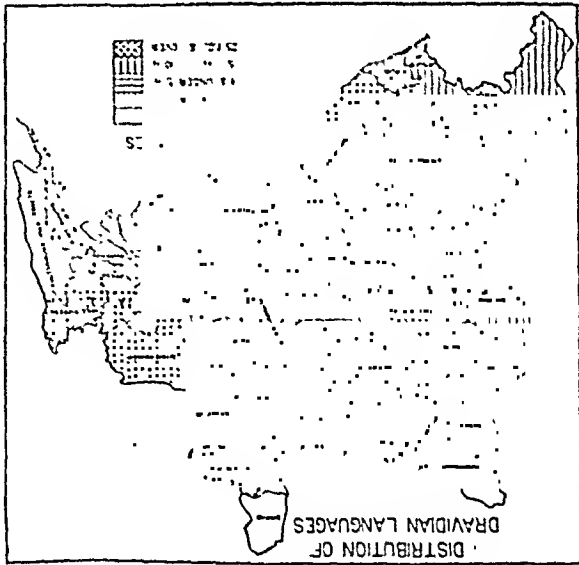
Oron, inquiry having shown that it was a corrupt form of that language. In Sambhapur and the Orissa States the Kisans, who are also called Kura or Kora, are very possibly an offshoot of the Orons, early settlers in the country, whose language has been affected by intercourse with the Oriyas. They now form a distinct caste, and will neither marry with the Orons nor eat rice in their houses.

752. Malto is the language of the Maler or Sauria Palharas, a Dravidian tribe of the Santal Parganas. Their total strength is 64,861, and the number returned as speaking Malto is 11 more. The difference is due to the fact that a certain number of Mal Palharas also returned their language as Alato. The results now obtained are somewhat different from those of 1901, when there were only 48,270 Maler or Sauria Palharas, but the language returns showed 60,777 speakers of Alato. The census of the Sauria Palharas in that year was however defective, and there appears to have been some confusion between Malto and the

Malhar is the language of the small Malhar community found mainly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. It was returned by only 236 persons. Tamil has 3,354 representatives among immigrants from Madras.

753. The Gond language is fast disappearing, as the Gonds have become Hinduized and adopted the Aryan languages of their neighbours. It now appears in the returns as the language of only 4,221 persons, though the Gonds themselves have a strength of 236,000; in other words, only one out of every 50 Gonds speaks his own language. Those who still retain it are practically confined to the Orissa States.

754. Two languages of the Andhra group of the Dravidian family are spoken in Bengal. Bihari and Orissa, viz., Kandi (or Kui) and Telugu. Kandi is the language of the aboriginal Kandhs (who are generally called Khonds), while Kui is their own name for themselves. The number returned as speaking Kandi has risen since 1901 from 55,655 to 136,711, owing mainly



to the transfer from the Central Provinces of the State of Kalahandi, in which there are 67,274 speakers of Kandh. This State, the State of Daspalla and the district of Angul are the chief centres of the Kandh language, and elsewhere it has fallen into desuetude. The marginal statement sufficiently illustrates the extent where it has fallen to which it has lost ground in some places, whereas it has more or less held its ground in the three localities first mentioned. The Kandhs of Angul are inhabitants of the Khondinals, one of the two subdivisions of that district, which is practically a reserve for them, so that they have maintained their tribal polity, their purity of race, their primitive religion and their tribal language more or less intact. In Kalahandi only one section of

DISTRICT OR STATE.	NUMBER OF—	
	Kandhs.	Kandh speakers.
Angul	52,934	51,053
Kalahandi	110,458	67,275
Daspalla	13,499	10,480
Patna	45,440	47
Baud	18,136	177
Bamra	7,333	46

the Kandhs retains the language. They live in the almost inaccessible hill tracts of this State, and still practise the nomadic form of cultivation called *jhum*. They have different dialects corresponding to the dialects spoken in Gumsur and Kiuvedi, and in many cases interspersed with Telugu. These Kandhs call themselves Paharia or Dangria Kandhs, whereas the other Kandhs, who have settled down in the more open country and taken to regular cultivation, are known as Kachharia Kandhs. They are more and more assimilating Hindu customs, no longer eat, drink or intermarry with their brethren of the hills, and have dropped their own language and speak Oriya.*

755. The number of persons speaking Telugu was 18,680 in 1901, but has now risen to 31,463, of whom 10,683 were enumerated in Bengal and 20,780 in Bihar and Orissa. The increase is due simply to the greater influx of immigrants. In the 24-Parganas alone the number of Telugu speakers has risen from 294 to 5,154 owing to the attraction of labour to the mills: over 3,000 were operatives from Ganjam and Vizagapatam employed in the mills at Titagarh. The greater number of the Telugus in Bihar and Orissa were enumerated in the districts and States of Orissa, between which and the northern districts of Madras there is regular intercourse.

756. The languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family, which are classified under the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, are spoken in Bengal by 446,000 persons or 1 per cent. of the total population. They are also spoken by 59,000 persons in Sikkim, where they constitute two-thirds of the population. The languages of this family in Sikkim and the British districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri belong to the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, and are spoken by the Bhotias, Lepchas and Nepalese hill races.

This branch is divided into three groups, of which the first is the Tibetan group, under which four languages are classified, viz., the Bhotia of Tibet, Sharpa Bhotia, the Bhotia of Sikkim (or Denjongke) and the Bhotia of Bhutan (Lhoke). The names show that the

TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH.
TIBETAN GROUP—
BHOTIA.

Bhotia languages differ according as they are spoken in Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and Eastern Nepal, Sharpa being a name meaning "eastern" which is applied to those Bhotias who have migrated from Tibet and settled in the east of Nepal. The total number of persons speaking Bhotia languages at this census is 26,494, of whom 12,433 were enumerated in Sikkim and nearly all the remainder in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. The aggregate has increased by 4,000 since 1901, the result of increased immigration. The number speaking each language is—Sharpa Bhotia 5,795, Bhotia of Sikkim 11,562, Bhotia of Bhutan 3,993 and Bhotia of Tibet 5,144. The last heading also includes all entries of Bhotia in which there was no specification of country, and in which reference to the entry of caste or tribe gave no clue to their character.

757. The group mentioned in the margin includes Lepcha and the languages of several Nepalese tribes or castes, viz., Gurung, Murmi, Sunuwar, Mangar and Newari, besides Toto. The comparative statement in the

NON-PRONOMINALIZED
HIMALAYAN GROUP.

mingin shows the number of persons speaking each of those languages at this and the last census. It is said that when a Nephali knows Nepali as well as his tribal language, he is allowed to return the former. On the other hand, the revised instructions about the entry of language should *à priori* have resulted, as elsewhere, in a larger number of persons returning the tribal language. It is impossible to say how much affect those two factors had, and whether one counter-balanced or outweighed the other; but I am inclined to believe that

[illegible]

the tendency to retain *ṣam-pa* was only slightly checked by the orders on the subject. It is noticeable that there is a substantial increase only among the *Ṣhams*, while the number speaking *Le-pcha* has risen slightly, the increase being commensurate with the growth of the *Le-pcha* race. *Mangar* is stationary, but *Ṣewar*, *Ṣum-war* and *Ṣurning* have lost ground. The decrease in the number of *Ṣurning* speakers is especially noticeable. In 1901 barely two-fifths of them were faithful to their mother-tongue, but the proportion is now reduced to one-sixteenth, and in *Ṣikkin* only 22 out of 6,000 returned *Ṣurning* as their language. The returns for this language would in any case be small, as the *Ṣurnings* of Eastern *Nepal*, and their brethren in *Ṣikkin* and *Ṣarjeeling*, do not speak the language of the tribe to anything like the same extent as the *Ṣurnings* of Western *Nepal*. But the number is decreasing so rapidly, that it appears only a matter of time before it is abandoned altogether.

758. All the languages of this group that appear in the returns belong to the Eastern sub-group, viz., Limbu, Thami, Limbu and the Khamti languages, *etc.*, Yaka, Khamti and Thami, all of which are spoken in Sikkim, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.

Similar is by far the most widely spoken of all these languages, being Dayeeling and Japangut.

majority in Darjeeling) and 15,803 in Sikkim. It has been returned almost universally by the Shindars, there being only 4,161 who disclaimed the language. There were a few entries of Bhutnathi, Tolung, Lebovong, Chaurasya and Kutung, which are treated in the Linguistic Survey as dialects of Shindar. The names, however, are only designations of Shindar septa, and the return of caste was in most cases Shindar. Khambu has lost popularity as a name, and was returned by only 850 persons. As will be shown in Chapter XI, there is reason to believe that the Khambus and Shindars are of the same stock, Khambu being originally a tribal name and the Shindars a Hinduized section of the tribe.

The Linnus returned to the number of 22,389 out of a total of 25,166. The number of speakers is only 351 more than it was 10 years ago, whereas the Linnus have added over 2,000 to their numbers. Yakha is the mother-language of the small Yakha community, who are closely allied to the Linnus; it was returned by 1,335 persons or 26 more than the actual number of Yakhas. The difference is probably due to some Yakhas being returned as Indian Christians without specifying their caste. Linnal and Thant are numerically insignificant, being spoken only by 11 and 303 persons, respectively.

444 and 292 persons, respectively. The second branch of the Tibeto-Chinese family is designated Assam-Burmese, and consists of the Kodo and Burma groups, the languages appertaining to which are the subject-matter of the present chapter in the Assam-Burmese Branch.

spoken by 279,000 persons in the south-east of Bengal, chiefly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera. The number of their speakers has increased by 32,500 or 13 per cent. since 1901.

The most important language of the Bodo group is Tipura or Mung, which is the mother-tongue of the Mongolians, who are the Mungs of Arakan.

Bodo Group—
 Tivara or Munger.

a Mongolian race who are the Mings of Aikan

are found in Hill Tippera, and nearly all the remainder in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there being only small colonies in the adjoining districts of Tippera and Chittagong. The number of persons speaking Tipura (126,269) has risen by 21 per cent. during the last 10 years, owing to the growth of the tribe: only 3,756 failed to return Tipura as their language.

760. The Garo language is spoken by 38,773 persons, of whom 33,331 were enumerated in Mymensingh and 3,018 in Jalpaiguri. The home of the language is the Garo Hills, by which Mymensingh is bounded on the north. During the last 10 years the number of speakers has not altogether kept pace with the growth of the tribe, and the proportion of those who returned Garo as their mother-tongue to the number whose caste was entered as Garo has consequently fallen from 94 per cent. to 90 per cent.

761. The Koches of Bengal have with few exceptions abandoned their own language and speak Bengali. According to Sir G. A. Grierson—"There can be little doubt that the original Koches were the same as the Bodos, 'Koch,' 'Mech' and 'Bara' or 'Bodo' all connoted the same tribe, or, at most, different septa of the same tribe. This is well shown by the traditional origin of the Koch Kings from a Mech father and Koch mothers. In Assam the name 'Koch' is no longer that of a

tribe, but rather that of a Hindu caste, into which all converts from the different tribes—Kachari, Garo, Lalung, Mikir, etc.—are admitted on conversion. The case is very much the same in Bengal. The name 'Koch,' in fact, everywhere connotes a Hinduised Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and the ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. There is, however, in Dacca, the Garo Hills, and Goalpara a small body of people who are known as Koch or Pani Koch, who still speak a language belonging to the Bodo group, and are either amnistic or nominal Hindus." In Dacca 3,525 Koches entered their language as Koch, and 3,001 more are returned for Mymensingh. In the latter district Koch is spoken by a small community called Koch Mande, living in the Madhupur jungle, who are either a remnant of the Koch tribe or Garos with a slight veneer of Hinduism. The total number claiming to speak Koch has been reduced by half since 1901, though those who returned themselves as Koch by caste have an addition of 82 per cent.

762. The aggregate returned under this head is 21,726, while the number of the tribes or castes with whom it is a mother-tongue is 22,510, viz., 1,810 Kacharis and 20,730 Moches. The head-quarters of the language is the three central districts of Assam Valley, viz., Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup, and in Bengal it is practically confined to Jalpaiguri with its population of 20,173 Moches. The language has remained stationary since the last census, though the Moches have lost nearly 1,000, probably because on becoming Hinduised they have adopted some other name to conceal their origin.

Rabha is a language spoken by the Rabhas of Assam, where it is fast dying out. It was returned by only 701 persons in Jalpaiguri and Dacca.

763. The Kuki-Chin group is represented by six different languages, but by only 31,769 speakers. All are numerically insignificant, except Manipuri and Kuki. Manipuri is spoken almost to a man by the Manipuris of Hill Tippera, who on absorption into Hinduism have adopted the name of Kshattriya. Kuki is a term applied promiscuously to the hill races who do not understand Bengali in Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where also the speakers of the other languages are found.

764. The list of the groups of the Assam-Burmese branch is the Burma group, which is represented in Bengal by Burmese, and the allied language of Mru. The latter is returned by 11,281 persons, of whom all but 214 were enumerated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Burmese is now a wholly spoken language in

42,346 persons in that district, by 21,194 in Chittagong, by 8,701 in Backergunge and by 1,610 in Hill Tracts.

DISTRICT.	Number of Magh speakers.
Chittagong Hill	12,334
Chittagong	6,313
Hill Tracts	1,330
Backergunge	8,701
Saidpur	126
Dacca	33
Thakurga	1,278
No Magh	1

From Arakan, and others again of mixed birth. In Chittagong, for instance, there are three sections. One is an off-shoot of the Maghs of the Hill Tracts, who are called Jhumia Maghs from their nomadic system of cultivation; they speak Burmese and write it in a corrupt Burmese character. The Kiang Maghs, who are found in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, are the descendants of Arakanese immigrants. The earliest were refugees who fled to Chittagong at the close of the 13th century after the invasion and conquest of Arakan by the Burmese. A later body sought British protection shortly before the first Burmese war in 1821. The name Kiang is merely a corruption of Rakhaing, the indigenous name for Arakan. Their language and their names are Burmese; their religion is Buddhism; they do not, as a rule, understand Bengali, and never speak it among themselves. Both the Jhumia and the Kiang Maghs probably belong to the same original stock, but the former, having long been settled in Chittagong and the hill country to the east, regard themselves as autochthonous, while the latter belong to a more recent stream of immigrants from Arakan. The physical characteristics of both are unmistakably Mongolian. Their stature is low, the face broad and flat, the cheek-bones high and wide, the nose flat and bridgeless, and the eyes small with eyelids obliquely set. The Rajbanshi or Bansa Maghs are the offspring of Bengali women by Burmese men or, more generally, of Arakanese mothers by Bengali fathers. They have intermarried for generations with Bengalis, speak only Bengali, and are in fact Bengalis in all but their religion, which is Buddhism.

DIALLECTS.

765. There is a tendency among educated Indian gentlemen who have made a study of languages to reject the distinctions recognized by the Linguistic Survey. Objections are chiefly raised to the differentiation of dialects and sub-dialects, on the ground that they are based on variations in vocabulary rather than in grammar. The dialects, and even more the sub-dialects, are, it is stated, in some cases nothing but variants of the main language as spoken by different classes, castes or tribes, or in different localities. The general opinion is that the variations must be very marked, and that they must include changes in grammatical form, before they have a right to be classed as dialects. The language of the villager differs from that of the townsman, the patois of the ignorant peasant from the pure diction of the educated scholar, and there are also variations in different parts of the country; but mere provincialisms or differences of pronunciation or vocabulary are, it is urged, not a sufficient criterion for demarcation into dialects or sub-dialects. On this point I may be permitted to quote from a report by Baba Manmatha Nath Sen, District Census Officer at Samnabpur, and afterwards Deputy Superintendent of Census in charge of the Central Office at Cuttack, whose remarks refer primarily to the treatment of Bihari, Khasi and Jharkha as dialects of Chhatisgarhi or Laria in the Linguistic Survey. It should be added, however, that though classed as dialects in the Survey, it is stated that they are "rather jargons than dialects, and that the correctness of

the Chhattisgarhi depends a great deal on the personal equation of the speakers." Apart from this question, his note is of interest as throwing light on the mutual intelligibility of dialects, and also on their local and social distribution in an area where numerous different languages are current.

" Bhulia, Binjhari or Binjhali and Kalanga have been shewn separately as forms of Laria or Chhattisgarhi. But they are nothing more than Laria or Chhattisgarhi, intermixed to a more or less extent with Oriya and other neighbouring languages. The castes speaking Laria, in some cases, differ slightly in their dialect: for instance, Laria spoken by a Mali will slightly differ from that spoken by a Teli, and both from Laria as spoken in Chhattisgarh; but a little investigation shows that the differences in these cases, as well as in the case of Bhulia, Binjhari, etc., are dependent on the degree to which the speakers have been exposed to the influence of Oriya or other languages, and are not such as to entitle them to separate entry in a family of languages. If they are to be shewn separately, Oriya as spoken in Sambalpur should also be shown separately, as Sambalpuri Oriya also differs, to the same extent, if not more, from the pure form of the tongue as spoken in the heart of Orissa.

" While in Sambalpur I collected specimens of Laria spoken by several castes and compared them, so as to ascertain how far the form of speech differed on account of the difference in caste, and found that each differed from the other to some extent. A careful observer, when once versed in these differences, can at once detect the caste. The difference between these forms of speech are however not greater than the difference in Oriya as spoken by a man of Cuttack. There is a good deal of difference in the pronunciation and vocabulary of the Cuttack Oriya and Sambalpuri Oriya, the latter having absorbed many Hindi words. There are also differences in minor points of grammatical structure, e.g., a Sambalpuri will place a negative before the verb and in Cuttack after it. The verbs, too, take more shortened forms in Sambalpuri Oriya than in Cuttack Oriya, e.g., where a man of Cuttack will say *karuchanti*, the Sambalpur man will say *karuchan* and, in a more vulgar form of speech, *karsan*. Still a Sambalpuri will make himself intelligible to a Cuttack man. The difference in the pronunciation of the common people even in Cuttack and Puri is so marked, that one can at once detect it. There are also diversities—though of a minor nature—in the speech of people living in urban and rural areas, and in the language of men and women in the same area. To quote examples, the townsmen of Cuttack will pronounce *r* in place of *l*, saying *hara* instead of *hala* (plough). Again, a man of Sambalpur or Cuttack will use the word *karuchhi* for 'am doing,' while a woman of Sambalpur will say *karsin* and a woman of Cuttack *karuchi*."

As regards other languages and dialects, it may be pointed out that the difference between Chhattisgarhi and the other two dialects of Eastern Hindi, Bagheli and Awadhi is not great. For instance, *is*, the termination of the past tense (e.g., *kahis*, he said; *maris*, he struck), which is what everybody notices in Chhattisgarhi, is "the typical shibboleth" of a speaker of Eastern Hindi, and is commonly heard in Calcutta among servants belonging to Oudh. Sir G. A. Grierson is, indeed, of opinion that if a Chhattisgarhi speaker was set down in Oudh, he would find himself at home with the language of the locality in a week.

766. Instances of tribes being bilingual are frequent. The Nepalese tribes, some of which are crystallizing into castes, are generally bilingual, speaking Naipali (or Khaskura), the *lingua franca* of the Nepalese, in their intercourse with others, but using only the tribal language among themselves. To this rule the Gurungs are a notable exception, only one in every sixteen speaking the Gurung tongue. In Western Nepal, it is true, the Gurungs are acquainted with the tribal language, but in Darjeeling and Sikkim the Gurungs are immigrants from Eastern Nepal, where the great majority speak only Khaskura. The Nepalese castes, as distinct from tribes, have no language, however, but Naipali :

curiously enough, the language as spoken by the Kamis, a low blacksmith caste, is regarded as a well of Naipahi pure and undiluted. The Munda and Dravidian races are also more or less bilingual in districts where they live side by side with Hindus speaking Aryan languages. This is particularly the case in border districts, such as Manbhum. There, writes Mr. H. Coupland, formerly Deputy Commissioner, "the members of the aboriginal tribes are to a large extent polyglot, speaking Bengali or Hindi, usually the former, in addition to their own dialect even where, as in the case of the Santals, they are a sufficiently numerous community to force a knowledge of their own language on their neighbours, and on the courts and offices with whom they come into contact." The same phenomenon is observable in Sambalpur and the eastern States of Orissa. Some races, such as the Mundas and Oraons, stick tenaciously to their language, but in speaking with their Hindu neighbours use the vernacular current in the district or State. For this feature the prescription of an Aryan language as the language of the Courts is partly responsible, but even more the necessities of commercial and social life in areas where there is a mixed population.

767. In the Bengal Census Report of 1901 it was stated: "The gradual disappearance of the non-Aryan dialects is only a matter of time. Even now it is only in the remotest tracts, and in the less accessible and inhospitable hills, that they still flourish. The process of absorption will doubtless go on with increasing rapidity, as communications begin to improve and intercourse with the outside world becomes more and more continuous." From the preceding account it will have been seen that this process is going on among some of the Nepalese tribes, notably the Newars, Simuwars and Gurungs, but that others, such as the Mundas and Murmis, and also the Lepchas, show no tendency to give up their language in favour of the *lingua franca* of Naipahi. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau some races, such as the Gonds and Bhumi, have practically abandoned their language, and the Kandhs appear to have followed their example in tracts where they have come into contact with communities speaking Aryan languages. On the other hand, they show no inclination to do so in localities where they are more or less in isolation, such as Angul and the hill tracts of the Kalahandi State. On the whole, however, the figures of this census show no signs of the non-Aryan language falling into desuetude in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, even though that tract is being largely opened up and its people brought into contact with Aryan-speaking races. Even among the Bhumi of Bihar and Orissa, among whom one might expect the process to be accelerated, the proportion of persons speaking Bhumi has increased from 35 to 39 per cent. The marginal figures for five of the chief tribes having Munda or Dravidian languages, or dialects, and numbering in all 4 millions, indicate that, so far from deserting their own language, they are clinging to it. There is in all cases an increase in the relative number of those retaining their forefathers' speech, which is largely, no doubt, due to the revised instructions regarding the entry of languages. Even after allowing for this, the increased proportion is very noticeable when it is remembered that these races are spreading over the country away from their native homes, where they are more likely to adopt the language of Aryan communities or to enter the latter in the schools because they have to speak it to the people round them: about one-third of the Santals, over one-third of the Oraons and one-eighth of the Mundas were enumerated in Bengal.

THE PERCENT OF NON-ARYAN LANGUAGES.

Tribes		1911.	1901.
No.	...	23	25
Kandhs	...	20	22
Munda	...	21	23
Gondal	...	22	24
Oraon	...	20	23

768. At the same time, there can be no doubt that absorption into Hinduisim often leads to partial defection from the tribal language. The figures in the

margin give, for 16 Munda and Dravidian tribes in Bihar and Orissa, a

TRIBE.	HINDU.		ANIMIST.	
	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.
	Number speaking tribal language.	Total number.	Number speaking tribal language.	Total number.
Asuri ...	205	333	2,727	3,092
Bhumij ...	62,719	268,025	5,831	6,617
Birhor ...	162	1,387	551	923
Gond ...	3,391	205,815	218	25,856
Hos ...	57,931	60,406	257,481	254,815
Juang ...	1,175	1,310	11,138	11,530
Kandh (Khond) ...	13,430	135,831	123,278	167,019
Karmil ...	2,711	16,341	1,414	5,391
Kharia ...	21,825	37,887	26,692	67,585
Kora ...	3,741	11,568	336	7,115
Korwa ...	3,602	7,300	5,103	6,231
Mundari ...	71,883	88,810	318,885	321,600
Oraon ...	11,833	52,184	113,144	122,191
Santal ...	252,614	271,280	1,127,564	1,125,170
Sauria Paharia or Maier ...	3,709	5,517	57,162	57,219
Turi ...	1,283	44,513	1,415	2,866

comparative statement of the number of persons returned as Hindus and Animists that speak the tribal language. While religion appears to make little difference in some cases, *e.g.*, among Santals and Hos, probably because their Hinduization is only skin-deep, it does make a great difference in the case of others, such as Bhumij, Birhors, Kandhs, Karmalis, Kharias, Korwas, Mundas, Oraons and Turis, among whom the proportion is much higher among Animists than among Hindus.

The extent to which the aboriginals adopt the garb of Hinduism, and with it the language of the Hindus, depends a good deal on their

relative strength in areas where there is a mixed population. The Gonds, for instance, were a dominant race, who became feudal lords of the Brahmans and other Hindu castes. The subject races raised no objection to the Gonds entering the fold of Hinduism, and as the Gonds gradually absorbed the religion and customs of the Hindus, Oriya displaced Gond. The position of the aboriginals and the Hindus is now reversed. The caste system is rigid, and the aboriginals being in a minority are regarded as pariahs: they are contemptuously referred to as among the unclean helot races, *e.g.*, 'Ganda, Ghasi, Kol, Kharia.' There is no inclination on the part of the Oriya Hindus to welcome them in their circle, and the aboriginals are forced to live in their own settlements and be content with their own society. In such circumstances, they naturally cling to their own language and their distinctive customs. It is only in the neighbourhood of towns, where they come into close contact with the Hindus, that Oriya displaces the non-Aryan tongue. On the other hand, where the aboriginals form a majority and are landed proprietors, as in Ranchi, they are not regarded with contempt. A minority can with difficulty ostracize a majority, and consequently it is easy to obtain admission in the ranks of Hindus, and thereby win the respectability attaching to the religion of a more civilized community.

769. In many parts there are traces in the local toponomy of the influence of languages which are no longer spoken by the people. Legends of the presence, or even the rule, of the races that spoke such languages persist, and tradition ascribes various remains to them. This is especially the case with districts adjoining or near to the Chota Nagpur Plateau, such as Gaya and Shahabad. In the former the remains of rude forts in the south of the district are ascribed to the Kols: even at the foot of Pretsila, a sacred hill near the town of Gaya, rude stone circles are said to be their work. Shahabad, according to local tradition, was held by Cheros who were eventually conquered by Savars or Suirs, a generic name for hill races; while the traditions of the Oraons relate that they held the fort of Rohtasgarh till ousted by the Hindus. In these two districts several names of places or rivers may be identified with Kolarian or Dravidian names, though they are often so corrupted or transformed that their origin is not apparent. Many more have disappeared altogether owing to their displacement by Aryan names. Even in Ranchi, with its large Munda population, Mundari names are apt to disappear, as Aryan names with the same meaning are adopted in their place, *e.g.*, the Bihari name for "the village of the fig-tree" is substituted for the Mundari designation. The old names have been kept in the settlement records, but whether that will preserve them in popular parlance is doubtful.

770. To give a few instances of Kolarian and Dravidian names in localities on the southern fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where Bihari is now the

universal language, a person travelling along the Grand Trunk Road to Gaya, halts at the dark bungalow of Dhuri in Hazaribagh close to the border of the district: this means the village of the fig-tree, *dumbur* being the Dravidian designation for a fig-tree. Further along, in the district of Gaya, he comes to the picturesque village of Kalmadag, which is a Kolarian name, *dag* being a corruption of *da* a meaning water. The river Damodar has the same derivation, being a duplication of *da* (water) and *odar* (water). Another march further up the Grand Trunk Road is the village of Shergahat, which now bears a Hindustani name but contains an old fort said to have been built by the Kol Rajas. In this district there are several other places of which the names are undoubted Kolarian, e.g., the *purgam* of Kumtuba and the village of Pachamba in the south-east of the Nawada subdivision; the ending *mba* is frequently found in Oran village names, its meaning being a spring of water. Pachamba means an old spring; Kumtuba is very possibly a corruption of Kumbha meaning the foul spring.* There are similar traces of Dravidian names in Orissa. To mention one common instance, *pada* (and the Bengali *para*) is a non-Aryan word meaning village, which is found as the termination of many place names, e.g., Kendrapada in Balasore, Bapatada in Mayurbhanj, Charapada in Cuttack, etc. Further inland, in Sambalpur and the adjoining Feudatory States, there are many place names of non-Aryan origin, of which Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has given the following account:—"We meet with a large number of such geographical names, as Bah-Munda, Munda-mahal, Munder, Ura (ata)-bira, Kutha-bira, and many other names of Munda origin; and also many such geographical names of other non-Aryan origin, as Gufa (meaning hill, the name of a particular hill about 10 miles north-west of Sambalpur), Sir-Gufa (the name of a State to the west of Lohardaga), Bhogen (the name of a river as well as of a zamindari in Sambalpur), Sir-tirid (the name of a village), Jhar-Sir-tirid (Jharsuguda railway station), Loi-Ra, Loi-Sing and so forth. The Kauli name for a river has been retained even in the name of the river Kajuri which is far away from Sambalpur and flows past Cuttack. Many old geographical names have been Hindused, but in many cases the history of the names have not been obliterated.... According to the mythology of the Gonds, their principal god Lingo had his seat on the west in the Central Provinces. Wherever the Gonds moved and made their colony, they consecrated a hill in the name of Lingo and named the hill as Bāro-pāhar. Thus it is that we have got a Bāro-pāhar range in Bargarh subdivision of the district of Sambalpur. The Gonds invariably named some hills and forests in their new settlement after the sacred geographical names of their old home."†

771. To turn to a different locality, the names of places, hills, rivers, etc., in the Darjeeling district frequently furnish evidence of the presence of the Lepchas or Bhodias, though they are greatly corrupted by the Nepalese, who are almost as bad linguists as the English. Other names have been transformed by the Bengalis, e.g., Mahanadi is a corruption of Mahadi, a Lepcha name meaning the winding river. In some cases the original name has been almost or altogether lost. The name Jaldhaka, for example, is now commonly used instead of Dichehu, which is merely a word of dual origin meaning water; *di* is a Bodo, and *chlu* a Bhoria word for water. It is possible that the root of the name Tista is also *di*, but Hindi scholars have derived it from *tristota*, i.e., three currents. The Bhodia name for this latter river is Tsangg-chhin or the pure water, while the Lepchas call it the Rangnyung or the great straight-going water.

* F. Hahn, *Dravidian and Kolarian Place Names*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, 1903.
† B. C. Mazumdar, *Soupur in the Sambalpur Tract* (1911), pp. 18—20.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution of Total Population by Language (According to Census).

LANGUAGE	BENGAL.				BIHAR AND ORISSA.			
	Total number of speakers 000's omitted.		Number per mille of population of Province (1911).	Where chiefly spoken.	Total number of speakers 000's omitted.		Number per mille of population of Province (1911).	Where chiefly spoken.
	1911.	1901.			1911.	1901.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I. LANGUAGES OF INDIA ... 46,253 42,834 998·8 38,426 35,540 999·7								
A. INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY ... 44,904 41,768 969·3 35,031 32,734 912·7								
Aryan sub-family— Indian Branch— Sanskritic sub-Branch—								
1. Eastern Group— Hindustani and Urdu*	1,917	1,487	41·4	Who's Province.	24,233	23,293	645·7	Bihar and Chota Nagpur
Bengali	42,366	39,574	912·3	Who's Province.	2,235	1,329	35·7	Purnea and Maunbhum
Oriya	224	341	6·4	Midnapore.	7,570	5,662	203·5	Orissa.
2. Northern Group— Naipali (Khasakura)	91	57	1·9	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.	3	8	·07	Bihar and Chota Nagpur
3. Western Group— Marwari (Rajasthani)	19	2	·4	Whole Province.	13	9	·3	Whole Province.
Others	17	7	·4	.....	12		·3	
B. AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY ... 771 671 16·6 2,559 2,210 66·6								
Munda sub-family—								
Mundari	50	32	1	North Bengal.	475	371	12·4	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
Santal	683	491	14·4	West and North Bengal.	1,419	1,270	38·9	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
Bhumij	21	24	·5	West and North Bengal.	108	87	2·7	Singbhum and Orissa States.
Ho	4	3	·03	Dinapore and Jalpaiguri.	417	387	10·8	Singbhum and Orissa States.
Kharai	6	4	·1	Jalpaiguri.	107	75	2·8	Ranchi and Orissa States.
Others	55	19	·5	.....	55	40	·9	
C. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY ... 133 88 2·8 785 595 20·4								
1. Dravida Group— Oran o Kurukh	117	62	2·5	North Bengal.	559	461	14·5	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
Malto	2	1	·04	Murshidabad.	63	60	1·6	South Parganas.
2. Andhra Group— Kandh or Kul ... ..	...	...	...	.....	137	55	3·6	Angul and Orissa States.
Others	14	5	·3	.....	15	19	·7	
D. TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY ... 446 407 9·6 1 5 ·003								
Tibeto-Burman sub-family—								
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch—								
1. Tibetan Group— Bhotia	14	14	·3	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.	·07	·05	·002	North Bihar.
2. Non-pronominalized Himalayan Group— Murmuri	29	27	·6	Darjeeling.	·02	·2	·0007	North Bihar.
Mangar	14	14	·3	Darjeeling.				
3. Pronominalized Himalayan Group— Jimalar	39	34	·8	Darjeeling.	...	...	...
Limbu	14	16	·3	Darjeeling.	...	...	...
(b) Assam-Burmese Branch—								
1. Bodo Group— Bodo Mech or Plains Kachari	22	21	·5	Jalpaiguri.	...	...	...
Garos	39	36	·8	Mymensingh.	...	...	...
Tipura or Mrung	126	102	2·7	Hill Tippera.	...	...	...
2. Burma Group— Burmese	74	64	1·6	Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts.	·01	·03	·0003	South Bihar.
Others	75	79	1·6	.....	·01	·003	·0003	
E. OTHER LANGUAGES ... 1 003 2 ... 106								
II. LANGUAGES FOREIGN TO INDIA. 52 50 1·2 10 9 ·3								

* The great majority of those returned as Hindi and Urdu really speak Bihari. The estimate of the number of Bihari speakers given in the Linguistic Survey of India is 23,143,383, of whom 6,991,972 speak Bhojpuri, 6,555,753 Magahi, and 9,596,158 Maithili. According to the estimate given in the preceding Chapter it is 24,694,493, or, if a different method of calculation is adopted, 25,131,627.

Chapter X.

INFIRMITIES.

772. As at previous censuses, four infirmities have been recorded, viz., insanity, deaf-mutism from birth, total blindness and leprosy. The statistics compiled from the

INTRODUCTORY.

returns will be found in Imperial Tables XII and XII-A, the former of which shows the ages of afflicted persons and also their distribution according to locality, while the latter furnishes information regarding the infirmities from which different castes and tribes suffer. At the end of this chapter the following four subsidiary tables are given.

Subsidiary Table I shows the number of persons afflicted in each district per 100,000 of the population at each of the last four censuses.

Subsidiary Table II shows the distribution of infirmities by age per 10,000 of each sex.

Subsidiary Table III shows the number afflicted per 100,000 at each age period and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

Subsidiary Table IV gives the same information as *Subsidiary Table III* for each of the castes for which figures were compiled.

773. The instructions to the enumerators regarding the record of infirmities were that only persons who were blind of both

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE
RECORD OF INFIRMITIES.

eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb from birth were to be entered in the schedules, and that those who were blind of one eye, or suffering from white leprosy only, or who had become deaf and dumb after birth were to be excluded. All possible care was taken to see that the instructions were followed, but it must be admitted that the results are not altogether complete and accurate, chiefly because the census staff consists of an improvised agency without medical knowledge. In the returns for insanity, persons who are not insane but merely weak-minded are entered, as well as those who are idiots or who suffer from violent forms of mental derangement. The deaf-mutes should be confined to those who have been deaf and dumb since their birth, but there is a tendency to enter persons who are only mute or only deaf, and among the latter to include elderly persons suffering from senile deafness. The blind similarly include those who are not totally blind, but whose sight has become impaired with old age: to a small extent also those persons who have lost the sight of one eye are apt to be entered as blind.

Apart from errors made by the enumerators, there can be no doubt that the returns are not complete, owing to the deliberate concealment of facts by members of families in which there are persons suffering from one or other of the infirmities in question. This part of the census work is regarded, especially by the better classes, as an unfair inquisition. They are by no means inclined to give the enumerator an insight into their family troubles, and their reluctance is all the greater in the case of their women, more particularly daughters of marriageable age. It is for this reason largely that males suffering from infirmities outnumber the females by three to two. On this and other accounts the statistics of infirmities are, next to the returns for age, the least satisfactory of those obtained by the census.

774. The total number of persons in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa suffering from each infirmity, as recorded at each of the last four censuses, is noted in the margin. It will

VARIATIONS.

Infirmity.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Insane ...	24,530	22,941	25,628	30,675
Deaf-mutes ...	59,843	63,154	70,153	85,493
Blind ...	73,993	70,859	73,480	97,350
Lepers ...	35,320	37,377	46,390	56,523
Total ...	193,691	184,331	215,663	270,043

be observed that whereas there was a general and steady decline for every infirmity between 1881 and 1901, the last decade has witnessed an increase in all cases except that of leprosy. The decrease in the first 20 years was not peculiar to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but common throughout

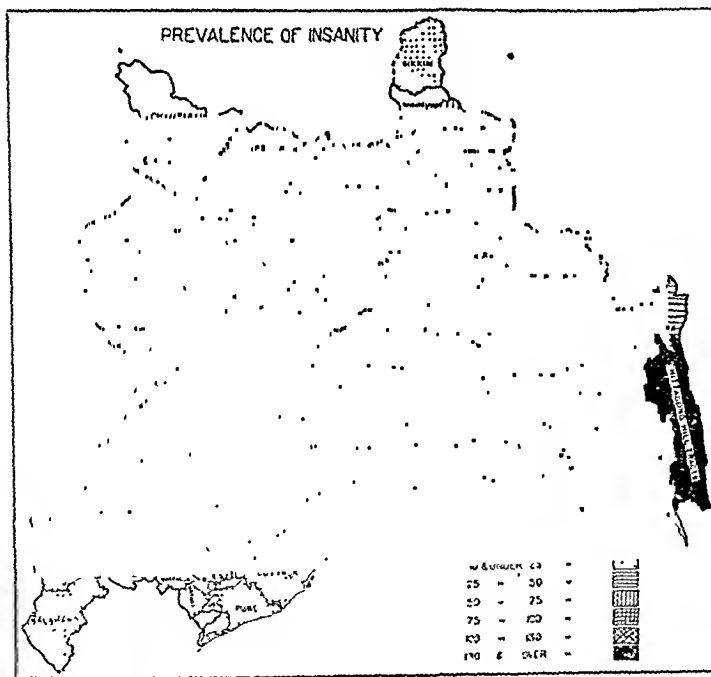
infirmities is very much lower among the Jaliya Kaibarttas, who are mostly fishermen, and the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas who are mostly cultivators. In Bihar and Orissa those unfortunate persons who have lost caste, and bear the generic name of Ajat, appear to be the most afflicted. A high general incidence (except for insanity) is also found among the Saraks, a small caste, mostly weavers by occupation, who are descendants of the early Jains and still have a vegetarian diet.

INSANITY.

779. In Bengal every district and State except Darjeeling and Nadia has a ratio of over 25 insane persons per 100,000 of the population, but in no part of Bihar and Orissa does the proportion rise to that figure except in Patna, where there is a central lunatic asylum. In five districts, moreover, viz., Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Bhagalpur (which form a solid block in the north of the province), Palamau and Angul, as well as in the Chota Nagpur States, the proportion falls below 10 per 100,000.

In Bengal insanity is most prevalent on the eastern side of the Bhagirathi, and the greatest incidence is found in North Bengal and East Bengal. The highest district ratio is returned by the Chittagong Hill Tracts (157 per 100,000) and then by Cooch Behar (71), Jalpaiguri (71), and Chittagong (68).

DISTRIBUTION OF INSANITY.



The high ratio of Murshidabad (75) is simply due to its containing a central lunatic asylum: excluding the inmates drawn from outside districts, the ratio is one of the lowest in Bengal. The reasons for the high incidence in these districts are obscure. It is noticeable, however, that Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts adjoin Burma, where

insanity is very common, and that a considerable portion of the population have a Burmese strain. The Maghs, who are descended from Burmese either in the immediate or remote past, have an unusually large proportion of insane persons (8 per 10,000). It is difficult to draw any inferences regarding Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri. There is very little insanity in Darjeeling and Sikkim to the north, and it is not specially prevalent in Rangpur and Dinajpur to the south. Nor can it be said to be due to the constitution of the population, as the Mongolian element is far stronger in Darjeeling and Sikkim, and the proportion of insane persons among the Koches of Bengal is unusually small. On the other hand, it is fairly high among the Meches, a distinctively Mongolian race, and among the Rajbansis, who are believed to be allied to the Koches, if not of the same descent. In Bihar and Orissa the local variations are comparatively small. Insanity is most prevalent in Orissa, and then in South Bihar, while it is least common in North Bihar. Outside Orissa the worst districts are Ranchi, Manbhum, Singlibhum and Sambalpur.

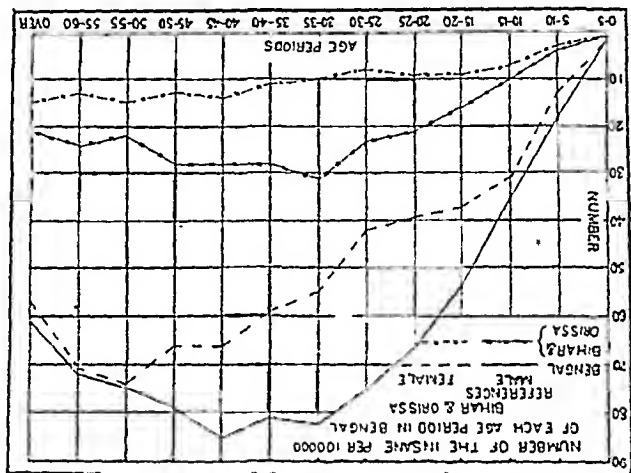
780. Between 1891 and 1901 the number of insane persons in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, according to the census returns, has grown at the same rate, so that proportionately the number of insane persons is the same as in 1901, viz., 35 per 100,000 among males and 23 per 100,000 among females. In Bengal the ratio for males is exactly the same as it was in 1901, but among females it has risen by 1 per 100,000. In Bihar and Orissa, however, there has been a decrease of 1 per 100,000 both among the male and female population. The decrease here may be ascribed, in part at least, to more accurate enumeration. It is noticeable that the proportion of children below 10 years of age to the total number is 5 per cent. in this province and 6 per cent. in Bengal, whereas in 1901 it was 7 per cent. in the two provinces taken together: the difference is probably due to a smaller number of the congenitally weak-minded being included in the returns. In Bengal there are marked local variations. There has been a considerable decrease in the number of insane persons in West Bengal, but elsewhere there is an increase. In Central Bengal the rise is due to the concentration of lunatics since 1901 in the central lunatic asylum at Berhampore in the Alurshidabad district. If this district is left out of account, the number of insane persons in Central Bengal is stationary.

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

781. The marginal diagram shows the number of insane persons of both sexes per 100,000 of the population. The number is small in early youth, because insanity is an infirmity of maturity. It is naturally not so common among children, with undeveloped minds and shattered lives, as among adults who have to face the wear-and-tear of life. Among males the rise is most marked from 25 to 35 years of age, the period when mental equilibrium is most affected by passion, domestic trouble and the struggle for existence. Between 35 and 45 the proportion in Bengal remains practically stationary and then steadily declines, but in Bihar and Orissa the decrease begins at 35, though there is no heavy drop till 50. In the case of females the increase is more gradual, the period at which the number increases most being 25 to 45, i.e., the child-bearing age. Briefly, the diagram shows that in both sexes insanity is a disease of early manhood or womanhood and of middle age.

INSANITY BY AGE.

782. In Bihar and Orissa there are 2 insane males to every insane female. There is far less disparity between the sexes in Bengal, where the numbers are 3 to 2. The proportion of females to males is lowest in West Bengal (1 to 2) and highest in North Bengal (4 to 5): the proportion in East Bengal is nearly as high as in the latter division. The age statistics further show that at every age period insanity is relatively more common among females in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa. Among young children aged 0—5 in the former Province, there are 110 insane girls to every 100 insane boys; the proportion falls to under 70 between 5 and 15 years of age and then rises to 75 at 15—20. After 20, it gradually sinks until there are 65 females to every 100 males at the age period of 45 to 50, after which the disparity between the sexes almost disappears. The proportion of females in Bihar and Orissa is far smaller, for, except among women over 50 years of age, it is always below 60. Both the census returns and the returns of admission to lunatic asylums show that insanity among women is less common than in European countries.



DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE SEXES.

783. The proportion of females to males is lowest in West Bengal (1 to 2) and highest in North Bengal (4 to 5): the proportion in East Bengal is nearly as high as in the latter division. The age statistics further show that at every age period insanity is relatively more common among females in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa. Among young children aged 0—5 in the former Province, there are 110 insane girls to every 100 insane boys; the proportion falls to under 70 between 5 and 15 years of age and then rises to 75 at 15—20. After 20, it gradually sinks until there are 65 females to every 100 males at the age period of 45 to 50, after which the disparity between the sexes almost disappears. The proportion of females in Bihar and Orissa is far smaller, for, except among women over 50 years of age, it is always below 60. Both the census returns and the returns of admission to lunatic asylums show that insanity among women is less common than in European countries.

According to the late Major Robertson Milne, I.M.S., Superintendent of Central Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore, "Were it not for the *pardah* system, it is highly probable that the numbers of the women patients would be very much increased. But even taking that into consideration, and as the result of private inquiries, the fact remains that the women of India are less liable to mental disorders than are their European sisters.*

783. In considering the returns of insanity by race and caste, the figures for males only will be taken into account (except for Europeans and Anglo-Indians), the returns for females being not altogether reliable. At the head of the list stand the Kaibarttas of Bengal other than Chasi or Jaliya with a proportion of 244 per 100,000, and then the poor outcastes of Bihar and Orissa known as Ajat (231). The Bengal Baniya comes third, and next to him the Anglo-Indian, with a ratio of 160 for males and 181 for females. Insanity among the Europeans is far less common, the proportions being 96 and 147 respectively. Both among Anglo-Indians and Europeans the females appear to be more liable to loss of reason than males: the explanation in the case of Europeans is undoubtedly that the men are a picked race, many of whom have to pass a medical examination before coming to this country, and that women transplanted to India are more easily affected by the trials of a monotonous life in a tropical climate and an uncongenial environment. The only other castes in which the proportion is over 100 per 100,000 are the Baidyas and Bhumijs of Bengal.

784. The number of persons confined in lunatic asylums at the time of the census was 1,241 (1,019 males and 222 females), or 298 more than in 1901. There are three lunatic asylums in Bengal, situated at Bhawanipore (in Calcutta), Berhampore and Dacca: the former is intended for Europeans and Anglo-Indians only, and the two latter for Indians. In Bihar and Orissa there is only one asylum situated at Patua (Bankipore). The number of insane persons in these asylums is comparatively small. Not only is the accommodation limited, but under the law in force in India only criminals, or persons who are declared dangerous to themselves or to others, or who are wandering about without proper guardianship and unable to take care of themselves, can be sent to asylums. The majority of lunatics are kept by their friends, and it is only when they have committed crimes, or have become homeless vagabonds, or dangerous to the public, that they can be confined in a lunatic asylum.

About two-fifths of the inmates are criminal lunatics, who have been admitted under one or other of the sections of the law relating to lunatics. The first class includes those persons who, being accused of having committed a crime, are found, after due observation by a medical officer, to be of unsound mind, and consequently incapable of making a defence; in other words, they are held to be unable to understand the nature of the proceedings against them and to be unfit for trial. Their cases are then remanded under section 466 of the Criminal Procedure Code for the orders of Government, which authorizes the detention of the accused in an asylum until he is declared fit to stand his trial, or until further orders. The second class includes those who, having been tried for their crimes and found guilty, are declared to have been insane at the time of the crime and unable to realize the nature of their act, or that it was wrong or contrary to law. They are then acquitted on the ground of insanity, and the case is referred to Government, which may direct their confinement in an asylum or some other suitable place of custody. A lunatic may, in such cases, be made over to the care and custody of a friend or relative on the latter giving security. The accommodation in the asylums being limited, the policy is to restrict admissions to lunatics (1) who are dangerous, (2) who are absolutely incapable and have no one to look after them, and (3) whose criminal propensities are a real nuisance to society. Increased strictness has eliminated the less serious cases of lunacy, and the inmates are, to a very large extent, hopeless cases.†

* *Clinical Report on the Berhampore Asylum for 1909*, Indian Medical Gazette, May, 1910.

† Resolution on the Triennial Report on Lunatic Asylums in Bengal (1909—11).

783. A considerable proportion of the inmates admitted to the asylums suffer from "Toxic (hemp-drug) Insanity," due to indulgence in *ganja* (*Camabdis sativa* v. *Indica*), which is smoked with tobacco: of 103 male patients admitted to previous Berhampore Asylum in 1909, insanity could be definitely ascribed to previous indulgence in *ganja* in no less than 32 cases.* Insanity of this kind always takes the form of a state of mental exaltation, accompanying or succeeding which there is a certain degree of mental embarrassment. The cases may be classified under four heads as follows:—

(1) *Ganja* intoxication.—This is a mild state of mania, lasting from a few hours to a few days, which may be recognized by two symptoms. There is, first, a tendency to talkativeness of a foolish, delusional, and often incoherent character, and, secondly, a tendency to the performance of mischievous or indecent acts. The condition it induces is, however, different from that produced by alcohol, for the *ganja* inebriate is but slightly ataxic, and his movements and actions exhibit a purposiveness not seen in the alcoholic drunkard. These cases of *ganja* intoxication are comparatively rarely seen in the asylums.

(2) *Acute ganja* mania.—This is an acute state of mental exaltation and confusion, characterized by fleeting delusions of grandeur, and often also of persecution, by restlessness, and sometimes by indecency and destructive-ness: sleeplessness is another prominent feature. The patient grimaces, gesticulates, is noisy, garrulous and forgetful of time and place; he neither knows nor cares where he is, how long he has been there, or whence he has come. These cases have a duration of about fourteen days to two months. Improvement is gradual as a rule, but sometimes recovery is extraordinarily abrupt. The recovery is, however, rarely complete, and generally the patient is left with some degree of weak-mindedness.

(3) *Chronic ganja* mania.—The symptoms are identical with those of acute mania, with which indeed this type of insanity commences. The patient lapses into a state of mild sub-acute mania, of which the salient features are extreme irritability and a tendency to garrulousness, which is often abusive. He suffers from fleeting delusions of exaltation and a poor memory of time and place. This condition may continue for many years, and terminates generally in weak-mindedness, very rarely in complete dementia. (4) Weak-mindedness.—This is the insanity resulting from constant indulgence in *ganja* to excess, which has been described by Dr. Warneke of the Cairo Asylum under the name of *Camabitu Mania*. Irritability, an extremely defective memory for place and time, foolish but mild delusions of grandeur (which are never fixed but vary from day to day or week to week), a tendency to loquacity and indulgence are the main features of this type. As in all varieties of hemp-drug mental disorders, general sensibility is diminished. Many of the persons suffering from this form of *ganja* insanity are either *sadhus* or their disciples: it is this diminished sensibility which enables *fakirs* and *sadhus* to undergo such painful ordeals as lying on beds of nails, etc. In India it might be termed "Sadhuistic insanity," for it is the insanity with which many of its religious ascetics are afflicted.

786. The second main type of insanity is "Toxic (alcoholic) insanity," which is due to excessive indulgence in alcohol. There is reason to believe that alcohol, as a causative factor in the production of mental disorder, is becoming of increasing importance, owing to a growth of intemperance among the lower castes. The latter formerly had bouts of drunkenness on days of festival, but now their bouts are not confined to feasts and festivals. The third type is "Epileptic insanity," which need not be described, and the fourth is "General paralysis of the insane." The latter is so far a comparatively rare disease among natives of India, though lamentably frequent in Europe: Colonel (J. F. A. Harris, I.M.S., C.S.I., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, states that in 30 years he has only seen three genuine cases in India, the subjects being a Hindu, an Afghan and an Armenian.† The fifth type is "Systematised delusional insanity (Paranoia)," which is

* The proportion in 1911 was 38 per cent.
† Annual Returns of the Lunatic Asylums in Bengal for 1910.

also rare. Lunatics suffering from this form of insanity have strong delusions of persecution and inflated ideas of their dignity. Such cases are very intractable and rarely recover. The sixth type is "Homicidal melancholia," i.e., melancholia of a homicidal character, and the seventh type is "Phthisical insanity." Beggars are specially liable to the latter. As long as they can get enough to keep them in fair health, they do not, as a rule, suffer mentally, provided they do not indulge in drugs. But should they be afflicted by tuberculosis, the progressive asthenia of that complaint makes them less able to follow their calling. This preys on their minds, and they suffer from an irritable melancholia. Tuberculosis, it may be added, is four times commoner in the insane than in the sane, and is fostered by their associations and habits.*

787. The educated classes believe that insanity is due to mental disorder, for which various things may be responsible, such

BELIEFS ABOUT INSANITY.

as family bereavements, financial losses, disappointment in love, religious fanaticism, the immoderate use of intoxicating liquor or drugs, especially *ganja*, etc. It is commonly attributed to excessive indulgence in sexual passion, and also to abstinence from sexual intercourse when maturity has been obtained. This latter belief often leads to unfortunate results. When a youth is seen to be in danger of becoming insane, the consummation of the marriage which he contracted as a boy is hurried on as a means of saving him. His tottering reason is only too often overthrown and hopeless lunacy ensues. The power of drugs to produce insanity is firmly believed in, and it is generally agreed that it is frequently caused by love philtres given by neglected wives in the hope of winning or regaining their husband's love.

788. The lower classes have a curious medley of ideas on the subject. Physically, insanity is thought to be due to an excess of bile in the system or to worms in the head. Ultimately it is due to the anger of the gods or evil spirits. Neglect of the worship of the gods, or the curse of a *yogi*, *sadhu* or other holy man, may produce it; it is specially liable to attack those who practise Tantric arts but fail to control the spirits they evoke, and devotees of Kali who gaze upon frightful spectres, while worshipping at the dead of night at a burning ghât or sitting on dead bodies. Generally, however, it is attributed to demoniacal possession. The evil spirit may be moved by motives of passion as well of vindictiveness. e.g., a male spirit may take possession of a girl of prepossessing appearance, while female spirits enter into handsome young men. The spirit which is most commonly thought to produce madness is Brahmadaitya, the spirit of Brahman who has died an unnatural death, e.g., by murder or suicide. This spirit dwells in *pipal* trees: to spit on the root of a pipal tree in which Brahmadaitya resides, or to make water in its shade, is fatal to the reason. Another curious belief is that persons with yellow moustaches or with tapering heads are apt to become insane.

789. The beliefs of the aboriginal races are similarly primitive. The Hos believe that insanity is caused either by excess

BELIEFS OF ABORIGINALS.

of bile, or by the wrath of a *bonga* or evil spirit at some insult or injury, e.g., when money is buried by a man and removed by some one else after his death (the idea being that they are the property of the *bonga*), or when the *bonga's* residence (a tree, river or hill) is desecrated by a man easing himself or making water. The cutting of trees in a sacred grove (*jakhira*) also amounts to desecration and produces insanity, but this belief is not much of a deterrent when the supply of wood for domestic purposes is disappearing. The Bhumijs believe that insanity is the result of the possession of evil spirits (*bhuts*) or of the evil eye of witches. If an exorcist or witch-doctor fails to effect a cure, it is believed that it is a disease due to a disordered brain or the consequence of some sin committed by the lunatic. It may, for instance, be caused by disrespect to the family *bhut*, failure to subscribe for the worship of the village deity, or desecration of the sacred grove; or it may be the result of a man having fallen a victim to some powerful evil spirit, whom he tried to exorcise. The Santals similarly believe that insanity is due to possession by

* Major C. J. Robertson-Milne, I.M.S., *Clinical Report on the Berhampore Asylum for the year 1909*, Indian Medical Gazette, Vol. XLV. No. 5, May 1910.

bongus or evil spirits, either because of the enmity of a witch who has control over a *bongu*, or because a *bongu* has fallen in love with a human being. In the former case the *bongu* is supposed to work the wicked will of the witch as a reward for her allowing herself to be seduced by him. In the latter case, the *bongu* with the *bongu* may go on without any evil consequence, but on the other hand it may end in insanity and death. The belief among the Kanhds (Khandhs) is similar to that of the Hos. According to them, a mild attack of insanity is caused by an excess of bile in the system, while a severe form is attributed to obsession by either the Earth goddess or the Hill god.

790. The Nepalese attribute insanity to the following causes—(1) The direct or indirect influence of evil spirits who desire their victims to become their slaves after death; (2) the effects of poisonous herbs, roots or fruits administered in food or in drink, by enemies; (3) the curse of an elderly man laid on a younger member of the same or of a different family; (4) accidental injuries to the head; and (5) mental trouble due to anxiety, grief, disappointment, excessive sexual indulgence and immoderate drinking. The Lepchas and Bhutias also attribute insanity to the black magic of sorcerers, such as Paharia Bijnas, Dhams or Jhankins, Limbu Yabus and Lepcha Phön-böns, who use their evil craft at the instigation of some enemy. Sometimes it is believed to be the result of the wrath of an unappeased family deity or the evil influence of a malignant spirit called Gyalpo. Insanity in a male is attributed to a Gyalpo, but insanity or idiosyncrasy in a woman to a female water spirit called Men-wö. The learned believe it to be a family taint, due to mysterious causes, e.g., the intermarriage of close relations.*

BELIEFS OF THE HILL RACES.

791. Insanity is believed to be hereditary, but it is recognized that it may skip a generation. It is thought that it more easily transmitted through the mother, there being a saying that madness is due to a mother and ignorance to a father. Among the aborigines, however, there appears to be no fixed idea about insanity being hereditary, but rather that when it persists in a family, it is due to the continued anger of an evil spirit. Thus, among the Bhutias, the recurrence of insanity in a family is attributed to their having erected their housestead, or reclaimed some land, in an enchanted place or having used timber from the sacred grove for the rafters of a house. The Santals again have no idea of causative connection, except in so far as they believe that the same family is persecuted by the same *bongu*. The Hos think that insanity cannot be transmitted, the idea being that it is the result of a personal offence or neglect. A son who does not take the precaution of appeasing the angry *bongu* that has afflicted his father with insanity, may also be attacked after his father's death, but this is only another expression of the same idea. The Kanhds (Khandhs) consider that mild insanity can be transmitted from father to son, as the latter inherits the tendency to accumulation of bile. If, however, insanity appears in an acute form, it is believed that a deity has not been properly appeased by the father's sacrifices and still hungers for fresh victims.

METHODS OF TREATMENT.

792. Madness being due to possession by an evil spirit, every attempt is made to appease or exorcise it. In Midnapore, for instance, when a man is first attacked, exorcists (*ojhas* or *gunias*) are called in. They hold smoking chillies to the nostrils of the patient, chant *mantras*, addressing the spirit in filthy and obscene language, all with the idea of driving it away. When these means prove futile, they prescribe a diet calculated to force the spirit to leave his victim in fear of losing his caste, for Brahmadatyā is the spirit of a high-caste Brahman. The unfortunate patient has therefore to consume soup made of toads, fecal matter, etc. When these abominable nostrums fail, the use of medicated oils and of indigenous herbs and drugs is resorted to. Among the Santals there are elaborate ceremonies for exorcism, which proceeds by regular steps. The

* I am indebted for the above account to the Mahary Kumar of Sikkim.

† Insulting forms of worship are not unknown. "Usually the object of the worshipper is to propitiate the deity he is addressing, but occasionally his aim seems to be to inspire disgust. Thus, in the worship of Akasmi, the officiating Brahman offers jute leaves, not flowers, with his left, or impure, hand. The idea seems to be that the goddess will be annoyed at this treatment, and I will in consequence depart elsewhere. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, 1903, p. 31.)

first thing the *Ojha* does is to find out by divination whether he can effect a cure or not. He applies a little oil to two *sal* leaves, and rubs them together on the ground, muttering an incantation the while. By looking at the impressions formed on the leaves, he professes to know whether he will be able to do anything or not. He then proceeds to find out the *bonga's* name, how he is to be appeased, etc., and names the articles required, e.g., animals for sacrifice, a nail of iron or copper, partly straight and partly twisted, etc. As soon as the patient's family have got them together, they ask him to appoint a day for his final work. On the day fixed the lunatic is made to touch the sacrificial animals, and the *Ojha* makes passes round him, at the same time repeating certain incantations. Next, the *Ojha* and some of the villagers take the animals outside the village boundary, where they sacrifice and eat them. When they have finished their meal, they return to the house, where the *Ojha* prepares medicine, which the patient takes. Then the whole company drink up the beer, which has been brewed for the occasion. The medicine is repeated at intervals. The family wait a year and if in the meantime the patient recovers, they give the *Ojha* his fees; if there is no cure, he gets nothing. The *Ojha* is more fortunate than other practitioners, as he is allowed a year for his cure to work. Less formal methods are employed by the *Bhumij*. The exorcist smears a leaf with oil, looks into it and then declares the patient to be possessed by a certain spirit. He then performs a ceremony of exorcism, which consists of incantations appropriate to the spirit concerned, after which a black goat (or sometimes a lamb), 2 or 3 cocks, a girdle, a garland, a small basket and a looking-glass are offered for the propitiation of the evil spirit. Among the *Khounds* the earth goddess demands the sacrifice of a pig, the hill god of a goat; if these prove ineffectual, the mad man is left to his fate.

Physically, Among Bengalis offerings are made to Kali on the day of the new moon in the hope of effecting a cure. The most popular of her shrines is that at Tirol in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hooghly district. Insane persons are taken and *puias* performed, after which the priests give an iron bracelet (*bala*) for the lunatic to wear. Great is the fame of Kali's bracelet. "I had," writes a correspondent, "occasion to pass through this village about two years ago, and the villagers extolled its virtues to such an extent that I could hardly believe them. They told me that not only Hindus, but people of other nationalities, and even Europeans, resort to the village for the cure of insane: that however turbulent or boisterous the mad person may be, he becomes as quiet as a lamb when he comes within the precincts of the village. Such is the influence of the goddess." It is not absolutely necessary that the insane person should be taken to Tirol. The consecrated *bala* can be brought from it by a member of the family, and the priests will also send one by parcel post, if ordered. The bracelet is worn for life, or is sent back to the temple if a cure is effected, in which case thank-offerings are made. Flowers taken from Kali's shrine are also efficacious if put in a small metal casket and worn as an amulet. Amulets called *kabaj*, i.e., charms written or carved on the leaves of the *bhuria* plant, are worn with the same idea, and in the case of Musalmans, texts from the Koran.

In Bihar alms are given away in the hope of procuring the favour of the gods. The colour of the articles distributed varies according to the god propitiated. If Saturn's goodwill is to be won, everything must be of a reddish colour, such as red cloth, red wheat and red *gur*; if Saturn, they must all be black, e.g., black cloth, black iron, black *til*, black *uril*, etc. Here too the bracelet of "Pagla Kali" is held in repute.

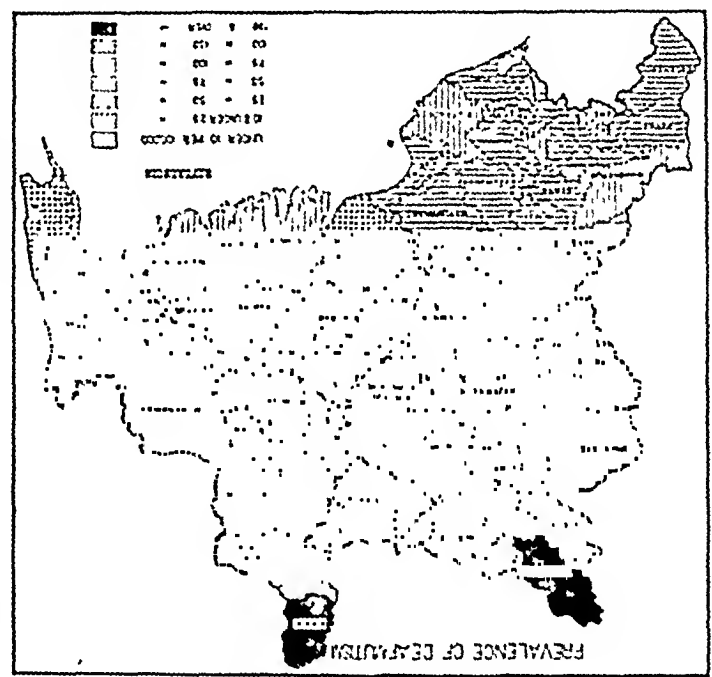
794. The medical treatment of the insane is designed with an eye to its cooling effects on the brain and nervous system. Ordinarily, a lunatic person's head is shaved to admit of a free application of medicinal oils, which are specially prepared by Kavirajes to keep the head cool. In acute stages he is made to drink the milk of green cocoanuts, which have been buried for 24 hours in soft silt at the bottom of old tanks. He is also made to bathe once a day, if not oftener, in old tanks choked with weeds and vegetable matter, the water of which is considered cooler than that of fresh water tanks. Sometimes, too, the mud taken from these putrid tanks is plastered on its head, or aloe pulp is mixed with water and applied in the form of an

emulsion. (Cool drinks are given and a simple diet of pot-herbs. A favourite remedy is soup made from a particular kind of frog (called *soum bang* or the golden frog) and soup prepared from a vegetable known as *susant sak*. The juice or sap of palm leaves and various roots, plants or trees, such as plant-ains and fig trees, is also administered. If violent, he is confined in a dark room, and either bound hand and foot or has a heavy clog of wood fastened to his ankle. Altogether, the inmate's life in Bengal is not a happy one.

DEAF-MUTISM.

793. Deaf-mutism is most prevalent in Sikkim, North Bihar and North Bengal. Sikkim is by far the most affected area, 27 per 10,000 of its population being deaf-mutes, while Chhamparan is far ahead of any other district, with a ratio of 17 per 10,000. The average is only about half this latter figure in the other districts in which the infirmity is prevalent, viz., Saran, Muzaffarpur, Barhanganj, Purnea, Malda, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooh Behar. All these districts and States lie to the north of the Ganges and are watered by Hinia-layan rivers: in all of them deaf-mutism is associated with crocodile-miasm and goitre. In adjoining districts also the number of deaf-mutes is well above the average. In the Sikkim subdivision of Darjeeling they represent 10 per 10,000 of the population and in Kangpur 8 per 10,000: in the latter district over 5,000 cases of goitre are treated annually, but even this figure gives no indication of the extent to which the disease prevails.

796. In Chhamparan the area most affected is the south-western portion of the Motihari subdivision, which comprises the thanas of Motihari, Kesaria, Madhubani and Robindraganj. In these four thanas the ratio varies from 21 to 35 per 10,000, the latter figure being reached in the Motihari thana, which is watered by the Bharnati. The affliction is not so prevalent in the north of the district, and is least common in the south-west, i.e., in the Adapur and Dhaka thanas, the ratio falling to 6 per 10,000 in Adapur. The area of greatest incidence nearly exactly corresponds with the limits of the *Majhawa purgana*, which has a sinister reputation in Bihar. It is regarded as a home of idiots—to ask a man if he comes from *Majhawa* is tantamount to calling him an idiot, and deaf-mutes are known locally as *Majhawa bagar*. In the district, generally, the physique of the people is below that of the average Bihar. In nearly every village there are a certain number of people who look miserable specimens of humanity, and in the district, as a whole, the proportion



Goitre is also common in Bhutan, and cretinism is found there. Captain Kennedy, J.M.S., who accompanied the Political Officer in Sikkim on a mission to Bhutan in 1909-10, writes that out of 202 cases treated by him, one in four had goitre, and there were two cretins. Goitre in Purnea, a centre of deaf-mutism, was noticed as early as 1788 A.D., when the author of the *Hyazun-Salatin* wrote: "Tumours of the throat, in men and women generally, as dogs, horses and cows often have thyroid swellings in this and other districts." This is not an exaggerated statement, as dogs, horses and cows are often found with thyroid swellings in this and other districts. + Kangpur District Gazetteer, p. 52.

of chronic invalids strikes one as unusually large. An unsightly form of goitre is very prevalent and the number of cretins is remarkable.* Deaf-mutism is specially prevalent near the Dhanauti, a tortuous river with an unhealthy neighbourhood. Formerly there were flourishing villages along its banks, but gradually the river-bed became silted up. Fever of a malignant type broke out and the population was decimated.†

797. Since 1901 the number of deaf-mutes in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has

VARIAIONS SINCE 1901.

increased by 6,689 or 13 per cent., while in Sikkim it has risen by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the increase occurs both among those aged 20 and over, and also

SEX.	1911	1901	UNDER 20 YEARS.		20 AND OVER.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
...	17,537	11,712	14,275	12,019
...	18,864	10,624	15,641	10,917
INCREASE	967	1,081	2,631	2,002

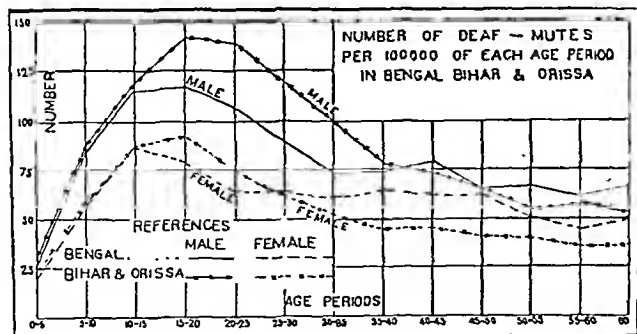
among those who are under 20 years of age, the latter being persons born during the decade or under ten years of age at the last census. Very little, if any, of the increase can be due to persons suffering only

from senile deafness being returned under this head, for the number of deaf-mutes aged 50 and over is only 167 or 4 per cent. more than in 1901. In that year they represented 8 per cent. of the total number, but now the proportion, though the same in Bengal, has fallen to 7 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

798. The local variations are of a curious character. In the area of greatest prevalence there have been decreases in the extreme east in Champaran and Saran, but in nearly all the other districts there have been increases, viz., in Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea, Malda and Dinajpur. On the other hand, there have been decreases in Bhagalpur, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. The decline in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri is small, but in Bhagalpur and Darjeeling it is so remarkable that it must probably be ascribed to insufficient enumeration: in the latter district it is noticeable that no deaf-mutes are found in two out of five thanas, and that the returns for all infirmities are far below those of 1901. In Saran the falling off is small, but it is considerable in Champaran, where every other infirmity has also lost ground except insanity. Both these districts suffered from famine in 1897, the former in a minor and the latter in a major degree; and the decrease might be attributed to its effects in thinning out these unfortunate persons who are largely dependent on charity. On the other hand, both Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga exhibit increases, though they were also famine-stricken in 1897 and have since suffered, the former from scarcity and the latter from two famines. Elsewhere there have been considerable increases in Cuttack, the Orissa States, Midnapore, the 24-Parganas, Faridpur, Bogra, Tippera and Chittagong.

799. From the marginal diagram it will be seen that the number of deaf-mutes of either sex rises till the age period 10 to 15 in Bengal, and 15 to 20 in Bihar and Orissa, and then drops steadily. The explanation is that

DEAF-MUTISM BY AGE AND PROPORTION OF THE SEXES.



largely in excess. They preponderate most in Bengal, where there are approximately 8 males to every 6 females, the proportion in Bihar and Orissa

* Champaran Famine Report of 1897.

† Champaran District Gazetteer, p. 59.

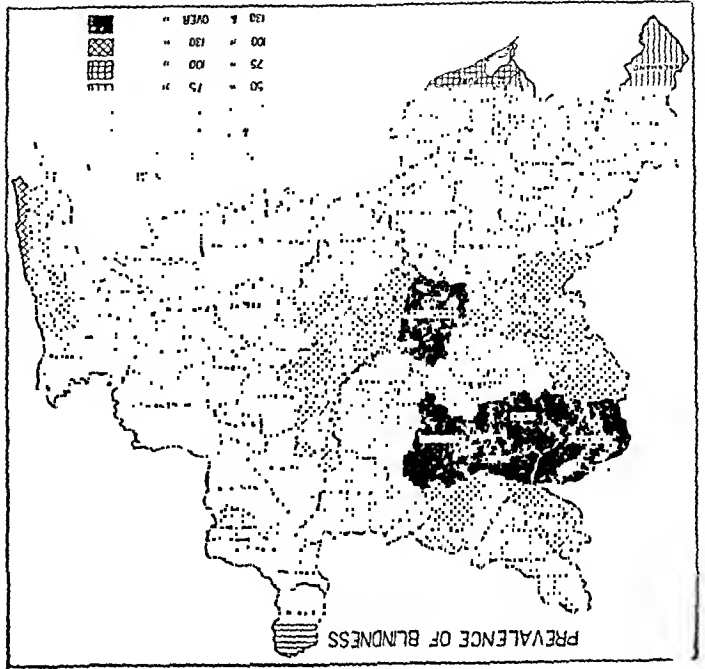
being 9 to 6. In this latter Province there are 64 female deaf-mutes, and in Bengal there are 58, to every 100 males suffering from this affliction.

800. Proportionately more deaf-mutes are found among the outcastes called Ajat than among any other caste or race, the ratio being as high as 1,755 per 100,000 among males and 1,444 among females. The distribution of Ajat deaf-mutes is, however, very local, five-sevenths being found in Champaran and the remainder in Muzaffarpur. The Kaimartas of Bengal also have an unusually large number of deaf-mutes, and they are followed *longo intervallo* by the Nan-Muslim or converts to Islam in Bihar and Orissa; the actual number of deaf-mutes among the latter is however only 23. No other race or caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is on the same plane, but high ratios are returned for the Saraks (all in Mambhum), Haris and Bhats in Bihar and Orissa and for the Banyas in Bengal. Deaf-mutism is very common among the castes or races resident in Sikkim, as is natural, for its prevalence is a matter of locality rather than of race. Even here, however, there are considerable variations. The Munni heads the list, closely followed by the Brahman, while high figures are also returned for the Lepcha and Khas or Chetri. The Bhota and Khanib (Jindar) are far less frequently born without speech and hearing, and in this respect are better off than the Bengal Banyas or the Haris and Bhats of Bihar and Orissa. Figures which have been specially prepared to show the distribution of deaf-mutism among the castes of Champaran also indicate that it cannot be correlated with caste or race. The Ajat heads the list, one out of eight being deaf-mute. High proportions are also returned, in a descending scale, for the Babhans, Tambulis, Baisnabs, Nats, Kasarwans and Bhars, who have very different modes of life. The minority is least common in such widely different castes as the Atiths, Doms, Halalkhors, Kayasths, Kewats, Musahars, Tharus, Sayads and Musalman Dhobis, in all of which the proportion falls below 1 per 1,000.

BLINDNESS.

801. The distribution of blindness is what one would naturally expect, for it is least common in areas where the climate is

humid and the country green, and most common in districts with an arid soil and a hot dry climate, where the eyes are affected by the glare of the sun and, in the hot weather, by clouds of dust driven before a scorching wind. Nowhere is it so prevalent as in South Bihar, where these latter conditions prevail: then comes, *longo intervallo*, North Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau occupy an intermediate position, and at the bottom of the list stand North, Central and East Bengal. The four worst districts are Patna, Gaya, Shahabad,



Monghyr (which make up the natural division of South Bihar) and Mambhum, in all of which the proportion of blind persons is 130 or more per 100,000 of the population.

802. The returns of successful operations for cataract during the last decade (1901 to 1910) also afford testimony to the extent to which Bihar suffers from diseases of the

CATARACT OPERATIONS.

eye. Altogether 37,326 such operations were performed (compared with 15,987 in the previous decade), of which 12,419 or one-third took place in South Bihar and 6,238 or one-sixth in North Bihar: in other words, Bihar accounts for half the total number in the two Provinces. The returns for individual districts also show very much the same local distribution of blindness as the census returns: conditions in Calcutta are of course exceptional, and there is consequently little correspondence between the medical and census

DISTRICT.	Number of operations	Number of blind per 100,000.
Calcutta	8,520	73
Patna	4,071	179
Gaya	2,947	161
Shahabad	3,406	192
Baran	2,234	116
Muzaffarpur	1,717	111
24 Parganas	1,556	52
Champaran	1,364	61
Muzaffarpur	1,021	80

statistics. In no other district than those shown in the margin were there as many as 1,000 successful operations in the 10 years, while in Orissa the aggregate was below that number. The Oriya, unlike the Bihari, dreads the surgeon's knife and will rather be blind than face an operation.

803. Blindness is chiefly due to neglected inflammation of the eyes, combined with

poorness of constitution and the application of caustic remedies. Cases in which senile decay causes cataract and various forms of ulceration, especially of the cornea, are very common. These, though easily amenable to treatment in their earlier stages, are often not submitted for treatment at the hospitals, until vision has been hopelessly destroyed, and it is too late for any treatment to be of use. Ophthalmia is specially common during the months of April and May, when the hot west winds, loaded with dust, are blowing. It is often only a mild form of conjunctivitis, but among the poor it takes the form of purulent ophthalmia, resulting in total destruction of the eye, or in the formation of permanent opacities of the cornea.

804. The number of blind persons in the two Provinces has risen by 3,139 or by 4 per cent. since 1901. As shown in

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

the margin, the increase is common to both sexes, and has occurred at all ages, except among females aged 50 and over. The

CENSUS.	UNDER 50 YEARS.		50 YEARS AND OVER.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1911	24,052	17,427	15,317	17,202
1901	22,823	16,141	14,660	17,235
Variation ...	+ 1,229	+ 1,286	+ 657	- 33

increase is all the more noticeable because of the largely enhanced number of successful operations for cataract—the aggregate during the decade was actually more than half the total number of blind persons enumerated in 1901—and *prima facie* the restoration of sight to such a large propor-

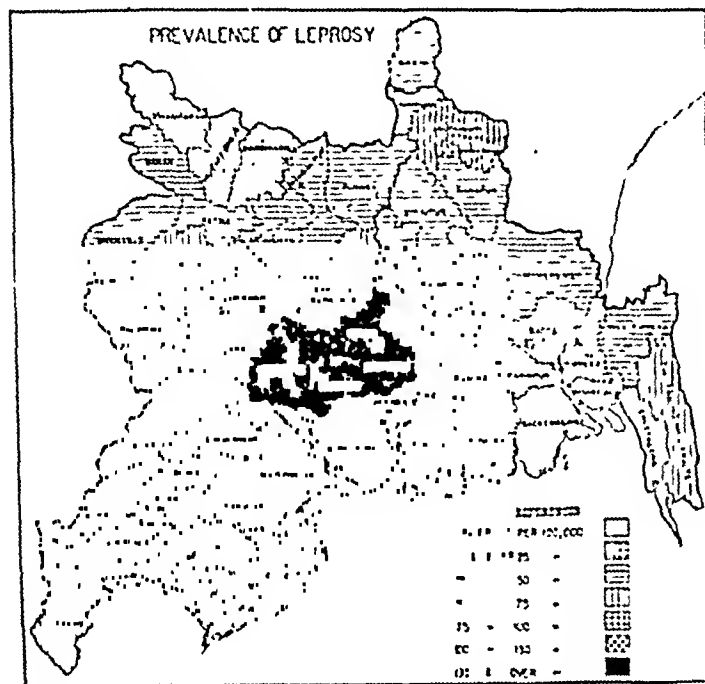
tion should have had some effect in diminishing the blind population. On the other hand, the proportional growth of blind persons falls short of the general growth of population. Compared with 1901, blindness is relatively less prevalent among both sexes in all parts of the two Provinces, except (1) Central Bengal, where the proportion is the same, (2) Orissa, where the proportion of blind females has risen by 6 and of males by 10 per 100,000, (3) South Bihar, where there is a rise of 9 and 11 respectively, and (4) East Bengal, where the proportion for blind males has risen by 2 per 100,000.

food and manner of life are otherwise much the same. For these and other variations among the 165 different castes for which statistics have been compiled, I can offer no explanation.

LEPROSY.

808. Leprosy is unusually prevalent in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa owing to two leper centres, viz., the four inland districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Manbhum, and the three seaboard districts of Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri, which between

them contain 12,605 lepers or over one-third of the total number. The disease is most rife in the four districts first named, where there is an average of 16 lepers per 10,000 of the population. The greatest intensity is reached in Bankura with a ratio of 23 per 10,000; this district is, indeed, the blackest leper spot in the whole of India. In the Orissa districts the proportion is 10 per 10,000, and the disease is evenly diffused through all the three districts.



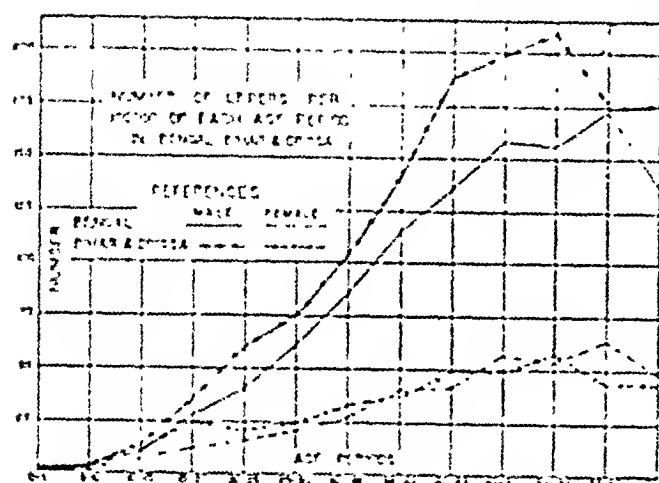
Elsewhere it is most common in the Southal Parganas (which adjoins the leper districts of Birbhum, Burdwan and Manbhum) and in the district of Gaya: the number of lepers in the latter district is slightly swollen by immigrants, the town of Gaya being a sacred place of pilgrimage to which lepers are attracted in the hope of charity from pilgrims.*

There is a definite geographical distribution of leprosy. The lower delta, included in Central and East Bengal, which has a humid climate and a soil composed mainly of recent alluvium, is most immune. The whole of the north of the two Provinces is also in a favourable position, though there are two exceptions, viz., the State of Cooch Behar and the district of Jalpaiguri in the submontane country known as the Tarai. South Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, with a drier climate, are more exposed to the ravages of the disease, while it is rife in the country to the south and south-east of the Plateau.

809. The reason for its excessive prevalence in the three seaboard districts of Orissa and the four inland districts on the fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau are unknown. They are inhabited by different races and their physical configuration varies widely. The inhabitants of the former are mainly orthodox Hindus: the latter contain a population, in which an aboriginal element is fairly strong. The seaboard districts consist of three distinct tracts, viz., a maritime fringe, a central zone of alluvium, and an upland and somewhat sterile strip of submontane country. The inland

* At the time of the census plague was raging in Gaya town, and foreign-born lepers avoided the place. In Puri town out of 113 lepers, more than half came from outside the district, some hailing from such distant places as Bundelkhand and Gwalior.

813. The age distribution of lepers is very different from that of other infirmities. Both among males and females the period of greatest incidence is from 20 to 60, the rise being steady and continuous, though more pronounced among males, for whom the returns are more complete. The same characteristic was noticed by Mr. Gait in 1901, whose remarks on the subject may be quoted. "A leper's life is a comparatively short one. According to one of the most reliable estimates (that of Daniellson and Boeck), the average duration of life from the date of attack is only $9\frac{1}{2}$ years for tuberculated and $18\frac{1}{2}$ years in the case of anæsthetic leprosy. It follows that the steady proportion of lepers between the ages of 20 and 60 indicates a marked rise in the liability to infection between those ages."



814. Both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa there are approximately 3 male lepers to every female leper. The proportion of the sexes at different age periods, however, differs considerably, and specially at the first period (0—5). Among young children of this age there are 117 females to every 100 males in Bihar and Orissa, but less than half that number in Bengal. In both Provinces the proportion gradually and steadily falls until the age of 45—50, when the proportion is almost the same, there being 28 female lepers in Bengal, and 25 in Bihar and Orissa, to every 100 male lepers. After the age of 50, however, there is a rise in the relative number of females: the proportion for elderly female lepers in both Provinces is very nearly the same as for females in their full maturity, i.e., between 25 and 30 years of age.

815. The castes that appear to be most affected by leprosy are the small Sarak community in Bengal and then the Hajjams and Indian Christians. The high figure in the last case is explicable by the fact that a number of them are inmates of leper asylums, where they have been converted to Christianity: it is not likely that it implies any special liability to the disease. Both Bagdis and Bauris suffer to a marked degree, but with them leprosy is probably a matter of locality rather than of race or manner of life, for they form a considerable proportion of the population of the leprous districts. Other castes of Bengal in which leprosy is especially common are (in a descending scale) the Lohar, Kaibartta, Mali and Khaira. In Bihar and Orissa the most afflicted are the Mayra, Sarak and Kalu: their local distribution is, however, limited, for all the lepers among the Mayras and Kalus were enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas and Manbhum, and the Sarak lepers in Manbhum only.

816. In order to ascertain whether any castes are specially liable to the disease in the leper area, i.e., the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Manbhum, statistics have been prepared of the castes in those four districts, among which there are 100 or more lepers, or which have an aggregate strength of over 50,000. The result is shown in the margin. The highest incidence is found among the Rajputs and then among the Bauris, while the Bhumiij, Kayasth, Kora, Kurmi, Mal and Santal

CASTE.	Number of lepers.	Proportion per 100,000.	CASTE.	Number of lepers.	Proportion per 100,000.
1. Rajput ...	612	135	11. Kayasth ...	50	72
2. Baidyab ...	152	173	12. Kora ...	32	45
3. Bauri ...	1,219	231	13. Kurmi ...	75	112
4. Bhuiya ...	44	102	14. Santal ...	231	53
5. Bhoj ...	92	67	15. Mal ...	34	53
6. Brahman ...	334	113	16. Naph ...	55	109
7. Chakrabarty ...	87	168	17. Rajput ...	279	353
8. Das ...	231	213	18. Sarak ...	322	138
9. Dasgupta ...	104	273	19. Santal ...	233	59
10. Go'da ...	419	222	20. Sonal ...	248	258
11. Hal ...	116	162	21. Tal ...	74	102
12. Kalu ...	223	232	22. Tel ...	231	233
13. Karmar ...	123	144	23. S ...	293	158

suffer the least. Of the latter all but the Kayasths have a strong aboriginal strain, but so also has the Bauri. It is not apparent why the Rajputs should have proportionately four times as many lepers as the Kayasths, or why the latter should be more immune than the Brahmans. The Bauris and Baghis, again, have very much the same occupations, customs and manner of life, but leprosy is twice as frequent among the former as among the latter.

§17. The law relating to leprosy, which is in force in both Provinces, is the Lepers Act (III of 1898), an Act applicable to all India, which was introduced in 1901 in place of the Bengal Lepers Act of 1895. This Act provides for the establishment of asylums to which lepers may be sent from specified areas, for the arrest of pauper lepers found wandering in such areas, and for their detention in an asylum. It also empowers the Local Government to prohibit lepers from engaging in certain trades or occupations likely to endanger the public health. The asylums established under it are the Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra near Calcutta and the asylums at Pundia in Manbhum, Raniganj in Bardwan, Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur. The asylum at Gobra is a Government institution managed by a Board appointed by Government; the rest are under the management of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, assisted by contributions from Government. Under section 9 of the Act notifications have been issued prohibiting lepers in certain localities from following certain trades or occupations connected with the bodily requirements of human beings, or from doing certain acts likely to endanger public health. The localities in question are the districts of Bardwan, Birbhum and Manbhum, the Muzaffarpur thana (excluding two outposts), the towns of Calcutta, Gossien-Chitpur, Manicktollah, Tollygunge, Garden Reach, Howrah, Krishnagar, Bhagalpur, the South Suburban Municipality and Fort William. These have also been specified as local areas from which lepers may be sent to specific asylums.

§18. The Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra was declared to be an asylum under the Lepers Act in 1901; the areas from which lepers may be sent to it are Fort William, Calcutta, the Suburban Municipalities and the Krishnagar Municipality. The Pundia Leper Asylum is the largest asylum in the two Provinces, containing accommodation for over 600 lepers. It was established in 1887, and in 1902 was declared to be an asylum to which lepers might be sent from the district of Manbhum. From the outset the working of this asylum has been in the hands of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission; its popularity is such that most of the inmates go there of their own free will, and the number sent under the Act is generally very small. A large majority of the inmates, however, are such as could legally be sent there, and in consideration of this fact, and of the good work done by it, Government gives the asylum an annual capitation grant, which is at present fixed at Rs. 12,000 a year. The Raniganj Leper Asylum, established in 1893, was declared to be an asylum under the Act in 1907; the local areas from which lepers may be sent to it are the districts of Bardwan and Birbhum. It contains about 200 lepers, and receives annually from Government a capitation grant calculated at the rate of Re. 1-8 a month for each inmate that is a leper within the meaning of the Act. The Bhagalpur Leper Asylum was established in 1890 and was brought under the operation of the Act in 1908. The town of Bhagalpur is the local area from which lepers under the Act may be sent to it. Government contributes a capitation grant at the usual rate of Re. 1-8 per head a month. The Muzaffarpur Leper Asylum was declared an asylum under the Act in 1909, and the Muzaffarpur thana (excluding the independent outposts of Minapore and Sakra) was specified as the local area from which lepers might be sent to it. A capitation grant at the usual rate is made from Provincial revenues.

§19. There are also asylums at Asansol, Bankura and Lohardaga, belonging to the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, which have not been brought under the operation of the Lepers Act, but are assisted by Government contributions. The Lohardaga Asylum is the oldest in the two Provinces, having been started in 1884 at the instance of the Revd. F. Hahn of Gossner's German (Evangelical Lutheran) Mission. That at Asansol was

started about six years later, and that at Bankura in 1902. The Rajkumari Leper Asylum at Deoghar, the Puri Leper Asylum (started in 1905) and the Sambalpur Leper Asylum are private institutions maintained from subscriptions. There is also an asylum in the State of Mayurbhanj, which was opened in 1907. It is subsidized by the Maharaja and is visited by members of an Australian Mission called the Mayurbhanj State Mission. Altogether 1,227 lepers (811 males and 416 females) were enumerated in the different asylums.

From the preceding account it will be seen that all the asylums in the two Provinces except that at Gobra are maintained either by the Mission to Lepers in India and the East or depend upon private charity. Government, however, makes considerable grants for their upkeep, and in the decade 1901-1910 contributed Rs. 1,29,052 (Rs. 24,250 as building grants and Rs. 1,04,802 as annual subventions), while local bodies subscribed over Rs. 4,000.

820. The work in the Mission asylums is partly evangelistic, for it is

THE WORK IN THE ASYLUMS.

desired to make converts, and partly philanthropic, as the lepers are given shelter, clothed and fed. It is also to a large extent medical, but as it has not yet been established that there is any effective cure for this mysterious disease, the treatment is of a comparatively simple character, and is applied with the object of giving relief, rather than with a hope of actual cure. The most important part of the work is preventive, the worst and most dangerous cases being segregated, while special efforts are made to save the untainted children of leprosy parents from contagion. It is recognized that the disease being not hereditary but contagious, the best chance of successful work lies in separating children from diseased parents and protecting them from contamination.

821. The most recent authoritative pronouncement regarding the causation of leprosy is that of the Conference of

CAUSATION OF LEPROSY.

Leprologists presided over by Professor Virchow, which was held at Berlin in 1897. The conclusions arrived at by this body of experts were briefly that:—(1) The disease is communicated by the bacillus, but its conditions of life and methods of penetrating the human organism are unknown. Probably it obtains entrance through the mouth or the mucous membrane. (2) It is certain that mankind alone is liable to the bacillus. (3) Leprosy is contagious, but not hereditary. (4) The disease has hitherto resisted all efforts to cure it. A similar Conference held at Bergen in 1909 confirmed these views.

Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S., has advanced another theory, viz., that leprosy is due to eating badly cured fish. His views are—(1) the leprosy is caused by a bacillus, which gains access to the body through the stomach, and not by the breath or by the skin. (2) That in the great majority of cases in which grown-up persons become lepers, the bacillus enters the stomach in connection with badly cured fish, eaten in a state of partial decomposition and not sufficiently cooked. (3) That the bacillus is not present in any other form of fish-food. (4) That it is but very seldom that the bacillus is present even in such fish, and that it is especially likely to be found in fish which has been imported from a distance. (5) That a very small quantity of tainted fish may suffice to introduce the bacillus, and that a long period is necessary before its results will be observed.

822. Mr. Hutchinson's theory is not confirmed by the results of the census over the areas where leprosy is most prevalent. In Bankura, in particular, which is the worst leper centre in either Province, the consumption of badly cured fish is extremely rare. On the other hand, it is common among the Nepalese races, who fulfil the conditions necessary according to Mr. Hutchinson, for (1) the fish they eat is badly cured, (2) it is eaten very largely, (3) it is in a state of partial decomposition and (4) it is imported from distant places. In every bazar frequented by the Nepalese such badly cured fish may be seen. Its condition will be sufficiently described by a quotation from Mr. Inglis, an old planter of North Bihar. "Large quantities of dried fish are sent to Nepal, and exchanged for rice and other grains, or horns, hides and blankets. The fish-drying is done very simply in the sun.

It is generally left till it is half putrid and taints the air for miles. The sweltering, half-rotting mass, packed in filthy bags, and slung on ponies or bullocks, is sent over the frontier to some village bazar in Nepal. The track of a consignment of this horrible filth can be recognized from very far away. The perfume hovers on the road, and as you are riding up and get the first sniff of the putrid odour, you know at once that the Nepalese market is being recruited by a fresh accession of very stale fish. If the taste is at all equal to the smell, the rankest witches' broth ever brewed in a reeking cauldron would probably be preferable.* The localities where the Nepalese are found in greatest strength have little leprosy, viz., Darjeeling, where the proportion of male lepers per 100,000 is 45, and, Sikkim, where it falls to 16. The figures for Nepalese castes, moreover, show that the incidence of leprosy is very low; out of 35,000 persons belonging to different Nepalese castes in Sikkim only 6 are leper.

823. Experiments with Doreke's Nasta treatment of leprosy were made

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFLICTED PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—continued.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	INSANE.										DEAF-MUTES.										BLIND.										LEPERS.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
	Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division, those areas for which figures are not available, have been left out of account.

^a There are leper asylums at Purnia (Maunbhum), Gobra (Calcutta), Deogarh (South Parganas), Lohardaga (Bareilly), Raiganj and Asansol (Burdwan), Bankura, Bhagabpur, Sambalpur, Muzaffarpur and Puri. Excluding the inmates who were born outside the districts in which these asylums are situated, the proportion of lepers per 100,000 persons of each sex is—Maunbhum males 167, females 105; Calcutta males 18, females 20; South Parganas males 97, females 47; Raich males 13, females 10; Burdwan males 183, females 72; Bankura males 318, females 163; Bhagabpur males 49, females 16; Sambalpur males 42, females 34; Muzaffarpur males 42, females 174; females 37. There are female leper asylums at Birwaipuri (Calcutta), Be-tanpo (Munshabad), Dacca and Aun. Excluding the inmates who were born outside the districts in which the asylums are situated, the proportion of inmates per 100,000 persons of each sex is—Calcutta, males 36, females 29; Munshabad males 37, females 16; Dacca males 31, females 39; Purnia males 10, females 16.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFECTED PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—continued.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.		1911.										1901.										1891.										1881.									
		Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
1		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.				
ORISSA ...	...	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3				
Cuttack ...	...	24	27	27	34	10	12	12	16	22	64	116	126	32	29	59	70	92	82	89	108	69	83	93	128	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Balasore ...	...	23	23	23	31	10	12	12	16	22	64	116	126	32	29	59	70	92	82	89	108	69	83	93	128	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Puri ...	...	23	24	24	31	10	12	12	16	22	64	116	126	32	29	59	70	92	82	89	108	69	83	93	128	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU ...	...	15	18	17	23	9	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Hazaribagh ...	...	11	12	12	14	4	4	4	12	43	34	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33				
Ranchi ...	...	20	21	21	23	12	12	12	16	22	64	116	126	32	29	59	70	92	82	89	108	69	83	93	128	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Jamshedpur ...	...	19	21	21	23	12	12	12	16	22	64	116	126	32	29	59	70	92	82	89	108	69	83	93	128	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Manbhum ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Singbhum ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Sonhal Parganas ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Angul ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Kumbharpur ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Orissa Parganas ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
Chota Nagpur States ...	...	14	15	15	17	11	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
SINKIM ...	...	13	16	16	23	9	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	92	88	107	102	109	101	131	189	170	168	190	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division, three areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account, namely:—
1. The districts of Dacca, Dhaka, and Chittagong, which were separated from the Province of Bengal in 1905.
2. The districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, and Jalandhar, which were separated from the Province of Punjab in 1901.
3. The districts of Amritsar, Lahore, and Multan, which were separated from the Province of Punjab in 1901.

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division, those areas for which figures are not available have been omitted. In the case of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Jharkhand, Manbhum, Singbhum, Sonhal Parganas, Angul, Kumbharpur, Orissa Parganas, Chota Nagpur States, and Sinkim, the figures are based on the population of the districts in 1911. In the case of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Jharkhand, Manbhum, Singbhum, Sonhal Parganas, Angul, Kumbharpur, Orissa Parganas, Chota Nagpur States, and Sinkim, the figures are based on the population of the districts in 1911. In the case of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Jharkhand, Manbhum, Singbhum, Sonhal Parganas, Angul, Kumbharpur, Orissa Parganas, Chota Nagpur States, and Sinkim, the figures are based on the population of the districts in 1911.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II. PART I.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX.

AGE.	INSANE.												DEAF-MUTES.											
	Male.						Female.						Male.						Female.					
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17								
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.																								
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0-5	55	116	165	183	98	152	150	249	182	458	359	539	517	536	487	553								
5-10	520	575	518	527	534	638	538	594	1,569	1,816	1,349	1,120	1,559	1,658	1,310	1,128								
10-15	815	872	748	611	860	975	732	696	1,670	1,729	1,233	1,161	1,524	1,597	1,039	988								
15-20	909	930	827	657	1,015	982	852	810	1,268	1,355	965	849	1,323	1,358	937	764								
20-25	1,006	998	924	2,118	1,070	988	890	1,740	1,074	972	650	1,698	1,098	991	820	1,475								
25-30	1,338	1,210	1,210	1,014	1,000	974	1,014	1,740	1,000	1,008	671	1,098	1,098	878	843	1,316								
30-35	1,350	1,238	1,256	2,122	1,103	1,064	1,064	1,861	1,100	807	638	1,502	1,098	796	614	1,176								
35-40	1,064	1,035	1,034	2,122	857	848	804	1,861	1,100	619	588	1,176	1,098	502	573	988								
40-45	978	946	1,065	1,490	969	1,005	1,014	1,574	514	489	514	1,176	1,098	484	595	1,610								
45-50	594	586	586	862	863	868	868	1,574	514	489	514	1,176	1,098	484	595	1,610								
50-55	230	233	322	862	353	275	275	1,574	514	489	514	1,176	1,098	484	595	1,610								
55-60	244	238	322	862	353	275	275	1,574	514	489	514	1,176	1,098	484	595	1,610								
60 and over	537	568	655	852	819	880	1,009	1,331	310	344	922	1,164	331	449	1,193									

AGE.	BLIND.												LEPERS.											
	Male.						Female.						Male.						Female.					
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.			
1	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33								
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.																								
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0-5	404	379	451	406	304	271	275	237	32	29	48	63	60	67	63	122								
5-10	727	716	708	707	458	439	382	386	76	83	38	148	167	170	187	257								
10-15	590	596	573	475	415	441	338	393	223	230	256	271	435	430	379	386								
15-20	592	574	532	475	415	441	338	393	223	230	256	271	435	430	379	386								
20-25	592	574	532	475	415	441	338	393	223	230	256	271	435	430	379	386								
25-30	567	565	536	1,039	556	556	436	764	978	565	565	1,444	1,117	1,063	1,399	1,660								
30-35	563	539	527	1,118	602	582	556	914	1,215	1,282	1,184	2,470	1,204	1,098	1,317	2,032								
35-40	556	548	548	1,118	530	492	494	914	1,215	1,282	1,184	2,470	1,204	1,098	1,317	2,032								
40-45	556	548	548	1,118	530	492	494	914	1,215	1,282	1,184	2,470	1,204	1,098	1,317	2,032								
45-50	518	523	502	1,144	589	708	737	1,074	1,463	1,602	1,454	2,368	1,334	1,249	1,317	1,922								
50-55	776	783	786	1,194	677	910	910	1,394	1,059	1,096	1,035	1,532	1,034	1,049	1,000	1,474								
55-60	444	452	505	1,350	495	543	594	1,394	1,059	1,096	1,035	1,532	1,034	1,049	1,000	1,474								
60 and over	2,671	2,676	2,821	3,350	3,695	2,710	3,885	4,629	1,079	1,075	1,230	1,266	1,175	1,340	1,394	1,636								

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—PART II.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX. 1911.

AGE.	INSANE.						DEAF-MUTES.						BLIND.						LEPERS.					
	Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.		
	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.	Male.		Female.
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17								
Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000								
0-5	61	100	80	90	419	483	417	558	319	260	479	331	34	66	27	33								
5-10	665	608	427	483	1,579	1,560	1,573	574	434	862	321	290	75	132	40	200								
10-15	831	847	764	863	1,690	1,612	1,690	1,590	614	399	842	443	295	349	213	477								
15-20	934	1,041	807	882	1,265	1,385	1,265	1,251	534	391	630	497	441	630	411	775								
20-25	1,024	1,031	937	1,017	1,032	1,053	1,032	1,151	476	357	696	497	541	783	613	754								
25-30	1,386	1,112	1,247	1,247	1,016	1,021	1,160	1,039	558	443	764	684	1,030	1,033	929	1,204								
30-35	1,575	1,112	1,547	1,095	728	733	902	809	530	450	753	684	1,021	1,021	1,197	1,204								
35-40	1,075	846	1,190	500	513	500	510	433	566	613	619	709	1,343	1,090	1,279	981								
40-45	900	947	1,010	329	298	317	298	268	569	569	472	541	1,019	1,030	1,030	1,030								
45-50	578	563	580	329	298	317	298	268	569	569	472	541	1,019	1,030	1,030	1,030								
50-55	532	753	623	317	298	317	298	268	569	569	472	541	1,019	1,030	1,030	1,030								
55-60	241	300	257	118	157	118	157	118	331	372	683	811	921	1,030	1,030	1,030								
60 and over	522	702	507	337	351	337	351	391	3,175	4,033	2,253	367	412	1,517	1,497	1,535								

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 OF EACH AGE PERIOD
AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.

BENGAL.

AGE.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000—								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mutes.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages ...	50	36	81	58	78	63	56	19	671	676	773	320
0—5 ...	2	2	25	19	18	11	2	1	1,096	733	642	560
5—10 ...	18	13	83	57	29	18	3	2	697	671	584	560
10—15 ...	33	31	115	86	40	25	10	7	635	584	400	609
15—20 ...	54	37	117	79	48	25	24	12	749	740	562	454
20—25 ...	66	39	106	81	47	26	41	16	676	691	629	429
25—30 ...	75	42	90	63	46	30	61	21	534	650	614	321
30—35 ...	82	55	71	60	55	42	86	27	578	698	664	266
35—40 ...	81	59	74	63	63	56	116	40	533	627	648	232
40—45 ...	83	66	79	62	90	76	136	42	656	668	711	265
45—50 ...	79	66	65	61	119	120	158	57	653	730	773	277
50—55 ...	75	74	68	50	102	170	166	54	930	737	852	338
55—60 ...	72	71	61	44	216	234	173	64	861	627	831	325
60 and over ...	61	57	66	48	572	533	137	48	979	764	982	369

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

All ages ...	16	8	90	55	111	104	71	23	518	636	974	338
0—5 ...	1	1	30	22	40	25	1	2	588	791	672	1,167
5—10 ...	4	3	84	68	60	38	4	3	586	642	589	841
10—15 ...	10	7	119	87	73	60	14	11	593	618	560	664
15—20 ...	16	9	142	92	84	67	36	24	566	627	740	637
20—25 ...	21	9	139	74	107	61	60	21	682	653	695	432
25—30 ...	23	8	119	61	97	72	75	24	408	568	816	349
30—35 ...	31	10	99	52	101	85	103	33	516	760	888	341
35—40 ...	28	11	78	44	93	97	141	37	392	557	969	239
40—45 ...	28	14	73	45	125	188	194	49	457	629	1,063	276
45—50 ...	28	13	65	41	141	157	194	49	457	629	1,116	248
50—55 ...	22	15	64	39	194	207	203	57	739	808	1,155	307
55—60 ...	24	13	57	35	233	249	174	44	623	636	1,172	281
60 and over ...	21	15	63	36	356	569	176	43	966	946	1,440	343

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.

HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	Locality.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTES.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
AGARIA	Bihar and Orissa	37	36	119	73	82	95	37	73	1,000	625	1,182	2,000 9.
AGARWALA	Bihar and Orissa	19	14	88	35	105	69	37	...	888	454	588	...
AJAT	Bihar and Orissa	231	38	1,735	1,414	139	568	277	76	200	1,000	5,000	323.
AMAT	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	140	81	101	53	55	16	1,500	604	531	294
ANGLO-INDIAN...	Bengal	160	181	43	11	85	149	21	...	1,133	250	1,760	...
ATITH	Bihar and Orissa	12	4	127	43	94	115	98	32	333	387	1,391	375
BABHAN	Bihar and Orissa	12	3	74	32	89	62	51	3	253	423	666	61
BAGDI	Bihar and Orissa	11	11	159	89	103	263	296	167	1,000	671	1,411	577
	Bengal	32	18	73	54	92	86	153	49	600	760	950	327
BAIDYA	Bengal	104	47	45	34	97	65	32	9	457	750	674	286.
BAUSHNAB	Bihar and Orissa	39	19	109	59	179	193	154	64	437	488	973	376
	Bengal	68	38	80	50	153	129	131	45	569	760	1,020	422
BANIYA	Bihar and Orissa	52	13	159	80	215	188	95	41	250	518	956	439
	Bengal	210	163	263	433	228	850	123	135	500	1,067	1,846	714
BARAI	Bihar and Orissa	12	14	145	67	179	149	150	32	1,125	473	852	218.
BARHI	Bihar and Orissa	13	7	90	54	127	130	35	10	571	633	1,035	290
BARNAWAR	Bihar and Orissa	25	12	25	107	135	143	111	36	500	4,500	1,090	333
BARUI	Bengal	54	28	59	54	58	43	22	1	480	554	685	50.
BAURI	Bihar and Orissa	16	10	52	46	138	148	272	144	652	894	1,090	540
	Bengal	20	22	63	46	102	173	395	237	1,133	890	1,732	619
BEDEA	Bihar and Orissa	23	14	138	107	54	128	15	...	666	833	2,571	...
BELDAR	Bihar and Orissa	11	2	57	40	88	145	77	7	200	720	1,641	88.
BHANDARI	Bihar and Orissa	21	7	86	58	94	95	138	28	333	714	1,055	215
BHAR	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	...	95	147	27	204	34	19	...	1,643	8,000	600.
BHAT	Bihar and Orissa	40	...	224	83	295	110	112	...	...	429	432	...
BHOGTA	Bihar and Orissa	10	5	41	23	69	89	8	5	600	562	1,296	666
BHUINMALI	Bengal	60	34	86	61	84	76	34	7	560	694	886	214
BHUIYA	Bihar and Orissa	12	9	45	46	110	123	78	32	789	1,061	1,183	438
	Bengal	16	6	37	32	59	41	227	60	333	714	691	224
BHULIA	Bihar and Orissa	6	6	70	24	41	59	70	30	1,000	333	1,428	416
BHUMIJ	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	57	44	84	105	77	48	1,181	851	1,372	690
	Bengal	111	16	64	46	61	67	154	93	149	870	962	631
BIND	Bihar and Orissa	10	3	76	46	119	134	35	10	333	667	1,280	318
BINJHAL	Bihar and Orissa	13	3	29	25	46	69	62	19	250	888	1,671	316
BRAHMAN	Bihar and Orissa	30	9	102	44	123	73	82	22	307	434	597	278
	Bengal	93	41	66	49	82	54	43	16	388	656	579	337
OHAIN	Bihar and Orissa	19	...	64	48	159	102	61	24	...	800	680	500
OHAMAR	Bihar and Orissa	10	7	94	60	110	109	49	12	769	702	1,129	268
	Bengal	46	48	134	156	121	210	133	66	600	672	1,000	287

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—*continued*.HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS—*contd.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTE.		BLIND.		LEPER.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Leper.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
CHASA	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	18 123	8 317	37 777	20 317	78 1,664	59 2,063	129 1,794	36 924	493 1,000	549 167	777 462	292 154
CHIK	Bihar and Orissa	19	19	97	91	109	132	13	13	1,000	1,000	1,235	1,000
DIHANUK	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	8 163	6 47	97 158	32 92	156 197	117 275	59 109	12 33	720 333	592 609	1,017 1,143	294 250
DHORA	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	19 37	17 77	97 173	65 33	113 74	126 57	84 43	30 12	706 642	792 475	1,173 645	370 255
DOR	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	15 1	7 15	71 123	45 105	95 119	120 200	35 113	35 113	509 609	647 781	858 1,205	301 547
DOSADH	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	17 24	5 22	95 24	12 22	169 153	139 127	67 43	9 11	500 285	820 400	827 314	153 111
DUMAL	Bihar and Orissa	18	8	48	41	79	94	109	44	167	875	1,231	417
EUROPEAN AND ALLIED RACES.	Bengal	95	167	23	40	23	80	14	...	785	1,090	2,000	...
GANDA	Bihar and Orissa	5	7	37	28	44	52	32	16	1,400	718	1,120	739
GANDHABANIK	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	8 12	9 10	25 67	13 64	145 81	124 77	76 119	77 30	1,000 132	1,000 1,075	737 959	1,000 231
GANDAI	Bihar and Orissa	13	...	95	44	74	89	75	22	...	565	1,412	333
GANGAUT	Bihar and Orissa	31	7	81	12	117	145	71	7	231	929	1,052	107
GARTHI	Bihar and Orissa	16	17	81	33	115	85	23	6	1,143	441	804	309
GARO	Bengal	51	37	78	33	161	155	60	42	727	411	943	692
GAURA	Bihar and Orissa	17	11	67	43	91	85	95	32	932	641	991	371
GHASI	Bihar and Orissa	23	14	135	70	141	120	23	25	655	543	886	1,125
GOALA OR AHIR	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	10 24	5 34	96 71	55 63	117 87	111 91	44 92	10 62	531 729	578 727	925 901	226 519
GOKHA	Bihar and Orissa	9	17	65	29	48	24	144	58	2,090	467	455	412
GOLA	Bihar and Orissa	25	18	59	29	65	54	137	36	711	571	809	963
GOND	Bihar and Orissa	10	10	73	29	81	77	63	34	545	821	968	541
GONR	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	3	...	85	3	56	...	6	...	...	10,000	...
GONRHI	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	78	22	111	75	65	4	1,200	308	714	73
GOSAIN	Bihar and Orissa	55	6	64	39	161	215	56	8	143	750	1,300	143
GURIA	Bihar and Orissa	17	7	94	45	132	104	106	52	417	486	872	281
HAJJAM	Bihar and Orissa	22	8	110	76	167	167	59	14	381	691	993	250
HAZALKHOR	Bihar and Orissa	11	11	27	64	359	181	65	24	1,000	3,000	515	333
HALWAI	Bihar and Orissa	24	17	122	50	123	97	41	7	706	419	793	172
HARI	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	41 38	26 33	242 100	167 95	159 101	178 90	133 127	62 34	667 764	718 932	1,151 637	487 294
HO	Bihar and Orissa	1	1	5	7	2	1	3	...	500	1,455	400	...
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	16 53	1 30	43 60	35 47	74 86	70 70	190 631	192 321	85 522	825 731	959 757	1,028 472
JOGI AND JUGI	Bihar and Orissa Bengal	23 59	45 38	124 85	125 48	158 70	307 54	119 27	6 7	2,000 641	1,000 548	1,929 758	48 285

CHAPTER XI.

CASTE.

824. At the last census statistics of all castes and tribes were compiled, but it was realized that the compilation of figures for a great number of minor groups, each of which formed an infinitesimal fraction of the population, involved an expenditure of time and labour which was incommensurate with the value of the results. At this census it was laid down by the Government of India that the caste table should give statistics only for the more important castes and for any others which Local Governments for special reasons might wish to include. At the same time it was stated that any Local Government might, if it wished, order a complete table to be prepared. The then Government of Bengal availed itself of the discretionary powers allowed to it, and decided that figures should be compiled only for castes or tribes which in 1901 numbered 50,000 or more, for other castes or tribes that accounted for 25,000 or more in any single district, and for any other castes, tribes and races that were of local importance or of special ethnological interest. The castes coming under the last category were selected in consultation with the District Officers. Table XIII therefore gives statistics only of selected castes and tribes for Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal for the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooh Behar, all of which were under the Bengal Government at the time of the census. Altogether 205 castes and tribes are entered in the table for Bihar and Orissa besides European and allied races. In Eastern Bengal statistics were compiled for all castes and tribes but not for European races: over 450 groups with a strength varying from 1 to 22,000,000 will be found in the table for this sub-province, but half of them have under 1,000 representatives. It is to be regretted that when the trouble was taken to record the numerical strength of such a large number of communities, it was not decided to compile statistics for such races as the English Irish, Scotch and other European nationalities.

825. No part of the census aroused so much excitement as the return of castes. There was a general idea in Bengal that the object of the census is not to show the number of persons belonging to each caste, but to fix the relative status of different castes and to deal with questions of social superiority. Some frankly regarded the census as an opportunity that might fairly be taken to obliterate caste distinctions. The feeling on the subject was very largely the result of castes having been classified in the last census report in order of social precedence. This "warrant of precedence" gave rise to considerable agitation at the time and proved a legacy of trouble. The agitation was renewed when the census operations of 1911 were instituted. Hundreds of petitions were received from different castes—their weight alone amounts to 1½ maunds—requesting that they might be known by new names, be placed higher in the order of precedence, be recognized as Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, etc. Many castes were aggrieved at the position assigned them, and complained that it lowered them in public estimation. The Subarnabaniks, in particular, were offended at being placed low down in the list, whereas in 1891 they were grouped with other Bania castes among Vaisyas. Others thought it a suitable opportunity to advance new claims. It was impossible to comply with these requests, as it was decided from the outset that there should be no classification of castes by status.

826. The methods pursued by the castes who desire to attain a higher status follow a more or less stereotyped plan. One of the first steps is to obtain favourable *vuavashthas* or rulings from complaisant Pandits. These refer to the present occupations and manner of life of the caste, and quote verses from ancient works to show that they are like those of the *varna* from which the caste claims to be an offshoot. Other Hindus do not care what rulings the Pandits give, provided that their own status is not affected. Their treatment of the

aspirant caste remains the same, and they rarely pay attention to the rulings. Recently, however, a body known as the Samaj Raksha Sabha of Benares took disciplinary measures against certain Pandits who had pronounced in favour of a section of a Bengali caste that claimed to be Vaisyas. The Sabha found that their *vyavashtha* was wrong and compelled all but one of the Pandits to withdraw it and to return the money they had received. The Pandit who refused to recant or refund the money was punished by being deprived of the services of his priest.

The ruling of the Pandits is also frequently reinforced by pointing out the similarity of the present caste name to the historic name of some respectable but extinct tribe or caste. This argument is usually based on some phonetic similarity, e.g., Pod and Pundra. But there is little or no attempt to prove historical connection, or to show that the modern and archaic names are, or ever have been, colloquial equivalents.

827. Another expedient is to adopt an entirely new name which points to a respectable origin. As a case in point may be mentioned Mahishya, a designation recently assumed by the Chasi Kaibarttas, a cultivating community, in order to distinguish themselves from the Jaliya Kaibarttas, who follow what Hindus regard as a degrading occupation, viz., fishing. Mahishya is a name derived from *mahisha* (meaning a buffalo), which was given to a mixed caste by the Sanskrit law-givers, and was probably applied to a caste or tribe of cattle-keepers and graziers: it is mentioned in the *Gautama Dharma Sutra* (a work not later than 300 B.C.), in which a Mahishya is described as born of a Vaisya woman by a Kshattriya father. More frequently, however, ambitious castes, strive to attain greater respectability not by adopting a new name but by calling themselves Kshattriyas or Vaisyas (two of the old *varnas* or "estates" of Mann's days) or their fallen descendants (Bratya). The next step is to enter the name in registered deeds and to cite that fact as a proof that it is their proper designation. This is an easy enough matter. One low caste man who claimed a magnificent new title for his caste, went so far as to declare: "In respect of caste we may designate ourselves as we like in documents that may be presented for registration."*

Recently two new and ingenious expedients have been adopted by the low Bengali castes. The first is to declare that their ancestors were Buddhists and were degraded by the victorious Brahmans, or by King Balul Sen, when Brahmanical supremacy was re-established. The second is to allege that originally they were not Bengalis, but immigrants from up-country, whose original status was not recognized in the country of their adoption.

828. The following is a list of the names, other than those generally recognized, that were claimed at this census. The list is divided, for facility of reference, into castes that wished to have themselves returned as (A) Brahmans, (B) Kshattriyas, (C) Vaisyas and (D) under other names.

NEW NAMES.

Caste.	Locality.	Name claimed.
A.		
Babhan ...	... Bihar	... Brahman.
Belwar ...	... Saran	... Brahman.
Namasudra	... Bengal	... Namasudra-Brahman.
B.		
Hadi ...	... Mymensingh	... Haijay Kshattriya.
Koch ...	... Mymensingh	... Koch Kshattriya.
Kurmi ...	... Bihar	... Kurmi Kshattriya.
Malo (Jhalo and Malo) Bengal		(1) Bratya Kshattriya. (2) Jhalo Bratya Kshattriya and Malo Bratya Kshattriya.

* Under section 58 of the Indian Registration Act the signature and "addition" of every person admitting execution has to be endorsed on a registered document, and "addition" includes caste. The endorsement is usually made by a rubber stamp in a prescribed form. The party admitting execution signs his name, but the blanks on the form, including the entry of caste, are filled in by the registering officer, who has to ascertain his caste from the man himself. The officer is in a difficult position if the man will not state his real caste, but gives some new fangled name.

Caste.	Locality.	Name claimed.
		(3) Jhalla Kshattriya and Malla Kshattriya.
		(4) Jhalo (Bratya Kshattriya) and Malo (Bratya Kshattriya).
		(5) Jhalla-Barman or Jhalo-Barma and Malla Barman or Malo Barma.
Napit ...	East Bengal	(1) Kshattriya.
		(2) Paramanik or Sila Das.
		(3) Kayasth or Parashab.
Pod ...	Bengal	(1) Bratya Kshattriya.
		(2) Pundra Kshattriya.
Pandari ...	Bengal	Pundra Kshattriya.
Rajbansi ...	Eastern Bengal	(1) Kshattriya.
		(2) Rajbansi Kshattriya.
		(3) Kshattriya Rajbansi.
		(4) Bratya Kshattriya.
		(5) Patit Kshattriya.
		(6) Bhanga Kshattriya.
Rajbansi ...	Cooch-Behar	(1) Kshattriya Rajbansi.
	Purnea	(2) Rajbansi Kshattriya.
		Bhanga Kshattriya.
C.		
Barui ...	Bengal	Vaisya Barujibi or Barujibi.
Gandhabanik ...	East Bengal	Vaisya Gandhabanik.
Gaura ...	Cuttack	Vaisya Gop.
Goala ...	Bengal	Vaisya Ballabh Gop.
Haladhar ...	Central Bengal	Vaisya.
Karmakar ...	Bengal	Karmakar Vaisya or Karmakriti.
Sadgop ...	Bengal	Vaisya Sadgop.
	East Bengal	(1) Vaisya Gop.
		(2) Purba Bangia Satgop.
Shaha ...	Bengal	(1) Vaisya.
		(2) Vaisya Shaha.
		(3) Sadhubanik or Sahabanik.
Subarnabanik ...	Bengal	Vaisya.
Sutradhar ...	Bengal	Vaisya Sutradhar.
Tambuli ...	Howrah	Tambuli Vaisya.
Tili ...	East Bengal	Vaisya.
D.		
Baishnab ...	Bengal	Brahma Baishnab.
Bhuinmali ...	East Bengal	Bhumi Das.
Chasadhoba ...	Bengal	Satchasi.
Doai ...	Dacca	Sudra or Patikar.
Gangai (Ganesh) ...	Purnea and North Bengal.	Tantubai.
Jogi or Jugi ...	Bengal	Yogi.
Jolahas ...	Bengal	Sheikh.
Kalu ...	Bengal	Taili.
Kumhar (Kumbhakar) ...	Mymensingh	Rudra Pal.
Shagirdpesha ...	Midnapore	Madhyasreni Kayasth.
Sonar ...	Gaya	Kanaujia Chhatti.

829. In Manu's days Hindu society was divided into four *varnas*, or classes.

THE MODERN CASTE AND THE *Varna*. or as it might also be translated "the four estates." There is a general desire among the low castes of Bengal to merge the modern caste in the ancient class by calling themselves Kshattriyas or Vaisyas, two of those *varnas*. These ambitious castes point to present practices as though they are proof of origin, oblivious of the fact that argument as to origin cannot be drawn from present modern usage and that practices change from day to day. They imagine that by using the old name, they will have the respectability attaching to it, though the Hindu community is very conservative and does not overlook centuries of tradition.

and practice. The castes that aspire to be recognized as Kshatriyas or Vaisyas obtain however a certain amount of support from Pandits. Instead of recognizing that a caste which used to be of poor repute has risen in the social scale, the Pandits overcome the difficulty by the pleasing fiction that they never were that humble caste. They overlook questions of origin and descent, as well as the views of their predecessors and of the main body of Hindus, and consider avocation only. They compare, for instance, the present occupation of the caste and that of the old *varna*, and if it is the same, identify the caste with the *varna*. Thus, according to Manu, the Chandals were a degraded race, whose principal occupation was that of burning the dead and hanging criminals; they were vagrants who kept dogs and asses, and were clothed in rags stripped from the dead. No Namiasudra (a new name for the Chandal) at the present day does any of these things, and therefore, some Pandits rule that they are not Chandals. Other castes, who have given up their traditional occupations and are engaged in trade, claim to be Vaisyas. The Pandit's argument in such cases is briefly,—“These men are traders. The Vaisyas were traders. Therefore, these men are Vaisyas.” The following extract from a resolution passed in June 1912 by the Executive Committee of the Vanga Dharma Mandal (the Bengal branch of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal) illustrates the standpoint adopted:—“In view of the opinions expressed by Pandits and leading members of the Bengali Hindu Society, and by the special officer deputed by the Vanga Dharma Mandal in this behalf to make local enquiries, the Vanga Dharma Mandal is of opinion that the Rarhi and Varendra Sahas of Eastern Bengal, as represented by the Eastern Bengal and Sylhet Vaisya Samity, whose manners and customs substantially resemble those of the upper classes of Hindu society, and whose callings and professions do not differ from those of the Vaisyas, are a distinct caste from the Samri Sahas, and that their claim to be classed as Vaisyas may be conceded as being not inconsistent with the principles and practices enjoined by the Sastras.”

830. To the claims of those that desired to be returned as Kshatriyas or Vaisyas, the answer had to be that the census is designed to obtain a record of castes, at present existing, under the names by which they were generally known and not of the *varnas* that existed centuries ago.* The census record has nothing to do with their origin, and it does not matter whether they are descendants or modern representatives of the ancient Vaisyas, Kshatriyas, etc., or not. If their claims were entertained, we should revert to prehistoric times, in which Hindu society was divided between four estates. There would be no record of their numbers, no clue to their progress or decay, no statistics throwing light on their occupations, social practices, etc. Such claims, moreover, are sometimes made only by a handful of educated or half-educated men, who put themselves forward as spokesmen for the whole caste. The main body may be ignorant of their representation, or careless of the result, while their pretensions may be scouted by the general Hindu community. It is significant also that, in some cases, the caste itself is divided in opinion, one section claiming that it is Vaisya and another that it is Kshatriya. The most interesting feature of the agitation is perhaps that the low castes still apparently look to the Census Superintendent as having the power of the old Hindu Kings to raise and lower castes—forgetful that the admission of their claims might result in a state of affairs resembling that called *varnasankara*, or confusion of classes, which was so sternly denounced by the early Hindu sages.

831. The case of those castes who discard the name borne by their ancestors and arrogate a new designation is different. In their case the new name is recognized by the census authorities, if it generally applied to them by the

* The Indian Association submitted a memorial on this subject representing that Government should “allow individuals and communities to return themselves as they desire to be known and called”. The Government of Bengal replied, viz., that their request appeared “to violate the principal object for which the census is conducted, to obtain a record of existing facts, and *inter alia* to obtain statistics of the numbers of persons belonging to the different castes now recognized. This object would have been defeated if the members of the various castes had been permitted to adopt new caste designations at their own discretion and to have such designations returned in the schedules. The only possible principle to adopt is that castes should be entered by the names by which they are generally known; to admit other names would cause endless confusion and would, in many cases, lead to friction between rival communities belonging to the same caste”.

837. The ambition of numerous functional Musalman groups is to be known as Sheikhs. Practically all those of low degree, such as Nikaris or fishermen, Jolahas or weavers, Kulus or oil-pressers, Napits or barbers, etc., have this aspiration, though the better class Musalmans would not recognize them, nor would they recognize each other, as such. The Jolahas were insistent that they should not be returned by that name owing to its unfortunate connotation: the name is of Persian origin and means a weaver, but has come to be used proverbially for a fool. In view of their strong feeling on the subject it was laid down that they might return themselves as Momin or Nurbaf, two common synonyms, or as Sheikh Momin. They were not, however, content with this, but begged to be returned as Sheikhs. This was not allowed except in Eastern Bengal where the late Government gave even more than was asked for and issued orders that "in the case of Jolahas, Kulus, etc., if a person returns himself as such, the name of the caste should be entered. If, however, he does not so return himself, even though the enumerator considers him to be Jolah, Kulu, etc., the entry should be Sheikh, Pathan, etc., as in the case of other Muhammadans." Elsewhere in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa only those persons who are recognized as Sheikhs or Pathans were returned under those designations. The Jolahas of Eastern Bengal took full advantage of the boon granted by the local Government, the result being that the census returns show a decrease in their number from 310,000 to 110,000 in the districts under its administration. It is thus impossible to ascertain the growth of this well recognized community or to see how far its members are deserting the traditional occupation of weaving. The Nasyas of North Bengal also took the opportunity to call themselves Sheikh, their number falling from 199,727 to 1,816. In Jalpaiguri there were 63,884 Nasyas in 1901, but now there are only 36, while in Pabna the figure is reduced from 93,155 to 231.

INITIATION INTO CASTE.

838. There are, writes Mr. W. Crooke in *Northern India*, two special rites to be performed after the birth of a child—
 HINDUS. "one to provide the baby with a name, the second to introduce it formally into the circle of its caste. . . . When the name has been bestowed, the next rite is a species of initiation, by which the baby becomes duly introduced into the caste circle of its parents. Up to this time the child is hardly regarded as possessing a sentient soul, and he is subject to no restrictions in regard to food or drink. When he is once initiated, his real life as a Hindu begins. This rite assumes various forms. It is sometimes represented by the solemn feeding of the child on sacred rice and other substances, each of which is supposed to impart some special quality. This is usually combined with a general feast to the members of the commensal circle, from which important results are believed to follow. The boy being now free to eat and drink within his group, and strictly forbidden to share in the food of those who are strangers to it, becomes united to his clansmen by an indissoluble bond. In popular opinion taboo, or impurity from outside, is usually communicated through food, and no one eating with his clansmen is likely to practise magical arts to their detriment by means of the common meal. . . . This rite of initiation is performed for boys alone. A girl, in the Hindu view, needs no initiation in childhood. This is deferred until by virtue of the marriage rite she is severed from her own relations and is formally introduced into a new circle of kindred, that of her husband*." In another work, Mr. Crooke says—"When a child is dressed in a more or less imperfect way, the inference is that he or she has been initiated into caste, up to which time a Hindu thinks that children have no souls, and that it does

* *Northern India* (London, 1907), page 200.

not matter what they eat, or whether they do or do not observe the rules of ceremonial purity.*"

S39. These ideas are not held by the Hindus of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Children have souls both before and after birth. Birth and death are but changes of its garment. The soul enters the fetus in the fifth month of pregnancy, and the cry of the new born infant is the wail of the soul on finding itself caught in the meshes of Maya or illusion. So far from having no soul, a young child has more of the divine nature than an adult. The idea is strikingly like that expressed by Wordsworth in *Intimations of Immortality*—

"Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come,
From God who is our home :
Heaven lies about us in our infancy".

The same spirit permeates popular sayings, such as "The Deity is the infants' play-fellow," "Touch not an infant with your foot, for it is the Deity," etc. "The higher spiritual views among Hindus," writes a Hindu correspondent, "is that little children possess more of the Divinity in their constitution than adults, and that, consequently, they are above those artificial restrictions which govern men as members of society." The belief that an infant can commit no sin is partly due to this idea, and partly also to the common-sense principle that there can be no sin without knowledge of good and evil, or, at least, a consciousness of the categorical imperative. In practice, it finds expression in the fact that, while a child is of tender years, it is free from caste restrictions. Sanction for this is found in a saying attributed to the sage Angira, viz., "A child under five years of age can commit no fault and is liable to no *prayaschitta*. A child above five and below eleven years of age can have *prayaschitta* performed by a Guru or a friend." This idea is carried so far that young children are allowed to mix and even eat with children of other castes, but care is taken that they do not eat with children of low castes from whom water cannot be taken, and in no case are they allowed to eat forbidden food such as beef and pork.

S40. Among Brahmans and other twice-born castes, such as Rajputs and Babhans, the initiation of boys into caste is marked by Upanayan, i.e., the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread, which should be performed at the eighth year of his age for a Brahman and the eleventh for a Kshattriya. This is, in fact, his second birth. According to one of the sacred texts, until it takes place, a child born of Brahman parents is no better than a Sudra, i.e., he is not bound by the restrictions placed on Brahmans. Investiture with the sacred thread confers on him the full rights and privileges of his caste. He can repeat the sacred *gayatri* or Vedic prayer to the Sun-god, study the Vedas, participate in worship and be married. The ceremony of tonsure (*Churakaran*) and ear boring (*Karnaveda*) are now generally performed on the same day as Upanayan and form an integral part of it. According to Mr. Crooke, "Ceremonial tonsure finally rids him of any of the pollution acquired at birth which may still cling to him. His ears are then bored to receive the rings, which through life will guard him against the effects of taboo impersonated in the demons and evil spirits which ever beset his path. These preliminary rites of purification, directed against spiritual rather than physical pollution, prepare him for the final ceremony of initiation. This consists in the girding of the boy with sacred cord, which marks his status as one of the twice-born castes. This constitutes, as it were, a sacred circle which envelops his body, and within which no evil influence from abroad can penetrate. The thread itself is valueless as a protective until it has been sanctified by the blessing of Brahmans and the recital of texts from the sacred books. From this time the boy's spiritual life begins.†

* *Things Indian*, page 98. It must not be imagined that Mr. Crooke means to imply that clothing has anything to do with initiation. When a boy is old enough to be bound by caste rules, he will naturally be clothed in the interests of decency. I venture to proffer these remarks, as Mr. Crooke's words are generally taken by Bengali Hindus as meaning that initiation depends on clothing.

† *Northern India*, p. 201.

841. Upanayan is appropriately called Bratbandhan, *i.e.*, the ceremony which binds a child by caste restrictions. Some Brahmans in Tirhut, the old conservative and orthodox country of Mithila, are so strict, that they will not eat boiled rice touched by a boy before Upanayan or by a girl before her marriage. The children are, they say, still Sudras. The same belief appears to be responsible for a curious practice among the Maithil Brahmans, *viz.*, that on the eve of Upanayan, the child takes rice cooked by servants of, *e.g.*, the Dhanuk or Kahar caste. This signifies that, before his second birth, a Brahman can take food touched by the lower castes and is apparently meant to mark the fact that he does so for the last time. Females, however, do not attain their full rights and privileges till they are *cyo*, *i.e.*, married, and retain them only while they remain in the married state. A widow has not the right to offer cooked food to the gods, or assist in other social and religious ceremonies, which are confined to married women.

842. There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the ceremony which marks the admission of low caste children to the caste circle with all its rights and liabilities.

OTHER CASTES.

A few hold with Mr. Crooke that it is symbolized by the Annaprasan ceremony, at which a child is given a little sanctified rice. This rite, which is common both to high and low castes, is accompanied by a common meal among the caste members present; but the view that it marks the child's right to eat and drink with his caste fellows appears fantastic, for the ceremony is performed between the fifth and eighth month, when a baby cannot eat with others but is dependent on its mother or wet-nurse. Even among Brahmans, motherless children continue to be suckled by wet-nurses of other castes after Annaprasan. The great majority are of opinion that Annaprasan has no such special meaning, and that the real rite of initiation takes place when a child has sufficient intelligence to understand what it may or may not do. Some consider that this essential ceremony is Karnaveda or ear boring, others that it is Churakaran or tonsure, and others again that it is marriage.

843. Marriage, it is said, is the Sudra's only *sanskara*. Among the low castes marriage seems to be regarded as making a distinct advance in social life. After it, water

MARRIAGE AND KARNAVEDA.

can be taken from the hands of those who are *jilacharanya*; and it is generally recognized that once a boy is married he is no longer free to do what he likes. As marriages take place among them at an early age—usually at about the age of five—that year may be taken as the period when caste restrictions begin to be enforced. Few people now have an idea of what the real meaning of the Karnaveda ceremony is, but there seems to be a belief in some parts that boring of the ears is a protection against the influence of evil spirits. It should be performed when a child is under 5 or 6 years of age, for the sensible reason that the lobe of the ear is then soft enough to be pierced without much pain. The ceremony is, to some extent, falling into disuse in Bengal, where some castes, such as the Kayasths and Sadgops, are beginning to have the ears merely touched with some sharp instrument at the time of marriage. Karnaveda is, in fact, coming to be regarded merely as a preliminary to marriage, so much so that some hold that a boy cannot be married till it has been performed. As regards the Oriya castes one correspondent (Babu Durga Prasad Misra, Deputy Magistrate, Sambalpur) writes: "Among the low classes and other non-Brahmans it is not certain whether Karnaveda or marriage gives a boy or girl his or her caste rights. In many cases a marriage does so, and in many others Karnaveda. After Karnaveda non-Brahmans are entitled to cremation; but water from them is not acceptable for the worship of the *Pitris* though it is available for the worship of the gods. For instance, a Thanapati by caste performs *pūjas* in a temple before his marriage, but cannot perform *śraddha* until married. So it may be said that a non-Brahman is half initiated into the caste by the Karnaveda and completely initiated by marriage."

844. There is no such doubt about the meaning of Churakaran, the ceremony at which the head is shaved clean except for one tuft of hair. "The only general test of caste initiation amongst the majority of the Hindus," writes the District Census Officer of the 24-Parganas (Babu Sukumar Haldar), "is the ceremony of Churakaran. It is this ceremony that makes a boy

CHURAKARAN.

place in the presence of the assembled villagers, and its main features are as follows. The Naeke or village priest, who performs the public sacrifices to the Santal gods, the Manjhi or village headman, and other village officials, their wives, and every other woman present are anointed. Liquor (*handi*) is served to all present, each receiving four leaf cups for each of the children to be introduced into their society. A Guru, *i.e.*, an old Santal versed in the tribal folk-lore and legends, starts the *binti*, *i.e.*, a recitation, which begins with the creation of the earth and relates the history of the Santals and their wanderings. This ended, the Guru asks the assembled people to admit the boy to brotherhood saying—"We implore you to let us stay with you, to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of Chhatiar, the day of cremation." The ceremony is concluded by further drinking and singing of songs. The people are thus asked to recognize the boy as having a right to participate at the three great social functions of the Santals, and they acknowledge his rights by drinking *handi*, the Santal mode of ratification.

CASTE RESTRICTIONS.

848. In the days of Manu the restrictions with regard to occupations were very rigid and the penalties for transgressions severe. Manu declares (Chapter X, Verses 92, 96 & 97)—"A Brahman falls at once through selling meat, lac and salt; he becomes a Sudra in the course of three days through selling milk...If a low-born man should, through greed, live by the occupations of the exalted, the king should banish him at once, after depriving him of his property....Better one's own duties incomplete than those of another well performed; for he who lives by the duties of another falls from caste at once." In other words, banishment, accompanied by confiscation of property, was the punishment for encroachment by a man of low caste upon the monopoly of one of higher caste. Again, Manu lays down (Chapter X, verse 418) that the king should compel the Vaisya and the Sudra to follow each his own occupation, for "by departing from their own occupations, these two would cause the universe to shake." The rules regarding eating with persons of other castes were not nearly so strict. A learned twice-born man was not to eat the cooked food of Sudras who did not perform *śraddhas*, but if he was without means of subsistence, he might take raw food in quantity sufficient to last him for one night. The punishments were also light, *e. g.*, a fast for three days if the offence was unintentional, and a simple penance if it was intentional. "For devouring the food of those whose food one ought not to eat, and food left by a woman or Sudra, and such flesh as ought not to be eaten, one should drink water and barley for seven nights." The marriage restrictions were equally lax, for a twice-born man could, with impunity, marry into a lower caste.

849. In modern times the restrictions regarding occupations have been considerably relaxed, for no caste punishes a man who trespasses upon the preserves of the higher castes. A man can also adopt the occupations of lower castes, unless they are regarded as degraded or revolting, such as selling cowlides. In Bengal, some Brahmans have become physicians, shopkeepers and even liquor vendors. Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas have joined and started boot and leather manufacturing concerns without any notice of their conduct being taken by the Hindu community. A striking proof of the extent to which conditions have changed afforded by the remarks of a speaker at the Samaj Raksha Sabha of Benares, of which the following report recently appeared in one of the newspapers.* "In the present condition of their society, when they saw the names of Brahmans and even Pandits in the list of shareholders of the Great Eastern Hotel Company, when they remembered that even well-known Brahmans took active part in tanneries, wine shops, and other business, and the speaker himself was director of a company of publishers of Sanskrit books (each of which was sinful according to strict Hindus),

* *Starkegan*, 1st May 1912.

the Raja said they had no right to hate Shahu for keeping wine shops. When they, Brahmans, intruded on the trades and the occupations of the people of lower caste, they had no moral right to protest against their coming up to them and shaking hands with them."

With these remarks may be compared those of a Hindu correspondent describing the changes he had witnessed in his own lifetime: "Thirty years ago, one rarely heard of a Vaidic Brahman being engaged otherwise than in acting as Guru to his disciples or as a teacher in Sanskrit *toles*; at the present day, there are vakils, pleaders and clerks galore among them. One could hardly point out a Grhachariya that had any other occupation than the preparation of the Hindu almanac or casting horoscopes: many Government servants in high appointments are now found in their ranks. Similarly there are scores of Bhat and Agradani Brahmans who disdain to attend *sraddhas* and similar ceremonies for the sake of gifts, but find employment in trade or in public and private offices. Numbers of Barna Bipras are influential traders and public servants; hundreds of Rarhi and Barendra Brahmans are employed by trading and other firms. But though modern education has loosened, it has failed to break down altogether the strong barrier that centuries of orthodoxy built up. The wealth of the Brahman or Kayasth trader or merchant is still a matter for scorn in centres of rural orthodoxy: and it is doubtful if this feeling does not, even to this day, retard the flow of capital into industrial and commercial channels." At the other end of the scale we find the Namasadras, who are by tradition cultivators and boatmen, engaging in a number of other occupations, e.g., as clerks, traders, shopkeepers, goldsmiths, oil-pressers, braziers, blacksmiths and carpenters: one member of the Namasadra caste even holds the appointment of a Deputy Magistrate.

850. As regards commensality, the upper classes in Bengal, whose ideas have been liberalized by Western education, ignore all but extreme cases. They rarely punish a member, who takes prohibited food, provided he does so privately. Even cases of open violation of traditional rules are treated leniently. Gentlemen returning from England are now taken back into society after a simple penance and sometimes without it. As regards marriage, the upper classes were formerly far stricter than the lower classes, but now an opposite current has set in and marriages between endogamous sub-castes, widow marriages and adult marriages are taking place among the higher castes of Bengal in increasing numbers. An account of various other restrictions is given in paragraphs 579—584 (pages 367-368) of the last Bengal Census Report, from which it will be seen how greatly standards differ. Instances of the practical working of different restrictions will also be found in the section of this Chapter dealing with caste government.

851. The Nepalese castes are the least fettered, especially in regard to occupations. They are tribal and not functional castes, and a man may adopt nearly any occupation. A Brahman will work as a syce—I have had one myself—or garden cooly, a Chhetri as a khitmatgar, a Jindar as a cook, etc. None of the high castes, however, will work as a blacksmith, tailor or tanner, these and a few other occupations being regarded as degrading. They have also far greater freedom in eating and drinking together. Respectable castes, such as Jindar, Newar, Gurung, Mangar and Sunuwar, can eat and drink together until they are married, and marriage takes place later than among the Hindus of the plains, being deferred till 12, 15, or even 25 years of age. Even after marriage they can eat anything together except pulse and flour made of millets.

CASTE GOVERNMENT.

852. "We have," observes a recent writer on India and its problems, "destroyed in Indian social life all those courts of arbitration, and all those offices, which had, as one of their functions, the settlement of personal disputes. We have thus driven the people to the pleader and the barrister and the law courts."* The writer appears to overlook the vitality of caste

* J. Ramsay Macdonald, *The Awakening of India*, London, 1910, p. 115.

polity and the important part played by caste tribunals. It is their function to adjudicate upon questions affecting the purity and solidarity of the caste; they are the medium through which the unwritten law of the community is brought into action. They take cognizance of offences against that law, and their jurisdiction has a wide range extending over matters domestic, moral, social, and, in some cases also, professional, civil and criminal.

853. The early records of India show that the authority of the caste to make and maintain its own laws was recognized, and that it was the duty of the king with his Brahman counsellors to enforce its regulations.

CONTROL OF CASTES BY HINDU
KINGS.

According to Gautama (*circa* 500 B. C.), the laws of castes and families, when not opposed to sacred texts, were authoritative. "The king shall protect the castes and orders, in accordance with justice, and those who leave the path of duty he shall lead back to it." Manu again says—"A king shall enforce his own law only after a careful examination of the laws of castes and families." The king was not, however, to act entirely on his own responsibility, but in co-operation with, and on the advice of, Brahmans. Vasishta affirms that the three lower *varnas* were to live according to the teaching of the Brahman: the latter had to declare their duties, and the king had to govern them accordingly. The king's duty was to pay attention to all the laws of castes (*iati*) and families, to make the four *varnas* fulfil their duties and to punish those who failed to do so. The parts allotted to the Brahman and to the king in the enforcement of caste rules are explained by Apastamba, who says that, if those who have broken caste rules fail to perform the penance prescribed by their spiritual guide, he shall take them before the king. The king shall "send them to his domestic priest, who should be learned in the law and the science of government. He shall order them to perform the proper penances if they are Brahmans, and reduce them to reason by forcible means, excepting corporal punishment and servitude. In the case of other castes, the king, after having examined their actions, may punish them even by death."^{*}

✓854. Ballal Sen, King of Bengal in the 12th century A. D., seems to have gone further, and to have laid down an elaborate code of caste rules. He further fixed the position of different castes, elevating some and degrading others. According to the *Vallala Charita*, he made, or at any rate declared, the Kaibarttas a clean caste, from whom Brahmans might take water, and he also raised the status of the Kansaris and Malis. He is further credited in the same work with degrading the Sonar Banias, declaring them to be an unclean caste, whom no Brahman could teach, or officiate for, without himself being degraded. Ballal Sen is, however, chiefly remembered as the father of Kulinism. He laid down rules for determining the precedence of the family within the caste, and hypergamy was the direct result of Kulinism. From hypergamy again arose the practice of polygamy among the Kulin Brahmans of Bengal. While a Kulin could marry as many wives as he liked, the Bangsaj or the Srotiya had often the greatest difficulty in securing even one.

BALLAL SEN.

855. I have been unable to find any record of the Mughal Government exercising active control over caste matters, but from the following extract from the proceedings of the President and Council, dated the 16th August 1679, it appears that it reserved to itself the right to sanction restoration to caste:—"The peculiar punishment of forfeiting caste, to which the Hindus are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and personal resentment amongst themselves, and requires to be restrained to those occasions only where there may be a regular process and clear proofs of the offence before the Brahmans, who are their natural judges. But, when any man has naturally forfeited his caste, you are to observe that he cannot be restored to it without the sanction of Government, which was a political sanction reserved to themselves by the Muhammadans † and which as it publicly asserts the subordination of Hindus, who are so considerable a majority of subjects, ought

THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT AND
CASTE.

* A. M. T. Jackson, *Note on the History of the Hindu Caste System*, J.A.S.B., July 1907.

† The italics are mine.

not to be laid down, though every indulgence and privilege of caste should otherwise be allowed them."

Under Muhammadan rule, apparently, jurisdiction in caste matters was largely exercised by local chiefs and zamindars. In Nadia, for instance, Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai was an acknowledged arbiter in questions of caste during the first half of the 18th century, and had the power of restoring people to caste, imposing on them a heavy fine in addition to the expenses of *prayaschitta*. An appeal, however, lay to the Nawab, as is apparent from the following instance. A Brahman of Santipur having had a criminal intrigue with the daughter of a shoe-maker, the Raja forbade the barbers of the village to shave the family, and the washermen to wash their clothes. They appealed to the Raja, and afterwards to the Nawab, for restoration to caste, but in vain. The fact that they appealed to the Nawab, be it noted, confirms what has been said in the preceding paragraph. "After having been despoiled of their resources by the false promises of pretended friends, the Raja relented and removed the ban, but the family have not obtained to this day their pristine position."^{*}

856. Under the East India Company there was a regular court, called the

THE CASTE CUTCHERRY.

Caste Cutcherry (*Jatimala Kachakri*), for hearing and deciding cases relating to caste matters, the President of which was appointed by the English Governor. The functions of this court are described as follows by Verelst, Governor of Bengal from 1767 to 1769 :—"All nations have their courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the administration of civil justice, in some with a more limited, in others with a more extensive authority. The followers of Brahma in Bengal have their caste cutcherries, or courts to take cognisance of all matters relative to the several castes or tribes of the Hindu religion. Their religious purity depends on the constant observance of such numberless precepts, that the authority of these courts enters into the concerns of common life, and is, consequently, very extensive. A degradation from the caste by their sentence is a species of excommunication attended with the most dreadful effects, rendering the offender an outcaste from society. But as the weight of the punishment depends merely upon the opinion of the people, it is unnecessary to say that it cannot be inflicted by the English Governor (as Mr. Bolts asserts), unless the mandate of a Governor could instantly change the religious sentiments of a nation. Neither can a man once degraded be restored, but by the general suffrage of his own tribe, the sanction of the Brahmans (who are the head tribe) and the superadded censure of the Supremo Civil power."[†]

857. Maharaja Naba Kishen, the Kayasth Diwan of Clive, held charge of this tribunal under the Governorship of Verelst,[‡] while Warren Hastings appointed his Banians, Krishto Kanto Das ("Cantoo Babu"), a Teli by caste, and Ganga Govinda Singh. Against these two Burke fulminated in his Impeachment of Warren Hastings. "He has put his own menial domestic servant—he has enthroned him, I say, on the first seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was to decide upon the castes of all these people, including their rank, their family, their honour, and their happiness here, and, in their judgment, their salvation hereafter. Under the awe of this power, no man dared to breathe a murmur against his tyranny. Fortified in this security, he says—Who complains of me? No, none of us dare complain of you, says the trembling Gentoo. No; your menial servant has my caste in his power. I shall not trouble your lordships with mentioning others; it was enough that Cantoo Babu and Gunga Gobind Singh, names to which your lordships are to be familiarized hereafter, it is enough that those persons had the caste and character of all the people of Bengal in their hands."

858. Further light is thrown upon the Caste Cutcherry by the Select Secret Proceedings of 1775, in which year it was presided over by Krishto Kanta Das. In March Warren Hastings, pretesting against a proposal made by Clavering to put "Cantoo Babu" in the stocks, complained of a previous

^{*} S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 167.

[†] H. Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State in the English Government of Bengal*, London, 1772, pp. 27, 28.

[‡] N. N. Ghose, *Memoirs of Maharaja Naba Kishen Bahadur*, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 53, 57.

attack "on the subject of the Jautmalla Cutcherry, which was represented as arbitrary and oppressive, although this has existed from the first establishment of the Company."* In May the subject of the Caste Cutcherry again came up in connection with the question of the food to be given to Nundcomar while he was in jail. Clavering, supported by Francis, proposed that Cantoo Babu should be called and examined, on the ground that being President of this tribunal he passed judgements on all points relative to loss of caste. Warren Hastings at once replied:—"I understand the Cutcherry, over which Cantoo Babu, my servant, presides, has cognisance only of disputes among the lower kinds of the people, and that he presides in his Court, in virtue of the immemorial usage of the settlement, in the same manner that every other Chief Mutseedy or Banyan of the Governors of Calcutta have formerly done. I know not that he is qualified to judge of the question proposed. At all events, his opinion can be no authority, as he is neither versed in the laws of his religion nor of that sect which could entitle him to give a judicial opinion on any point respecting it. I myself am President of that Court, but I conceive myself merely a name to authenticate the acts of others, and I very frankly acknowledge my own incompetency to judge of points relating to the Gentoo religion.†" Here Warren Hastings clearly states that he is the real President of the Caste Cutcherry (in virtue apparently of his appointment as Governor) and has delegated his authority, except in confirming sentences, to his Deputy. It will further be noticed that he says his Deputy has little knowledge, and we cannot wonder at Colonel Monson's retort—"It might have been expected that the person he appointed to preside under him at the Caste Cutcherry should have been a sufficient judge of the rights (*sic*) of his religion." We may also perhaps wonder at the choice of a Teli to preside over a court of this character, even though Warren Hastings pleaded that his character was irreproachable, and that, "as the servant of the Governor, he was considered universally as the first native inhabitant of Calcutta."‡

859. The Caste Cutcherry has long since been abolished, and the British Government leaves caste questions entirely to the adjudication of the Caste Councils. In the Orissa States, however, the Feudatory Chiefs still retain the authority of the old Hindu kings. All affairs relating to the castes are dealt with by Caste Councils, over whom there is a recognized President, often called a Behara. He is appointed in almost all States by the Chief on his own authority and motion; in a few cases the views and wishes of the principal caste members are ascertained before making the appointment, and in a few other instances the castes are allowed to make their own selection. The Caste Council with the President decides all caste matters; if disputes arise and the Caste Council is unable to decide the matter at issue, it is laid before the Chief, whose decision is final. There is also a recognized right of appeal from the finding of a Caste Council to the Chief, whose decision on appeal is binding. In dealing with these references on appeal, the Chiefs either decide the matter on their own authority or refer it to selected Brahmans and other respectable persons, who usually hold their deliberations in the principal temple at the headquarters of the State. The opinion given by these bodies of arbitrators is laid before the Chief, who accepts, modifies, or alters it, as he thinks fit. The penalty for disobedience to the finding of the Chief on a caste matter is excommunication.

860. In one State there is a powerful and highly organized caste, which not very long ago was seriously exercised by a charge that a certain young man of the caste had been cohabiting with a woman of very low caste. The charge attracted very considerable interest, and the caste was greatly perturbed and unsettled. A criminal prosecution for defamation failed, and the matter was finally brought to the stage of a Caste Council. Powerful influences were at work within the caste, which is an extremely wealthy one, and the Caste Councillors split into two factions supported by various members of the caste: the one faction were of opinion that the charge was true and that the offender should

* G. W. Forrest, *Selections from State Papers (1772-1785)*, Vol. II, p. 325.

†

Ditto

ditto,

Vol. II, pp. 320, 367.

be excommunicated. The case was then laid before the Chief for his decision. A mass meeting was convened, and the case was heard in the principal temple of the State: the finding of the meeting was that the charge was not proved and the alleged culprit was declared innocent. This finding the Chief confirmed. The case, however, did not end here. The caste had split into two hostile camps over the case. The party who were for condemning the culprit were composed of somewhat the more influential members; they decided to refuse to accept the decision of the Chief and to treat the culprit as excommunicated. The Chief thereupon excommunicated the recalcitrant section of the caste, with the result that they were deprived of the services of the barbers, washmen and priests. So effectual and binding was this order, that not only did the barbers, washmen and priests of the State, who had hitherto served them, refuse to work for them, but the services could not be obtained even of barbers, washmen and priests residing outside the State. This order was strictly enforced for some time. The men of this caste are clean shaven and very well groomed and dressed, but when the dispute was eventually settled, the persons affected by the order had long dirt-matted beards, the hair of their heads was in long strands and filthy in the extreme, and their clothes were beyond description for uncleanness.

861. In another State, the Chief appointed a Brahman as Brahman, or head of the Brahmans of the State. This Brahman presides at ceremonies, such as marriages, deaths, sacred thread ceremonies, etc., amongst the Brahman community. The State is a large one, and the one Brahman cannot attend to all the duties of his office. He is accordingly allowed to appoint agents, one for each local area. The present Brahman was apparently inclined to levy too heavy a bonus from his agents, with the result that one of them resigned. The head Brahman wished to appoint another agent, but the local Brahmans objected; a deadlock ensued, with the result that the Brahmans laid the matter before the Durbar, and it was held that the Brahman must accept reduced fees from this agent, which he did. If he had refused, another Brahman would have been appointed. This decision was fully accepted by the Brahman community.

862. The Chief of a State has the power to place even a Brahman out of caste; and it is credibly stated that the late Chief of one State delegated this power to an European Police Officer. In the States under direct management, the Brahman community distinctly recognize the officer in charge as representing the Chief, and acknowledge his right, as such, to be an arbiter on caste questions. The Political Chief is accordingly received, on arrival in such a State, by a deputation of Brahmans, who offer him the regular benediction, put the *tika* mark of powdered sandal-wood and water on his forehead, place the cocoanut on his head, and offer him the thread. In no caste is any adoption valid, even if it be in accordance with caste custom, unless it has received the sanction of the Chief, or of the Political Agent when the State is under direct administration. The sanction of the Chief can, moreover, regularize an irregular adoption, i.e., one not in accordance with law and custom. It is hardly necessary to state, in view of what has already been written, that adjudication on the caste disputes of less important castes would be absolutely accepted.*

863. One typical instance of the organization of a caste under the regime of the Feudatory Chiefs may be quoted. The caste in question is a weaving caste called Bhulia, and the account of it is derived from a note kindly contributed by the Maharaja and Feudatory Chief of Sonpur. The Chief is regarded as having paramount authority, as being the real "head of the caste," but he delegates his authority to a headman called Panua. The Panua presents a *nazar* to the Chief and receives a *sanad*. The post is in no way hereditary. If a Panua abuses his power, he is dismissed by the Chief, and another man appointed in his place. The Panua appoints subordinate officials called Jati Meher in different *parganas* or villages: Meher is a common synonym of Bhulia, and the prefix Jati distinguishes this official. The Jati Meher is assisted by one or two representatives of the caste called

* The above account has been contributed by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States.

*bhadralok** who are selected by the Bhulias themselves. Complaints are lodged with the *bhadralok*, who inform the Jati Meher, or are preferred to the Jati Meher direct. The latter convokes a Panchayat from among the village elders; he cannot adjudicate without such a Panchayat. In case of differences of opinion, the matter may be referred to the Chief.

864. In Bengal there are only two localities in which traces of the ancient system may still be observed, viz., Hill

BENGAL STATES.

Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Hill Tippera each caste has its own council of elders that generally decides caste disputes. In the event of the council failing to decide any dispute, the point at issue is laid before the Raja, whose decision is final. The district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is divided into three circles, each of which is under a Chief. Each circle again is divided into a number of villages with a headman over each. In the absence of the Chief and the headman, caste questions are decided by a meeting of village elders, but usually such questions go to the headman, who has the power to enforce his decision by means of penalties. In every case the aggrieved party is at liberty to appeal to the Chief for a final verdict.

865. The only other State in this part of India in which the rulers

CASTE AND THE STATE IN NEPAL.

exercise jurisdiction in caste matters is Nepal. Here the penal code is founded on the Sastras, and the maintenance of the principles of Hindu law is a State institution. There is, as Brian Houghton Hodgson pointed out, a great difference between its jurisprudence and that of Hindu princes of the plains who have been for centuries under Muhammadan or European rule, and have ceased to take public judicial cognisance of offences against caste law. "Neither persuasion, nor example, nor coercion, has had room to operate such a change in these mountains, the dominant classes of the inhabitants of which, originally refugees from Muhammadan bigotry, have in their seclusion nursed their hereditary hatred of Islamism, whilst they bade defiance to its power; and they have latterly come, very naturally, to regard themselves as the sole remaining depositaries of undefiled, national Hinduism. Hence their enthusiasm, which burns all the fiercer for a secret consciousness that their particular and, as it were, personal pretensions, as Hindus are and must be but lowly rated at Benares. It is in Nepal alone, of all Hindu States, that two-thirds of the time of the judges is employed in the discussion of cases better fitted for the confessional, or the tribunal of public opinion, or some domestic court, such as the Panchayat of brethren or fellow-craftsmen, than for a King's Court of Justice." "In the plains," remarked a Judge of the Chief Court of Nepal to Hodgson, "let man and woman commit what sin they will, there is no punishment provided, no expiatory rite enjoined. Hence Hinduism is destroyed; the customs are Muhammadan; the distinctions of caste are obliterated. Here, on the contrary, all those distinctions are religiously preserved by the public courts of justice, which punish according to caste and never destroy the life of a Brahman. *Below, the Sastras are things to talk of: here, they are acted up to.*"*

✓ 866. Degradation to a low caste is one of the five severe punishments that can be inflicted, the others being confiscation of property, banishment, mutilation and death. A century ago, members of the best families were degraded and given as slaves to the Damais, a low tailor caste, by which they lost both liberty and caste.† Coming to more recent times, several interesting instances of the exercise of the powers of the Maharaja in caste matters are given by Dr. Oldfield in his "Sketches from Nepal." A Brahman, being immune from capital punishment, cannot be put to death for heinous offences. He has his head shaved, is made to eat pork, consume offal and drink wine, so as to make him an outcaste, after which he is sent into exile. An influential Nepali of high caste "was subjected, as a punishment, to a disgusting degradation from the hands of two drummers of low caste, and in the presence of a large assembly of spectators, by which his honour and dignity were outraged and his own caste destroyed. He was confined to his own house for a year, but no other punishment was inflicted upon him. At the end of the year, by

* B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on Indian Subjects*, London, 1850, Vol. II, pp. 237, 241.

† W. Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan*, London, 1820, Vol. II, pp. 672, 690.

the order of the King, who is supreme in such matters, he was forgiven, his caste restored to him, and he was allowed again to appear in public." * This punishment was inflicted because he had spread false rumours against Jang Bahadur, and, among other things, had declared that Jang Bahadur (whom he had accompanied to England) had lost caste by eating and drinking with Europeans. Jang Bahadur, we may well believe, took a grim delight in this method of retaliation. Further, while Dr. Oldfield was in Nepal, certain wealthy Hindu Newars were allowed to carry the *kalas* at their weddings, this being a right hitherto enjoyed only by the Gurkhas. "It has been conferred on them by the State as a privilege; they have in fact, on payment of a fee,† been raised from the rank of Newar to that of Parbatia."‡ There are other instances of such elevation. The Buddhist Sawmis, a caste of traders corresponding to Telis, were rewarded for their assistance in the Nepal expedition into Tibet in 1858, by being raised to the rank of a clean caste, the Maharaja taking a glass of water from them in open Durbar. Another striking exhibition of the power exercised by the Maharaja as *censor morum* was witnessed in 1897. Some young noblemen, being accused of frequenting the house of a woman of ill-fame, were imprisoned. The father of one of them, a man of high position who went with the annual tribute to China, died while they were in prison. The Brahmans interceded on his son's behalf, and he was released in order that he might perform his father's *sraddha*.

✓867. The following account of the principles observed by the State in treating caste offences as breaches of the law is furnished by the office of the Prime Minister of Nepal§:—"All questions involving social degradation or excommunication are to be decided by the courts, and in all these the Prime Minister is the last court of appeal. A person of a higher class eating, or having sexual intercourse, with a member of the depressed classes shall lose caste and be incorporated with the lower caste. A woman of higher position in the social order having sexual intercourse with a man lower down in the list shall be degraded to the caste of the male. But, so long as a man does not eat cooked rice or *dal*, etc., from the hands of any woman from whose hands water may be taken with impunity, he does not lose caste, even if he has sexual intercourse with her. The caste of the offspring of such intercourse is defined by fixed rules and laws. The taking of prohibited food or drink and social offences, the killing of cows and murder, generally involve social degradation, in addition to punishment according to law."

Briefly, under the system in force in Nepal, each caste is governed by its own laws and customs. Neglect or breach of them entails not only communal punishment, but is also subject to the law courts, which treat such offences as offences against the State.

868. The highest ecclesiastical functionary is the Raj Guru, a Brahman versed in the Sastras, who is appointed by the State. He advises the Durbar on social and religious matters, and it is his duty to prescribe the fitting penance and purificatory rites for violations of the ceremonial law of purity. His order, for instance, is necessary to restore to caste the envoys sent with tribute to China, who on their return have to pay him certain fees and perform prescribed ceremonies.|| The Raj Guru also presides over the ecclesiastical court, known as the Dharma Adhikari, which takes cognizance of cases relating to caste. He comes to a decision in accordance with the laws laid down in the Sastras, and awards a punishment—either by fine, imprisonment, confiscation of property, or death—in proportion to the nature and heinousness of the offence and without reference to the religion of the offender. Even the Buddhists are subject to this tribunal, and there is a case on record of a Muhammadan native doctor attached to the Residency being deported in consequence of an offence against the Nepalese laws of caste.** Under the Raj Guru are subordinate officers who exercise jurisdiction in caste matters over groups of villages, and are authorized to take

* *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 399, 400.

† The italics are mine. It will be observed that even in Nepal money can transform caste status.

‡ *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880, Vol. I, p. 411.

§ I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. J. Manners-Smith, V.C., C.I.E., Resident of Nepal, for this note.

|| *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 412.

oo *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 395, and Vol. II, pp. 156-151.

fees from people who are temporarily outcasted and afterwards restored to caste, whether by the caste Panchayats or the courts.

869. The caste Panchayats deal with minor offences, but the courts with graver matters, and their sentences are heavy. A Rajbansi, for instance, had an intrigue with a Teli woman. The Rajbansi Mandal, or headman, was bribed and suppressed the fact, but information was given to the civil authorities. The Mandal and both the guilty parties were imprisoned for 7 years, at the end of which the Mandal and the Rajbansi paramour were degraded to the Teli caste.* The fear of such penalties extends to castes on the British side of the frontier and has a salutary effect on them. Among themselves an offence may be condoned by a feast, but this would not satisfy the Nepalese. They frequently visit their caste fellows in Nepal, *e.g.*, at marriage feasts, and have a very real fear that their stricter brethren may hand them over to the Nepalese authorities if they break caste rules.

870. The polity of some of the castes of Sambalpur shows distinct traces of the powers formerly exercised by the Raja. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the district was not brought under direct British rule till 1849, when it was annexed under Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse, *i.e.*, on the death of the last Chief without male issue. Here the headmen of different castes used to be appointed by the Raja, and they are still selected from families containing descendants of those on whom he conferred this honour. Among the Jharua Brahmans the president of the caste committee is selected from the Behara family; Bohara was the designation of the headmen who were appointed by the Raja. The Gaura headmen were similarly nominated by and received charters from the Raja, authorising them to settle caste disputes. In the absence of a Raja this power of appointment is now frequently exercised by the zamindars, to whom the headman pays *nazarana*. There is no one, however, to make such appointments in the Khalsa, *i.e.*, the area under direct Government management, where the extinction of the line of Rajas has transformed the system. Among the Gandas, for instance, the Porai or headman used to be appointed by the Raja, but the post has now ceased to exist and a subordinate official acts as headman. In the zamindari area, though the power of appointment is still exercised by zamindars, there is a general tendency to decentralization. The Gauras used to have a chief Bagarti or headman with absolute authority, but, there being no central power over the caste, his influence is waning, and subordinate officers arrogate independent powers of control over the villages in their jurisdiction.

871. There are a few castes or tribes who still recognize the authority of the tribal chief or his descendants, such as the Binjhals and Gonds of Sambalpur, the Kharwars of Shahabad and the Nats of Champaran.

The head of the Binjhal caste in Sambalpur is the zamindar of Bora-sambar, who is a descendant of the tribal chief. The right to decide caste disputes rests with him, but, in accordance with long established custom, he delegates his authority to a member of what is known as the Diwan family, which is at present represented by an uncle of the zamindar. When a caste matter has to be decided, the latter calls a Panchayat of respectable men of the caste living in the neighbourhood. The case is duly heard and tried, the verdict being decided by a majority of votes, and the Diwan passes sentence. In difficult cases the matter is referred to the zamindar, whose decision is final. If a fine is imposed, it is paid to the Diwan, and half goes towards a feast of the Binjhal community. If the man is sentenced to provide a feast in addition to a fine, the Diwan allots enough to provide a feast and divides the balance with the zamindar.

872. The authority of the descendants of the old Gond chiefs of Sambalpur has passed to their descendants. Every Gond, whether residing in the Khalsa area (where there is no zamindar), or in the zamindari area, acknowledges the supremacy of some Gond zamindar. If the zamindar of the estate in which they live is a non-Gond, they are subject to a Gond zamindar elsewhere, so that the Gond

* Reported by the Subdivisional Officer of Kishanganj, Purnea.

and Muzaffarpur, and even in the eastern districts of the United Provinces. He spends his time in visiting the various portions of his dominion, and is known and feared throughout it.

The Pradhan takes cognizance of every kind of offence, criminal as well as social, which is brought to him for judgement, such as petty thefts, disputes about land, etc. The complainant and the accused each cut a small stick and give it to the Pradhan, who keeps the stick till the case is decided. The accused is then submitted to trial by ordeal, either by fire or by water. In the ordeal by fire, a red-hot piece of iron is placed on the victim's hand, his skin being slightly protected by seven leaves of the *pipal* tree. He has to hold it while another man runs a measured distance (seven yards and back); if the runner drops it, he is held to be guilty. Naturally a good deal depends on the speed and good will of the runner. The ordeal by water may be undergone in preference to that by fire. The accused is immersed in water up to the nose, and holds his nostrils. If he can hold his breath till a man has run the measured distance, he is acquitted and gets the weight of his stick in gold: the actual amount varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60. If he fails the test, he has to pay according to the same scale. This is regarded merely as a preliminary. The punishment follows. A fine is inflicted in the first instance, which is usually very heavy considering the means of the ordinary Nat. The fine goes into the pockets of the Pradhan. An alternative punishment is a cold bath: the victim is ordered to sit in the water of a tank or river for any period from 2 to 21 hours. One unfortunate man, who was sentenced to this punishment, sat on a cold morning in a river for two or three hours, after which a compassionate Hindu zamindar made him come out. The penalty he had to pay for disobeying his orders was outcasting for five years. The severity of other punishments will be apparent from the following instances. A man encroached on his neighbour's land and was fined Rs. 200. In another case a Nat was fined Rs. 100 for having illicit intercourse with a girl. In a third case a man, who took some maize from a field which he claimed as his own, was found guilty of theft and sentenced to remain in water for three hours. He could not bear the punishment, and was therefore fined Rs. 200.

Obstinate refusal to pay a fine or undergo the punishment prescribed is always followed by outcasting—usually for two years or more. Five years is a usual sentence in such cases. The Pradhan's power is so absolute, and the respect paid to him so great, that the justice of his verdict is never questioned, and his punishments are carried out rigorously.*

875. An interesting survival of tribal chieftainship may still be traced in the caste polity of the Suklis of Midnapore.

SUKLIS.

Their governing body consists of Bhais (brothers) or elders of the castes, at the head of whom are the Maitis of Birsinapur and the Chaudhuris. The Maitis are the descendants of one Birsinha, a chief who led the Suklis into Bengal and established his capital at a place which he named, after himself, Birsinapur: this is an unimportant village near Mundamari. Their position as the heads of Sukli community is acknowledged not only in Midnapore, but also outside it. Such is the respect paid to them, that if a member of the Maiti family is present at a marriage or other ceremony, all do homage to him. If there is no Maiti present, a garland has to be set aside in his honour before the proceedings commence. A Maiti also presides over the Panchayat's meetings, and in his absence a Chaudhuri. for the Chaudhuris are the descendants of the second son of Birsinha.

876. In British territory, where Government has long since ceased to

CASTE SELF-GOVERNMENT

exercise control over social matters, the castes govern themselves. The higher castes as a rule have no controlling agency, and nobody has authority to hear complaints and pass judgement upon them. Among the lower castes, however, there are generally officials with whom information is laid, and whose duty it is to call a meeting of their caste fellows to deal with the matter. This conclave constitutes the Panchayat, literally a meeting of five men, though the actual numbers rarely correspond with that figure. Conditions vary so greatly in

* Compiled from a report by Mr. H. D. Graves Law, I.C.S., formerly Subdivisional Officer of Gobindganj.

different parts of the country, that a separate account of the organization of castes must be given for each sub-province.

As a preliminary to this account, it may be said that the actual unit of caste government has certain definite limits. The caste, as is well known, is a social group, membership of which is generally limited by birth. It is, in a minor degree, united by occupation or by the tradition of a common hereditary occupation, but even more by the laws of endogamy and commensality. By the former members are forbidden to marry outside the caste; by the latter they are constrained to eat and drink only with fellow castemen. Within the caste there are frequently minor groups called sub-castes, which also have the same laws on these two points. The unit of self-government consists of a group of members of a caste or sub-caste who come within the same circle of endogamy and commensality. The strength of the group is necessarily determined by territorial considerations. The families composing an endogamous and commensal circle may be scattered over such a large area, that effective combination is impossible. Where this is the case, it has to be split up into smaller circles for administrative purposes. The power to outcaste its members is the basis of the authority of each group. Among all but the lowest castes this power is ultimately dependent on the co-operation of the priest, the barber and the washerman. The priest is indispensable in religious and domestic life. Without the services of the barber and washerman no Hindu can be purified when pollution has been caused by deaths, births, etc. In this respect, therefore, the Panchayat is not altogether an isolated and self-sufficient unit, though otherwise independent.

877. The higher castes of Bihar, such as Brahmans, Babhans (or Bhumi-har Brahmans), Rajputs and Kayasths have no organization for the detection and punishment of breaches of caste rules. They have no governing body, and action must be taken by the members on their own initiative. If the offence is patent, they at once cease to have any intercourse with the offender. If there is any doubt about it, an informal meeting of the more influential members of the caste may be held and a common line of action determined upon. It rests entirely with the suspect to clear himself of the stigma. This he does by consulting a Pandit, who, if his sin can be atoned, gives a ruling on his case (*vayavastha*, or *panti*, or *patia*), stating the penances and ceremonies of expiation that have to be performed. Among the prescribed penances which are commonly undergone may be mentioned the following:—(1) Going on pilgrimage for an appointed period, (2) bathing in the Ganges and swallowing some of its sand, (3) living on alms for a prescribed time, (4) remaining dumb for an appointed time, (5) taking only one meal in 24 hours, (6) swallowing a mixture of the five products of the cow, viz., cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curd and *ghi*, and (7) fasting. The ceremonies of expiation are (1) sacrifice, (2) the worship of the gods, commonly of Satyanarayan, (3) making a gift of a cow, a heifer, cash and cloth to the family priest, (4) feeding Brahmans and making presents to them of cloth and cash, and (5) feeding fellow castemen. Other castes, which have no regular machinery for dealing with breaches of the caste law, have meetings for the discussion of such questions when they arise. A man who is aware of the offence informs his brethren, and they sit in conclave and decide on the steps to be taken. A special meeting may be held; or the matter may wait till some ceremony occurs, at which the members of the caste will naturally be present; or the suspect himself may lay his case before them in order to establish his innocence and regain the privileges of caste fellowship. Among such castes the control over individual members is naturally less complete than among castes which have a constituted body of officials for the decision of matters affecting the community and for the punishment of unworthy members.

878. Most of the lower castes of Bihar have an organized system of caste government, which has certain common features, though the procedure and the names of the office-bearers vary in different parts and among different castes.

The unit consists of a Chatai, which means literally a mat, and connotes those who have the right to sit together on a mat—one is frequently provided—at a caste council meeting. The area to which the Chatai corresponds simply depends on the strength of the caste in any particular locality. There may be only one Chatai for several villages, each containing a few members of the caste, or there may be several Chatais in one village where the caste numbers in strength. Generally, it may be said that the members of the Chatai represent 5 to 100 houses and, as a rule, are resident in one village and its adjoining hamlets.

THE CHATAI.

879. Each Chatai has a standing committee consisting either of one or two or three functionaries. There is invariably a headman, who presides at meetings of the council. He is generally called Sardar in South Bihar. Next in rank comes an officer called Manjan in South Bihar, who is practically the Vice-President of the council, for he presides in the absence of the President. The third member of the triumvirate is an executive officer, who is almost invariably known as a Chharidar in South Bihar. He acts as the headman's messenger; it is his duty to convene the caste council; and he is responsible for the execution of its decrees. In some castes these officers hold office by hereditary right; in case of there being no male member of the family to succeed, others are eligible. If one of them dies leaving a minor heir, his nearest relative, if otherwise competent, is entitled to represent him at the council meetings till he attains his majority. In other castes the post is held only for life, and a vacancy is filled up by the election of a competent man without regard to the hereditary principle. The posts are coveted, as they carry a certain dignity. The newly appointed man is given a *pigri* to wear, has a *tika* placed on his forehead, and celebrates the newly conferred honour by giving a feast to his castemen.

880. Complaints are usually preferred to one of the members of the standing committee, generally to the Sardar direct, or through the Chharidar. In Patna it is reported

THE PANCHAYAT.

that the complainant has to deposit a fee of Rs. 1-4, called *rasam*, which goes to meet the expenses of the Panchayat. In Saran a fee of Re. 1 is paid: this is called *pat kharcha*, i.e., the expenses of the mat on which the Panchayat sits. The Sardar fixes a place and time for the meeting, and the members of the Chatai are summoned by the Chharidar. The meeting of the castemen of the Chatai forms the Panchayat. Its strength varies with the gravity of the issues to be debated. For a minor matter only a few of the village elders are summoned; for larger questions the head of each house may be called. When matters of special importance are to be discussed, distant members of the caste may be invited: at a recent Panchayat of the Telis in Patna about 1,000 were present. The meeting may be specially convoked, or it may wait till a big *sraddha* or marriage ceremony, when a large number will naturally assemble.

881. The Panchayat takes cognizance of a case either when a complaint is lodged or when a man who is suspected of an

PROCEDURE.

offence, and has already been outcasted by his family or neighbours, demands a hearing. It is nearly always a tribunal for the trial of offences, though it sometimes is a deliberative assembly which decides on the attitude of the caste on general questions. The proceedings generally begin with a common feast. The feast over, both parties are heard and witnesses are produced. All are on an equality and any one present has a right to put a relevant question and to receive an answer. Oaths are frequently taken by the parties, e.g., on the head of a son, Ganges water, copper, the *tulsi* plant or a cow's tail. The evidence having been taken, a general discussion takes place, and the headman after consulting his fellow officers gives judgement. The verdict is of course in accordance with the general opinion. Otherwise, it could scarcely be enforced. The proceedings are nearly always oral, and no record is made. In Purnea, when grave charges are preferred, the Panchayat often adopts the precaution of making the complainant put down his allegation in writing, and his thumb impression is taken on it, so that he may not resile.

882. The Chatais are sometimes, but not always, grouped together in larger unions called Baisi and Chaurasi, which are supposed to consist of 22 and 84 Chatais, respectively. They are not necessarily co-existent: in some places there may be only Baisis, and in others only Chaurasis. In Muzaffarpur there are unions of 12 villages, called Bargaon, while the Telis of Patna have Bawans, *i.e.*, groups of 52 Chatais. These larger unions extend over a large area: a Baisi may cover 10 to 15 miles, a Chaurasi 40 to 50 miles. They also have an organization similar to that of the smaller units, *i.e.*, permanent officials, who bear names similar to those of the officers of the Chatais, such as Sardar, Manjan, etc. The larger councils are convened only on exceptional occasions for the decision of questions of special importance, or when appellate jurisdiction is necessary to settle conflicting claims, *e.g.*, when one Chatai has outcasted a man and another Chatai still receives him as in caste.

883. The jurisdiction of the Panchayat is necessarily local, but the combination of different Chatais helps to make its sentence effective over a considerable area. So long, therefore, as a man remains anywhere in the neighbourhood of his own village, he has little chance of defying the authority of the Panchayat. The penalty of contumacy, *viz.*, excommunication for a fixed period or for life, is so terrible that he dares not face it. As a rule, one Chatai knows of and confirms the sentence of another. Occasionally, however, it may refuse to recognize the sentence, or there may be rivalry between two headmen. An outcaste may take advantage of this and seek refuge in another Chatai, where he can obtain re-entry into caste by giving a feast. In some places too the jurisdiction of the Panchayat extends only a few miles, and there is no central body with control over a large area. Where this is the case, an outcaste may leave his home and join another community in a distant part of the district. There is of course greater laxity of conduct among those who leave their homes and live in industrial centres for a time. Even they however are liable to punishment on their return, if their fall becomes known. A Dhanuk of Monghyr, who married a woman of another caste in Calcutta, was outcasted on his return home. A Turaha of Saran, who was seen carting hides in that city by a fellow villager, suffered the same punishment.

884. The above account applies primarily to South Bihar, but the same system obtains among the low castes of North Bihar with minor variations. The following note by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Kishanganj in Purnea, describes its main features:—

"The Panchayat is a permanent institution consisting of all the village elders, for the time being, of one or more villages of a local area, who meet under the Presidentship of a Mandal when occasion requires. Thus, the actual number of members in the Panchayat is an indefinite and variable one, and depends on the number of village elders existing at any time in the village or group of villages constituting the Panchayat. A number of Mandals are headed by a Sardar, who exercises jurisdiction over several Panchayat units. Again, several Sardars—sometimes as many as 14 to 22 Sardars—are headed by a Baisi Sardar. Besides these functionaries, there is, among certain castes, another functionary whose function corresponds to that of a pcon, and whose duty it is to summon the village elders of the Panchayat when required by the Sardar or Mandal to do so. This functionary is called Barik among some castes (such as Tantis and Kaibartas), and Diwan among other caste (such as Telis). The Barik does not get any fee, but whenever there is a marriage or *sraddha* within the jurisdiction of the Panchayat, the Sardar gets 1 *than* of cloth and the Barik gets 5 cubits. Whenever a feast is held among the Panchayat, it is the privilege of the Barik to decide upon its form or upon the delicacies to be supplied by the host. Whenever a Mandal dies, the Sardar appoints another in his place. Generally the son is selected after his father's death, if he is fit; otherwise, any influential well-to-do member of the community may be chosen. When the Sardar dies, another is chosen by the Mandals and the whole community under that particular Sardar. Sons and near relatives of Mandals and Sardars have a preferential claim to appointment.

"The jurisdiction of a Mandal extends over a single Panchayat, which may comprise one village only or several neighbouring villages. The jurisdiction of a Sardar extends over 8 or 10 such units, and the jurisdiction of a Baisi Sardar extends over 11 to 22 such units, and may consist of a whole *pargana* or a couple of *parganas*. When a matter cannot be decided satisfactorily by a Mandal, it is referred to the Sardar. When the Sardar is unable to decide satisfactorily, the matter is referred to the Baisi, who constitutes the final court of justice in the Panchayat system. In all ordinary matters each Panchayat unit acts independently, the Mandal deciding with the help of the village elders, whom he summons through the agency of the Baik or Diwan. Only in very grave matters affecting the welfare of the caste, or in the case of very grave offences against caste rules or etiquette in respect of marriage and commensality, etc., do several Panchayats and their Mandals meet together under the presidentship of the Sardar. The authority of the Baisi Sardar is hardly ever invoked, and the post is tending to become obsolete. In the matter of caste administration, there is a distinct tendency towards decentralisation. Each unit headed by the Mandal has been exercising a steadily increasing share of autonomy at the expense of the authority of the Sardar and the Baisi Sardar, especially of the latter—so much so that some Brijwasis in the Chiqua thana stated that they had heard from their grandfathers of the existence of a Baisi Sardar, but that they did not even know if he was living or not."

§85. There are numerous local variations. In one part a caste may have a standing committee, in another it may have none. It may or may not be grouped in larger unions, so that there may be Chaurasis only or Baisis only. The names of the officers also vary greatly, the Panchayat headman and the Baisi or Chaurasi headman may have the same designation, or they may be different. In one place a caste may have all three functionaries, in another only the headman and Chharidar, and elsewhere again only the headman. The following statement shows the titles of the office-bearers of different castes reported by the District Census officers and ethnological correspondents; in all cases the names are given in order of rank.

Caste	Division	Titles of Officers
Amat	... Darbhanga	... Mahto, Diwan, Chharidar or Chauridar.
Baru	... Monghyr	... Sardar.
Barhi	... Patna and Gaya	... Do., Chharidar.
	... Monghyr	... Do.
Bhar	... Shahabad	... Mahan, Methi.
Chamar	... Champaran	... Metha, Pradhan or Mukhia.
	... Patna and Gaya	... Sardar, Chharidar.
	... Shahabad	... Mukhia, do.
	... Monghyr	... Marar.
	... Bhagalpur	... Manjan, Diwan.
	... Muzaffarpur	... Ditto, Chharidar.
Dhauk	... Monghyr	... Manjan, Marar and Diwan.
	... Bhagalpur	... Do., Diwan.
	... Purnee	... Mandal, Diwan, Chharidar.
	... Darbhanga	... Mahto, ditto.
Dhohi	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, ditto.
Dom	... Darbhanga	... Sardar, Chharidar.
Dosadh	... Patna and Gaya	... Ditto.
	... Purnee and Darbhanga.	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.
Gareti	... Shahabad	... Bhagat.
Goala	... Patna	... Manjan, Chharidar.
	... Bhagalpur	... Do., Diwan.
	... Purnee	... Mandal, do.
	... Shahabad	... Mahto.
Gourhi	... Bhagalpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
	... Champaran	... Do., Do.
Hajjam	... Shahabad	... Raja, Diwan, Chharidar.
	... Patna and Gaya	... Sardar, Chharidar or Chobdar.

Caste	Diocese	Title of officers.
Hajjam	... Monghyr	... Manjan or Sardar, Murar or Gorait, Diwan.
	Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
Hari	... Purnea	... Sardar, Ditto.
Kahar	... Patna, Gaya and Shahabad.	... Do., Chharidar.
Kalwar	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.
Khatwo	... Darbhanga	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.
Kandu	... Champaran	... Manjan Do.
	Monghyr	... Sardar, Gorait
	Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
Kewat	... Purnea	... Raja, Mandal, Pandit.
Koiri	... Monghyr	... Sardar or Manjan or Murar.
	Darbhangha	... Mahito, Diwan, Chharidar or Chundkdar.
Kumbar	... Monghyr	... Sardar or Manjan or Murar.
Kurmi	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.
	Muzaffarpur	... Ditto, Chharidar.
	Patna	... Sardar, Chharidar.
Lohar	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
	Shahabad	... Sardar, Chharidar.
Mnsabar	... Gaya	... Ditto.
	Monghyr	... Sardar, Gorait, Murar.
	Bagalpur	... Manjan, Mandal and Gorait.
	Purnea	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.
Mallah	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
	Champaran	... Ditto.
Nat	... Monghyr	... Manjan or Murar.
	Champaran	... Pradhan.
Nunia	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.
Pasi	... Patna	... Sardar.
Sonar	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
Smri	... Ditto	... Ditto ditto.
Tanti	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.
	Monghyr	... Do., Murar and Gorait.
Teli	... Ditto	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.
	Darbhangha	... Panjar, Diwan.
	Champaran	... Manjan, Do.
	Muzaffarpur	... Ditto, Chharidar.
	Purnea	... Paramanik, Diwan.
Tharn	... Champaran	... Chandhuri, Muhtam.

886. In some parts the caste officials have recognized fees or perquisites

FEES OF THE OFFICIALS.

In Purnea the triumvirate of the Dosadhs get presents of cloths: the Diwan and Chharidar each get one piece to every two that the Sardar receives. The Goala Raja, who presides over Panchayats of 14 villages in the same district, is given cloth and one rupee when the Panchayat is held in the house of a well-to-do man, and five hotel-nuts if the man is poor. Among other castes, presents are given to the office-bearers when a marriage takes place. Sometimes the Chharidar gets a commission (one or two annas per rupee) on the amounts he collects. Among the Chamars of the Banku subdivision in Bhagalpur the Sardar receives one-fourth of the Panchayat's income, the remainder being spent in feasts. The following is a brief sketch of certain special features in the local organization of selected castes.

887. The system among the Bhars of Shahabad appears to be more

INDIVIDUAL CASTES.

centralized than usual. There is in every Bhar village a village headman, called Meth, who is informed of any violation of the caste rules. If he considers the matter fit to be referred to a Panchayat, he reports it to the Mahan, an officer with jurisdiction over ten or more villages, who convokes a Panchayat. The Panchayat is presided over by the Mahan, and all Meths in his jurisdiction sit on it. Both the village Meth and the Mahan hold their offices by hereditary right. If one or other dies leaving no one in his family to succeed him, a new man is elected, in the case of a Meth by members of the caste in the village.

concerned, in the case of a Mahan by the Moths of all the villages within the jurisdiction of the Mahan. The Dhanuks of Monghyr have a permanent committee consisting of a hereditary headman or Manjan for each village, and of a Marar and a Diwan. The Marar distributes tobacco among the assembled people; the Diwan sends round betel-nuts as a symbol showing that their presence is required at a Panchayat.

In Patna the Goalas have a headman in every village, called a Manjan, who convokes a Panchayat as occasion requires. His office is not hereditary, and a vacancy is filled up by election. Criminal charges, *g.e.* of thefts, are commonly heard by the Panchayat; if proved the accused is handed over to the police and the necessary evidence produced. In Shahabad every Goala village has a headman called Mahto. For groups of villages, and in the case of towns for the whole of the town, there is a superior caste official who is called Barka-Mahto, *i.e.*, a Mahto of 12 villages. When a breach of caste rules takes place, the village Mahto is first informed about it. In petty cases he gives judgement in consultation with the castemen of the village. In serious cases the Barka-Mahto is referred to, and a general Panchayat of all the castemen in the villages under him is convoked. All the sub-castes have also Panchayats. In the Gorias sub-caste there is an official called a "Judge," who has control over the whole of the civil district (Shahabad), but among other sub-castes the Panchayat's jurisdiction is restricted to a group of villages, the head of which is called a Mahto. In Purnea the Goala headman is known as a Mandal and is assisted by a Diwan. At the head of every 14 villages there is a superior officer called the Raja.

Among the Hajjams of Patna there are generally two permanent officials, viz., the Sardar and the Chharidar, who is also known as the Chobdar. In Monghyr the committee consists of the headman, or Sardar, assisted by a Marar (or Gorait) and a Diwan: here there are also large unions under Sardars which adjudicate on grave offences. The office-bearers of the Hajjams in Shahabad are the Raja, the Diwan and Chharidar. The Raja is appointed by four or five Rajas of neighbouring Panchayats, the other two are elected by their caste fellows. All the sub-castes are governed by the one Panchayat. The Kurmis of the latter district have a regular gradation of unions. Each village has a caste headman, and every group of three or four villages is under a Naib. Over the Naibs again are Chaudhuris, whose jurisdiction extends over large areas and even over several *narganas*. The Naibs and Chaudhuris hold their offices by hereditary right, but if a competent successor cannot be found in their families, one is elected from other families. The better educated and well-to-do Kurmis claim Kshattriya descent and have started an association called the All-India Kurmi Kshattriya Association, with headquarters at Bankipore, which holds annual meetings. They stand aloof from the caste organization of their less advanced neighbours, and the Kurmi system of self-government is consequently losing strength.

888. It is an almost universal rule that each caste acts in entire independence of others, and that the Panchayat should be confined to members of the caste. The only

INTER-CASTE PANCHAYATS.

instance of inter-caste Panchayats is reported from the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, where the influence of the straiter Nepalese is felt. A Sikh constable on the Nepal border had adopted a Goala boy. The boy, having lived with a Sikh, was out of caste, but his adoptive father was anxious to have him taken into one or other of the Hindu castes. At his request, a large and representative Panchayat of no less than three castes, viz., the Goalas, Gangais and Rajbansis (who drink water from each other), met to discuss the question. The debate lasted a day and night. It was at last decided that as the boy had eaten with a Sikh, he could not be taken into any of their castes and that none of them could take water from him. The Sikh realized that other methods of suasion were necessary and offered to pay Rs. 500, and to give a feast to all three castes. His offer might have been accepted, have they not been convinced that their fellow castemen in Nepal would not only refuse to eat or inter-marry with them, but might hand them over to the Nepal Government for punishment when they crossed the border.

889. Among the lower castes the powers of the caste tribunals extend over a wide range. They take cognizance of breaches of the unwritten law of their caste, including breaches of social and religious rules, professional etiquette, and even the amenities of domestic life. It must not be supposed, however, that all offences are formally brought before the Panchayat. Frequently the offenders are simply reprimanded by the village elders, or the matter is quietly compromised. The caste headman commonly sends his Chharidar or messenger to settle matters privately. The number of offences against caste rules is legion, and space will not permit the mention of any but a few typical cases, such as smoking with or eating and drinking with a man of another caste, marrying outside one's own caste, taking up a degrading occupation, etc. In such cases relatives often suffer as well as the actual culprit. A Turaha of Champaran and his wife quarrelled. The wife, in a feminine fit of rage, determined to get her revenge, and drank some water which a Musalman had touched. Both she and her poor husband were excommunicated. They were eventually restored to caste after the husband had fed Brahmans and feasted their caste fellows. Perhaps the commonest offences are those connected with the moral law, such as adultery, seduction, elopement, etc. Under this head too may be mentioned the question of *sagai*, or widow remarriage. Most of the castes in which the caste system has greatest vitality practice *sagai*, and the propriety or advisability of widow remarriage, in particular cases, is one of the subjects frequently laid before the Panchayat. In some cases, there appears to be no objection to a man having a mistress belonging to another caste, provided he does not eat food cooked by her.

In dealing with social matters the caste tribunals frequently trench upon the jurisdiction of the criminal and civil courts. Cases of assault on a fellow casteman are tried and compensation ordered. Abuse of a fellow casteman is dealt with leniently, but abuse of a headman severely, often entailing temporary excommunication. Endeavours are made to preserve peace and concord in the community. The spreading of false rumours, insults, disrespect to elders, all render the disturber of the peace liable to punishment. A husband and wife who frequently quarrel are brought to book. Reconciliations are effected in families that have quarrelled and partitions are prevented. Failure to attend caste festivals, and any attempt to deprive the caste fellows of their rights, is promptly taken account of. One mean Teli, who refused to give the usual feast on his son's marriage, was punished by having to provide a mat for the Panchayat meetings. Religious offences, such as selling cows for meat, allowing a cow to die while tied up, the neglect of or improper performance of religious ceremonies, are commonly dealt with and severe sentences inflicted. A Barhi in Patna was accused of selling a cow to a butcher. His plea that he sold it to a Goala was not believed, and he was fined Rs. 25 and sentenced, in default, to remain an outcaste for 12 years. Being unable to pay the fine he is still an outcaste. The apparent disproportion between the amount of the fine and the terrible penalty of 12 years' excommunication strikes a European as extraordinary.

890. The punishment awarded by caste councils are briefly (1) outcasting, which may be either temporary or permanent, (2) fines, (3) feasts given to the castemen, (4) corporal punishment and (5), among the better castes, religious punishments such as *prayaschitta* (an expiatory ceremony), pilgrimages and penances. A man is permanently outcasted for grave offences, *e. g.* if he knowingly and persistently partakes of food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste or marries a woman of lower caste and refuses to put her away. This extreme penalty has even been awarded when a man has married a woman of his own caste without or against the consent of her relations. Adultery and engaging in an occupation which is looked upon as degrading are sometimes similarly punished. Temporary outcasting is resorted to for the punishment of offences which are regarded as less serious, or when there is hope that the cutting off of social intercourse for a time will effect reformation. This sentence is also passed in order to enforce obedience to the Panchayat's orders. A suspect is frequently outcasted till he clears himself of a charge.

PUNISHMENTS.

A curious instance of this precaution is reported from Purnea. A man of the Rajbansi caste was charged by another of having had illicit intercourse with his widowed mother-in-law. The Panchayat met in due course, and as the charge was of a grave nature, the statement of the informer was taken down in writing and his thumb impression was taken on it, as well as a written undertaking that he would forfeit Rs. 10 if the charge was found to be untrue. The Panchayat could not arrive at a decision. The charge was, on the evidence, "unproven," but there was the risk of its being found true within three months, when it would be quite clear whether the woman was pregnant or not. In the meantime they all ran a danger if they ate with the man: so, to make themselves secure, they outcasted him for those three months.

When a minor offence has been committed, the culprit is ordered to pay a fine or provide a feast for his fellow-castemen. The fine is graduated according to the means of the offender. When he is a well-to-do or influential man, he is frequently required to give a feast to the castemen instead of being fined. Apologies are required for petty delinquencies, such as abusing fellow castemen and disrespect to elders. Pilgrimages are prescribed when a man by mistake, i.e., unintentionally or unwittingly, eats food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste. *Prayaschitta* has to be performed for a similar offence, and also when a man has had social intercourse, knowingly, with persons of a higher caste. Penance is prescribed as a punishment for the arrogant and sometimes takes a curious form. For instance, when a man who has been declared guilty by a Panchayat shows contumacy, he is called upon to humiliate himself by placing upon his head the shoes of some of the members of the Panchayat.

Among the lower castes feasts to the castemen in the village are the commonest form of punishment. In the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, it is reported, nothing of importance, e.g., a marriage or *sraddha* ceremony, can be performed without a feast being given to the Panchayat. Until and unless the feast is given, the ceremony is regarded as void. "This rule," writes Mr. G. S. Dutt, i.c.s., "has been pushed to its extreme limit among the Rajbansis, among whom the marriage ceremony is nothing but a feast given to the Panchayat. A man and woman may live together for years as husband and wife, and may beget children, but the marriage ceremony is not regarded as performed until the caste feast is given. As soon as the feast is given, the marriage becomes valid with retrospective effect."

891. The feeding of Brahmans, pilgrimages to some sacred shrine, bathing in the Ganges, and the offering of *pujas* to the gods are often prescribed as punishments, especially in Tirhut. A man may have to perform one or other or a combination of these penances. A correspondent in Saran reports that for serious offences "a man has to bathe in the river Ganges and swallow its sand in order to expiate his sins. After going through these penances, he has to make a free gift of a cow or she-calf, as the Panchayat may decide, to his family priest. He has also to feed the priest and give him a present of clothing and cash. Besides the priest, Brahmans, as persons of secondary importance, have to be fed, the number being fixed by the Panchayat. These Brahmans, if the means of the offender permit, have also to be given cash and cloth, but proportionately less than what the family priest gets, because the most important task of eating the first morsel touched by the offender devolves on him. If he declines to eat, neither the other Brahmans nor the castemen of the offender would venture to drink water touched by him, inter-dining of the castemen being out of question. The offender is further enjoined to perform some *pūja*: that which is at present in vogue is the ceremony of *Satyanaarayan puja*—worship of the true god. Then comes the feeding of the castemen. Before or after feeding his castemen, the offender, if he can afford it, has to give *dhotis* to his castemen in general, and to the Pradhan or headman in particular. On such occasions the offender is ordered to give two dinners to the castemen, one called *kudhi*—food not touchable by other castes, e.g., fish & rice, etc., and the other called *pukhi*—food touchable by other castes, such as bread &c. in *ghrit*. After all these preliminaries the offender is regarded as taken in caste, for he is allowed to eat with his caste-men on the

occasion. If, however, the offender fails in any of the preliminaries, he must remain an outcaste."

892. Corporal punishment used to be commonly, but now is rarely, inflicted. The convicted person is thrashed with shoes, sticks, bamboo, or the stem of a palm leaf, or made to ride on a donkey with one half of his face coated with lime and the other smeared with tur. Among some castes, an offender has to stand a certain time with a full pitcher of water on his head and with a mortar for pounding tur hanging round his neck. The Doms and Halakhors of Barbhanga also inflict a Shyphaon form of punishment, offering the man something to eat and then snatching it away and giving it to a dog. The Mallahs of this district tie the guilty man round the village *Teamra montar*, while the Barhis parade him with a worn-out plough on his shoulder. Other castes make a man wear shoes round his neck.

893. Some of the sentences are very light, e.g., an apology or a fine of a few annas. Others are very heavy, but a frank submission and apology sometimes procures a cancellation of the sentence. A Barhi, for instance, while drunk, abused the members of his Panchayat and was outcasted for six months. The ban on him was withdrawn as soon as he apologized. In another case a Haffari was excommunicated for 75 years for slaying the clients of another Haffari, but was readmitted into caste at the price of a feast to all the Haffaris in the neighbourhood. The severity of the punishment is for partly mitigated by the case of rich men, but they do not escape altogether. To quote a more important case, a Kaderi in Saran was outcasted for adultery with his sister-in-law. He went off to Calcutta, made money, and on his return spent a good deal of it in trying to induce his caste fellows to remove the ban from him. Eventually they persuaded him to submit himself to caste on condition that, when he was readmitted, every man should him with shoes. To this he agreed, and duly submitted to the usage.

894. Except for grave delinquencies, the outcasting is generally temporary. A man is readmitted into caste as soon as he has paid the fine, or the period has expired, and it is also a common thing for a sentence to be commuted, e.g., to a fine and a feast. The man who is readmitted into caste has generally to provide a feast for his fellow-caste men. His name in the feast symbolizes the fact that he is again in communion with them.

895. A man whose charge is found to be false by the Panchayat is as liable to punishment as the accused would be if it was proved. He may be outcasted temporarily or for ever, or he may be subjected to corporal punishment. He may be bound hand and foot and exposed to the sun, or whipped—it is reported from Saran that the high corporal punishments are rarely inflicted nowadays, a bundle of bamboo twigs is kept ready for use at the Panchayat meetings—or he may be given five *lacs* by every member of the meeting, or tied up in a mat and left for some hours in that uncomfortable position.

896. When fines are inflicted, they are either paid on the spot, or realized later by the *Chharidar*. Compulsion is not necessary, for default in payment is met by outcasting: the defaulter is simply boycotted and cut off from all social intercourse till he pays up. The proceeds are spent in a number of different ways. Most commonly they are spent on providing a common feast, or utilized for the purchase of mats for the members to sit on in council, and for other incidental expenses of the Panchayats, such as the purchase of cooking pots. They may be, and often are, devoted to charitable purposes, e.g., to helping a poor man in meeting the expenses of his daughter's marriage, and in paying for the funerals of the indigent; or they are put to religious and pious uses, such as feeding Brahmans and alms to the poor. They may be allowed to accumulate till there is enough to build a temple. In one case a fine of Rs. 700 realized from a rich Sunri of Tirlhut, who had performed *sraddha* in a manner contrary to established usage, was given to the fund raised for a Sunri school. Occasionally also they are expended on works of public utility, such as tanks and wells.

897. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau conditions vary so greatly among the aboriginal tribes and semi-Hinduized castes that there cannot be said to be a uniform type of caste government. It will therefore be necessary to give an account of the system in vogue among some of the principal tribes, from which it will be seen that it is largely based on the communal system, which is one of their cherished institutions.

CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

898. The Ho villages were formerly grouped in *Parhas*, each under a chief called a Manki. The affairs of the *Parha* were regulated by the Manki assisted by a council of Mundas, or village headmen. When any question arose affecting the whole tribe, a general meeting of the Mankis was held. The powers of the councils were absolute, extending to death sentences for incest, and their decisions were unquestioned. In course of time the term *Parha* became corrupted into *Pir*; and, as the Hos multiplied, there were several Mankis in each *Pir*, but they still retained the system of councils, which became known as Panchayats. When British rule was established, the authority of the Panchayats in civil matters, especially in questions affecting tribal customs, was recognized. The rules for the administration of civil justice in the Kolhan provided specifically for the reference of suits to Panchayats, and declared that decrees passed in conformity with their awards should not be appealable, unless corruption could be proved, or unless the award was contrary to the common law of the country or to rules enacted by the Governor-General. These rules (laid down in 1837) are still in force, and disputes brought into Court are commonly referred back to the Panchayats. The control of the Panchayats over criminal matters was gradually transferred to the Courts, but petty disputes of a criminal nature continued, and still continue, to be settled by the headmen.

899. Complaints are made direct to the Manki, or through the Munda or village headman. For the settlement of trivial matters, in which only the parties themselves are interested, e.g., petty assaults and questions of bride-price, the Manki may call on each party to nominate one or two persons to serve as arbitrators, and appoint a man to preside over their deliberations. If this court of arbitration cannot settle the question, the Manki takes it up himself. In petty disputes affecting only the parties concerned or the inhabitants of a single village, the Munda may summon a Panchayat of four or five influential raiyats with himself as President. This local Panchayat will settle the matter at issue, if possible; if they are not successful, it must be referred to the Manki for adjudication in a more representative Panchayat. When a momentous matter of caste custom or tribal usage is involved, all the Mundas under the Mankis are summoned. When the parties are under the jurisdiction of different Mankis, complaint may be made to either Manki; in such cases a joint Panchayat of the Mundas of both circles is commonly held.

900. Offences against caste rules are mostly concerned with questions of eating and inter-marriage. The Ho tribe is divided into a large number of exogamous septs known as *kilis*. Each of these *kilis* is divided into two classes, one of which is regarded as socially superior to the other. The members of the superior class will not eat or inter-marry with those of an inferior class. The *kilis* being exogamous, and the whole tribe being strictly endogamous, the same penalty of outcasting follows on inter-marriage within the *kili* as on eating or inter-marriage with other tribes or castes. Smoking the same cigarette is as strictly restricted as eating, but the rules as to drinking are more lax. A Ho will drink with another Ho with whom he cannot eat or inter-marry. He will also drink with Mundas, Santals and Bhumis, and with certain Hindu castes, such as Goudas and Kumbhars. He will not, however, drink with lower Hindu castes, such as Chakras, Tatis, Kumbhars and Doms, and never with Muhammadans. The contents of water-pots are not of the same importance, which his sons and his wife must not touch. There is a curious custom, while the mother is with child, to keep the child in the womb, and to keep the mother's family, and the child's family, separate, and to keep the mother's family, and the child's family, separate, and to keep the mother's family, and the child's family, separate.

Now-a-days the treatment to be accorded to emigrants on their return from Assam is a common subject of inquiry. Their relatives immediately refuse to eat with them, and they are temporarily ostracised. The ostracised individual then has a Panchayat convoked, and has to prove to its satisfaction that he has not eaten with any foreigner since he left his home. If he can do this, he is received back in the usual way; if not, he is permanently ostracised. Women are, naturally enough, ostracised permanently if they have been away alone. Very few men, however, are permanently ostracised, because it is supposed that the aboriginal coolies on a tea garden live among their fellows, and separately from the other coolies, and there is therefore a *a priori* no reason for presuming that a man who has been to Assam has broken the rule about eating. Restoration to the tribe is celebrated by a feast, as a preliminary to which the man has to bathe, shave and receive a lustration. One of the Mundas, or a substantial raiyat of another *kili*, who has been a member of the Panchayat, is deputed by the Manki to sprinkle him with water, which is taken up in a leaf of the *tulsi* plant, or of a *nim* leaf if the *tulsi* is not available. A fowl is then sacrificed—formerly the offender had to drink the blood of a pig or a black fowl—after which the Hoes have a feast, in which their readmitted brother takes part. As a further proof of his having begun a new life, the man has to throw away all the domestic utensils in his home and its new pots.

901. Fines are imposed in three kinds of cases—1. On trespass, in which an individual has lost his caste through poverty and applies for re-admission. The Manki takes a portion of the fine and the rest is divided among the Panchayat members. 2. Offences against the general interests of the community, e.g., the cutting of trees in a sacred grove or immolate felling in a village forest. Part of the fine is taken by the Manki and Panchayat members, and part by the clerkship appointed by the villagers to look after the jungle. 3. Personal disputes between parties. The major portion of the fine is given to the aggrieved party as compensation, the remainder being retained by the Manki and Panchayat members. The amount of the fine is regulated by the offenders' capability to pay, and there is seldom any difficulty about redimption.

If a man refuses to submit to the Panchayat's decision, the aggrieved party is referred to the Courts. The number of cases in which the Panchayat's verdict is questioned is, however, comparatively small. The Hoes do not go to the Manki so much as they used to do, but when they ask them to settle their differences in a Panchayat, the orders passed are generally accepted.*

902. The system of tribal government among the Mundas of Ranchi differs according to the area in which they live. Their country may be divided into two subdivisions, viz., the Khuntkatti and the Bhuihari areas, lying roughly east and west respectively of thana Khunti. The Bhuihari area is made up of groups of eight or more villages known as *Parhas*; the Bhuihars of each *Parha* are all members of one and the same *kili* or sept. In this area the old post of Manki or tribal chief has disappeared, whereas it has survived in the Khuntkatti area. The latter was originally divided into *Pattis*, consisting of ten or twelve villages, which were ruled over by Mankis. The *Pattis* are now for the most part broken up, except in a locality known as the Manki *Patti*. In the Khuntkatti area the Munda and Pahan, who hold office by hereditary right, convoke Panchayats when occasion requires, e.g., on receipt of a complaint. The Panchayat consists of members of the same *kili*. The Manki may be asked to preside; otherwise, the Pahan presides. Its jurisdiction extends only over the village, and it deals mainly with breaches of the marriage laws and disputes about the division of property.

In the Bhuihari area each *Parha* has a standing committee, which deals as a matter of course with breaches of the caste rules. The chief officials are the Raja and Diwan, with whom complaints are lodged by the Munda or Pahan of the village where the offence has taken place; orders are then given to the Pande to convoke the Panchayat. All members

* The above account has been compiled from a report by Mr. G. B. Burrows, Deputy Magistrate, Singhbhum.

of the *kili* are entitled to attend. The proceedings are prelude by a feast, and there are certain officers having duties connected with it. One man gathers the leaves which serve as plates, another makes the plates, a third the leaf-cups, and a fourth distributes tobacco and *pin*. The chief function of the Panchayat is to punish offences against the marriage laws. If the culprit is repentant and promises to separate from the woman, he has to drink the blood of a white he-goat or a white fowl; the Pahan also sprinkles him with its blood. Otherwise he is usually ordered to pay a fine. The fines are realized by the Diwan and his *chaprasis*, by force if necessary. The Mundas are not very strict about eating and drinking, except with persons belonging to lower castes. They will eat with any Munda of any *kili*, and even with Christian Mundas, for embracing Christianity does not involve out-casting. The Panchayat also meets to discuss social matters—recently a meeting was held in one *Purha* to discuss the abolition of dances and *jatras*, in view of the immorality they lead to. Another favourite subject of discussion is the *Sardari Larai*, a political movement aiming at the expulsion of all Dikku (*i.e.*, Hindu and Musalman) zamindars, of which mention has been made in the section of Chapter IV dealing with the Birsaitis. For this purpose collections are made and paid into a common fund.*

903. Among the Kandhis (Khonds) of the Khondmals the primitive system of village communities still exists almost intact. The villages are grouped together in divisions called Muthas, each village being presided over by a headman, called Malika, over whom again is the headman of the Mutha, or the Mutha Malika. The village headman is the arbiter in all disputes, whether social, domestic or agrarian. If the dispute is between people of different villages, the headmen of the two villages decide it in consultation with the Mutha headman, in the presence of a few people of their own or adjoining villages. Intercourse with a blood relation is a heinous offence. The guilty parties are excommunicated till a purifying ceremony has been performed. A buffalo and pig are sacrificed to the earth goddess, and a pot of water is dashed on the front of the man's house to signify that the year's rainfall will not fail as a result of his sin. The Hinduized Kandhis of Angul have a system like that of their Hindu neighbours, there being a hereditary caste headman, called Behara, who convokes Panchayats and gives judgement in consultation with them. If the Panchayat is hopelessly divided in its opinion, members of other castes are called in, to form a general assembly, and the matter is threshed out with their advice. In Kanhbandi the Kandhis select a headman called Omra—the name curiously recalls Mughal times—to act as their caste headman. He has jurisdiction over a group of villages, and is assisted by a Panchayat, composed of elderly and influential villagers and including as a rule the Gaontia, or fiscal headman. Complaints are made to the Omra, who then convokes the council and passes orders, in consultation with them, after hearing the parties.

904. The Panchayat system is an old and cherished institution among the Oraons, the Panch or council of elders being held in such honour that the Oraons say, before discussing any important business, "God above, the Panch below," *i.e.*, the Panch is the highest authority on earth. There are two types of Panchayat, viz., the village Panchayat and the Panchora Panchayat. Originally, when the community consisted only of Oraons, the village Panchayat, *i.e.*, a meeting of *pinches* representing the village, was confined to them, but now that the village is more heterogeneous, it has a different constitution. If a question affecting the whole village is to be debated, all the villagers, whatever their caste or tribe, meet in the Panchayat, while its president may be any respected village elder—even a Christian catechist—though it is generally the Mahito or Pahan. This Panchayat meets when occasion demands, and its president is elected only for the meeting. It decides land disputes, questions of inheritance and partition, cases of adultery and any infringement of Oraon customs. It also brings about the reconciliation of enemies, who have to drink a bowl of rice-beer together. Should one or other refuse, he is made to pay a fine or is given a good beating. If they consent to the reconciliation, a light fine is inflicted in order to provide a feast for the villagers. It also

assemblies to decide what action shall be taken when the village is visited by sickness, either of man or of stock. The first thing done, if a case of sickness find out the kind of the which, when they keep their children or their cattle, and the next is to decide how to treat them or how.

905. The Panchayat is a body of men chosen by a majority of the adult male members of a group of villages or of a village. It is presided over either by the Kartika or by the Mukha. There is a Kartika for each Panchayat, who holds his office by hereditary right. The Mukha is the chief of one of the village or group of villages, and holds his office by hereditary right. The Panchayat is composed of members of the village or group of villages, and its duties are to decide what shall be done in the village or group of villages. If a man is ready to go to the village or group of villages, he can do so, but the expense of going is not to be paid by the village or group of villages, but by the man himself.

906. One important duty of the Panchayat is to decide what shall be done in the village or group of villages. It is the duty of the Panchayat to decide what shall be done in the village or group of villages. The Panchayat is a body of men chosen by a majority of the adult male members of a group of villages or of a village. It is presided over either by the Kartika or by the Mukha. There is a Kartika for each Panchayat, who holds his office by hereditary right. The Mukha is the chief of one of the village or group of villages, and holds his office by hereditary right. The Panchayat is composed of members of the village or group of villages, and its duties are to decide what shall be done in the village or group of villages. If a man is ready to go to the village or group of villages, he can do so, but the expense of going is not to be paid by the village or group of villages, but by the man himself.

907. In some parts of Borneo, the Panchayat is a body of men chosen by a majority of the adult male members of a group of villages or of a village. It is presided over either by the Kartika or by the Mukha. There is a Kartika for each Panchayat, who holds his office by hereditary right. The Mukha is the chief of one of the village or group of villages, and holds his office by hereditary right. The Panchayat is composed of members of the village or group of villages, and its duties are to decide what shall be done in the village or group of villages. If a man is ready to go to the village or group of villages, he can do so, but the expense of going is not to be paid by the village or group of villages, but by the man himself.

908. The offences with which the Panchayat deals, whether it be a Panchayat of the village or of the Panchayat, are the most part offences against caste rules or public morality. The Panchayat takes no notice of sexual intercourse, etc.

Oraons if the parties are not closely related. If a child is born, the parties are made to live together. Should the child die, they may separate, provided that all intercourse between them ceases and that the young man pays for the maintenance of the girl till she is married. Sexual intercourse between parties who are closely related is regarded as a very serious offence, and may involve loss of tribal rights for life or for a long term of years. The offending parties will only be able to recover their status, if at all, by the payment of large fine. Extenuating circumstances are however taken into consideration, and the Panchayat may consider it sufficient to give the parties a beating.

Sexual intercourse between Oraons and non-Oraons is a serious offence, but its heinousness depends on the social status of the caste concerned. Cases of illicit intercourse between an Oraon and a non-Oraon of low caste, *e.g.*, Dom, Ghasi, Turi, Lohar, etc., or of adultery with a non-Oraon of any caste, whether high or low, are submitted to a mixed Panchayat, *i.e.*, a Panchayat composed of the entire male population of the Panchora or Panchoras concerned, both castes being represented. If the act was unprompted or committed in drunkenness, the Panchayat will deal leniently with the offenders. If it was premeditated, the offenders may have to pay a fine of a buffalo or 5 or 6 pigs (of a total value of about Rs. 40) before they can be taken back into caste. The fines are divided between the two castes who have formed the Panchayat. Subsequently, the caste which ranks higher in social estimation holds a second Panchayat and imposes another fine on the member of their caste who has brought discredit upon them.

The rules about eating and drinking are not strict, and breach of them can be condoned by providing a goat or a pig and some rice-beer for a feast, or by the sacrifice of a white goat or a white cock and by drinking the blood of the animal so sacrificed. The ceremony of expiation may be carried out by the Pahan of the village, and the expiation does not necessarily involve the assembly of a Panchayat. As among other tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, a man who has a festering sore—a “wound with maggots” as it is usually described—is considered to have offended against caste and to be unclean. To regain his position, he must call the Panchayat and feast them on a white goat and rice-beer.*

909. The Kharias of Rauchi have a Panchayat system similar to that of the Oraons. They are divided into two classes, viz., those who eat the flesh of cows (Chotgohandi) and those who abstain from it (Bargohandi). Amongst the latter it is an offence wilfully to kill, or to cause to be killed, a cow or bullock: such an offence can only be expiated by a visit to a sacred bathing place. On his return, the culprit has to drink the blood of a white goat and give a feast to the members of the Panchayat. The Kharias also have a Kartaha who restores men to caste: he is not a permanent officer, but is chosen for the occasion. If a man is outcasted and cannot, owing to poverty, pay the fine at once, the Panchayat may grant him the right of drinking with his castemen. For this he must pay them two measures of parched rice and one pot of rice-beer. For the full recovery of caste rights the Kartaha's help is needed. The offender drinks the blood of a white he-goat, besides supplying food and drink to the Panchayat. No rice is thrown at the Kartaha, and he is merely the first person to eat the food of the outcaste. As among the Oraons, it is an offence for a woman to do a man's work. A Kharia woman who touches the plough, is herself yoked to a plough and made to plough a few feet of ground: she must also eat some grass and go round the village begging for rice to provide drink for the Panchayat. The sister or the daughter of the master of the house, when grown up, also commits an offence if she enters a cow-shed.

-910. The system of tribal government among the Santals is closely bound up with the communal system. Its unit is the village, at the head of which is the Santal

SANTALS.

* The above account has been compiled from a note, by Mr. M. G. Hallett, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Gumla in the Ranchi district. A brief account of the Oraon Panchayats in Palamau will be found in *The Religion and Customs of the Oraons*, by the Revd. P. Dehon, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1906-07.

headman or *Manjhi*. He is essential to Santal life, every public sacrifice, ceremony and festival requiring his presence. Should a Santal village have a headman of another race, they will appoint a Santal to perform all the social and ceremonial duties of the *Manjhi*. He is called a *Handi Manjhi*, *i.e.*, a liquor headman, the consumption of liquor being a feature of their ceremonies. In his administrative capacity as fiscal head of the village the *Manjhi* is assisted by a sub-head man called a *Panamik*. In his social functions he is assisted by the *Jog-Manjhi*, who acts as *custos morum* to the young people of the village. If a girl becomes pregnant, the *Jog-Manjhi* has to find the man who is responsible and bring him before the Panchayat, which will deal with the culprit. If he does not, the village people take him to the *Manjhi's* house and tie him with a buffalo's rope to a pole, he being kept singing to him. During the *Sakral* festival, when much business is transacted, the village boys and girls live for five days and nights with the *Jog-Manjhi*, who has to see that no scandal occurs, *e.g.*, that relatives between whom marriage is prohibited do not have illicit intercourse. The *Jog-Manjhi* has an assistant called *Jog-Panamik*, who officiates when he is absent. The fifth and last of the regular village officials is the *Thorai*, who acts as the *Manjhi's* clerk, and calls the village together at his command. These posts are practically hereditary, but it is recognized that their holders are merely representatives of the village community and that they derive their power from the people themselves. Once a year they all resign their posts to the village people, though this is now done only *pro forma*, for they are regularly re-elected.

The *Manjhi* convenes the village when any question arises affecting their common interests, or when a villager has complained to him and a communal action is required. The meeting is called a Panchayat or in Santal *Mosh* (literally two men), a term which probably originally signified the *Manjhi* and the four other village officials. The latter are *ex-officio* members, and the Panchayat also includes any adult male belonging to the village. If there is a dispute between Santals belonging to different villages, the people of both villages meet together to decide the case. If they cannot arrive at a conclusion, or if one or both of the parties are dissatisfied with their finding, a reference is made to a full bench consisting of a *Parganait* (who is the head of a group of villages), the village headmen of the groups and other influential men in the neighbourhood. As the *Manjhi* has an assistant in the village, so the *Parganait* has an assistant in his circle called the *Dek-Manjhi*.

Every village has its council place, the *Manjhi thum*, where Panchayats are held and petty disputes are settled. The Panchayat also disposes of more serious questions, such as disputes about marriage and inheritance. Questions of caste dishonourance are referred to a Panchayat consisting of the neighbouring *Manjhis* under the control of the *Parganait*.

911. Total excommunication, which means expulsion from the tribe, can only be effected by a general assembly of the Santals. This extreme penalty is inflicted for breaches of either the endogamous or the exogamous law, *i.e.*, for sexual intercourse with a non-Santal or between Santal relatives who come within their table of kindred and affinity. If any one commits such an offence, the headman of his village calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them. If the charge is believed to be true, the parties are temporarily outcasted. Nothing more can be done till the annual tribal hunt takes place, when the matter is discussed in a full conclave of the Santals. If the case is not proved, those who started the rumour are very severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting, and proceeds to execute the sentence under the supervision of the local *Parganait* and some other influential men. The main part of the proceedings consists of defiling the outcast's house. The fire-places, pots, etc., are all broken, while the young men strip and commit nuisance in and round about the house; one case is known in which it took more than two weeks for the place to dry up properly.

912. The tribal hunt is the one occasion in the year when the Santals act as a united tribe, all local units and officials being then subordinated to the tribal session.

It is a common hunt to which the people are summoned by an official called Dihri, who acts as priest and hunt-master. The summons is sent by a *sil* branch being circulated. In the evening, when the hunt is over, the people meet in council. Here the Manjhis and Parganaits are, if necessary, brought to justice; and if any one has to be excommunicated, his case is dealt with. Any matter, great or small, may be brought forward by anyone; if the case cannot be finally decided then, it is kept in abeyance till next year's hunt.

913. The re-admission of outcastes is as public as their excommunication.

RE-ADMISSION OF OUTCASTS.

It is effected by a ceremony called *jum jati* (i.e., eating one's way back to the tribe). When it is to be performed, the village headman informs the local Parganait, and the latter 12 other Parganaits, so that the news spreads over the whole countryside. The person who is to be re-admitted goes to the end of the village street carrying water in a *lotu* with a twisted cloth round his neck to show that he is willing to be led. After he has acknowledged his transgression and begged for pity, the most venerable Parganait present takes the *lotu* from his hands and bows to the sun. He then rinses his mouth with a little of the water and passes it round to all leading men, who do the same. After this they enter the village and go to the courtyard of the outcaste, where he washes their feet. All then sit down to a feast at which the outcaste serves them: he also pays the necessary fees, viz., Rs. 5 to every Parganait and to the village Manjhi, and one rupee to every other Manjhi. After the feast the old Parganait announces his restoration to brotherhood. They then dig a small hole, bury a lump of cow-dung in it and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the man's sin is buried for ever.

914. In the Patna State the Binjhals and Saharas have a curious belief

DEATHS FROM TIGERS AND OUTCASTING.

that if a man is killed by a tiger his relatives become *ipso facto* impure. For both castes there is an elaborate ceremony of purification which is performed by the officers of the caste Panchayat, viz., the Muri and Biswal in the case of Binjhals and the Biswal and Manjhi in the case of Saharas. The following account of the ceremony among Binjhals applies *mutatis mutandis* to the Saharas, the name of the officiating functionaries only being different. The family of the dead man first search for the body and bury it, or any portion they can find, near the village site. They then observe a fast till the Muri comes and sprinkles the juice of the *bija* tree over their house and also over the village roads and paths. After this, the household get out new pots and break their fast, but they remain excommunicated till duly purified. On the morning of the day fixed for this ceremony, all their clothes are washed, and the walls and floor of the house smeared with fresh earth and cowdung. The Biswal and Muri, accompanied by other members of the caste, then take the outcasted family to a stream or tank: the family is represented by one of its members, who is treated as the outcaste. He is shaved there completely, his male relatives are also shaved, and the females have their nails pared. They also bathe and put on new clothes. The Muri and Biswal make seven holes on the bank of the tank or stream, in each of which water, paddy, milk and flowers are placed. Seven lamps and seven heaps of rice are placed by them and the sun god is invoked: the outcaste and his family stand facing the sun. The Muri sacrifices seven fowls, and pours water seven times on the outcaste's head. Water is also sprinkled over the bodies of the outcaste and his family, and some is poured into their hands and drunk by them, after which they fall at the feet of the caste fellows and remain prostrate till told by the elders to arise. After this, the Muri goes to the house again and sprinkles the holy water on the floor and roofs. The proceedings end with a feast in the purified house, symbolizing re-entry into caste.

It is believed that the spirit of the dead man enters the tiger and that it will kill the head of the house unless the family is purified. The ceremony, it is said, propitiates the spirit, which is then released from bondage. The basis of the superstition is probably however, that the family has offended the deity and that, for the sake of the community, they must be purified by means of an expiatory ceremony. If any Khonds are resident in a village where a man has been killed by a tiger, they also take action independently.

In the centre of the street in which they live is a square wooden post, with the head roughly carved, which represents the earth god and is called Dharni or Judan. To it they make offerings, and neglect of its worship is a sin which renders them liable to attacks from tigers. Formerly, when a man was killed by a tiger, they left the village and built new houses elsewhere. Now that the State has a system of forest conservancy, they are content to tear up the post, erecting another after an interval of a week or so.

915. In Orissa the system of caste government follows a more or less uniform type. The lowest castes, and also the

ORISSA.
LOW CASTES.

Hatua castes, i.e., clean (mostly functional) castes, such as Gauras and Gurias, that occupy an intermediate position in the social scale, have headmen called variously Behara (the commonest name), Padhan, Thanapati, etc., who exercise authority in caste matters over single villages or groups of two to six villages. Over them, again, are superior officials called Mahantas, Sardar Beharas, etc., with jurisdiction over large areas, e.g., fifty to sixty villages. The posts are hereditary: on succession, the new officer gives a feast to the castemen under him, the headmen of other groups and the superior officials. When they meet at this convivial gathering, they declare his succession is confirmed. Caste offences are dealt with in several ways according to their gravity, and the tribunal is not always confined to members of the caste. On receipt of a complaint, the headman calls a meeting of influential villagers belonging both to his caste and also to other castes, and decides the question in consultation with them: this meeting is called a Sabha. If the accused is opposed to having the case decided by this tribunal, the headman brings it up at a gathering of the caste on the occasion of some festival: this conclave is called Jati Sabha, i.e., a meeting of the caste. The accused is excommunicated till the Jati Sabha has given its verdict. If the issues are important, or if the offender disputes the decision of a Jati Sabha, a Barhai Patak Sabha or general meeting of several castes (Brahmans, other high castes and clean low castes) is called. Its decision is final, and the people of all castes respect it.

If an offender refuses to submit to the orders passed by the headman at a Sabha or to the orders of the Jati Sabha, he is outcasted. If he disregards the decision of the general meeting (Barhai Patak Sabha), he is declared *patit*, i.e., out of Hindu society, and the village barber and washerman cease to serve him. Fines are generally imposed for petty offences and expended in offerings to Jagannath or the village deity. Men guilty of serious offences have to provide the castemen with a feast or more than one feast. This entails heavy expense, as the number of men to be fed varies from 100 to 400. If an offender is poor, he may be permitted to feed only a few men and to pay a certain amount in cash. If he is so poor that he cannot make any payment, he falls prostrate before the assembly of caste people (Jati Sabha) and serves each man with *dantkathi nani*, i.e., he gives each of them a stick for brushing his teeth and some water. This is regarded as an humiliating penance. Each caste has got a Brahman or Baishnab who makes the offerings to the deities. When a Jati Sabha is to be held, the money received up to date is made over to him. He then makes the offerings, brings the *bhog* (food offered to the deities), and distributes it to all the caste people, who eat it then and there.

916. In Balasore the system appears to be more like that of Bihar. It is reported that low castes, such as Gaura, Tanti, Teli, Gokha, Kandra, etc., have each a Panchayat, which deals with all questions connected with caste government. The Panchayat consists of as many members as there are houses or families within its jurisdiction. A male member from each family is sent as a delegate to it; a minor is represented by an adult relative. It is invariably presided over by the Behara or caste headman, who holds his title by hereditary right and "is appointed, when necessary, by the religious preceptor or village landlord." He is, in fact, the real authority, for all questions are referred to him in the first instance, and the Panchayat takes action only on his initiative. He calls it together when a special meeting is necessary. Generally, however, the meetings are held when religious festivals or social ceremonies are celebrated, at which the members of the caste will naturally be present.

931. The following is a brief sketch of the system in force among the Kachis in Bhujpur and the Meechs in Jalpur.

Kachis.

Over each group of Kachis there is a headman called Mahat; there may be more than one group or Samaj in a village. The office of headman descends according to the ordinary law of inheritance, but on failure of male issue a new headman is elected by the people. Over a group of Mahats is a Mahat, called also a Paramank or Bignar Mahat, whose office is also hereditary. Paramount authority over all these limitations is exercised by an officer called Sahib Gosain. Petty cases are decided by Mahats with the assistance of heads of families under them, but more important cases are heard by the Mahat assisted by the Mahats under him and by leading villagers. There is a right of appeal in all cases to the Sahib Gosain. A Gosain of Jayaspur in the Mada district is generally the Sahib Gosain, but the zamindar of Maldiwar exercises the powers of the Sahib Gosain within his estates, and the priest of the Maharaja of Bhujpur exercises similar powers in the Bhujpur estate.

932.

When the thurs were held by the Bhutaneses, each Meech village had a headman called Thakur. His place has been taken by the Mahat, who originally acquired the position by election, but has now become an hereditary official. The Mahat takes cognizance of all kinds of disputes, social, religious, civil and criminal. He is assisted by a messenger called Bhajaji, who, when information is given of an offence, calls the offender and a male representative from each house; the best or priest also attends, and when the matter is before a head Mahat, at least three other Mahats are present. One Meech, who had embraced Christianity, was readmitted into the tribe, on payment of a fine of Rs. 50 in cash, two pigs, a fowl and a large quantity of liquor. The cash was divided among the best and Panchayat. (The case of an unusual nature is reported as having occurred about two years ago. A Meech having died, his body was left with his other things at the place of burial. Another Meech picked it up and sold it to a third man, who smoked it. The latter was excommunicated for a time, and the two had to pay between them a fine, in cash and kind, amounting to Rs. 22.

Meech.

933. The caste Samiti or Sabha is a form of caste organization which has recently come into existence in Bengal. Most have sprung up since the last census, and more especially since the first Partition of Bengal. They are the outcome of the modern spirit. Their main object is to improve the social position of the caste, and their organization is modelled upon European associations and companies. Some have effected a loose form of combination, but others have associated with general committees, while others have even formed themselves into limited liability companies. The Bhamis, for instance, have formed a company, with headquarters at Barrow, the shares being Rs. 10 each. According to the articles of association, any adult member of the caste purchasing a share can be admitted as a member of the Sabha, but the shares may not be transferred to any one not belonging to their caste. The capital of the Sabha is to be spent for promoting education amongst the caste and for improving their religious, social, moral and physical condition. It is laid down that there is to be an annual general meeting, which members of the caste other than shareholders, and also the general public, may attend, though only shareholders have a right to vote. The articles provide for a President, Vice-President, a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary selected by the shareholders from among their number. These four officers, with 15 other shareholders, form an Executive Committee called the Purba Banga Samiti, the objects of a Sabha Samiti, known as the Purba Banga Samiti, are more definitely stated. In addition to general objects, such as promoting union among Shahas and furthering the interests of the community, it aims at the encouragement of female education, as well as of male education, and the reformation of social customs. Students belonging to the caste are to be assisted to go to Japan and America and prosecute their studies there. Ancient works relating to the caste are to be collected and published, and every endeavour is to be made to raise the community in social rank.

CASTE SYSTEMS AND SAMITIS.

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woman and her husband burnt to death. No evidence of this crime ever came to light. Again, a Goala in Gaya was suspected of joining in a dacoity. The caste awarded their own punishment without a word to the police. The offender had his hair cut and his face smeared with lime, and was paraded through the village seated on a donkey. The Panchayats also occasionally punish persons who have recourse to the courts instead of to their tribunals about matters which they are competent to deal with. As a case in point may be mentioned the experience of a Jolaha in Darbhanga, who was outcasted because, his daughter having been enticed away, he lodged information at the thana. More frequently, however, they simply bring pressure to bear on the complainant and make him or her withdraw the case. A Chamar in Monghyr, when drunk, attempted to ravish a woman, who informed the police. The Panchayat promptly outcasted the man for six months and threatened to excommunicate her if she did not withdraw the charge. Their threat was effectual.

938. Vengeance is also taken on members of the caste who venture to give evidence against a brother casteman, and they are not infrequently boycotted. A Namasudra in Dinajpur, who gave evidence for a Musalman against another Namasudra, was outcasted for 20 years. The clannishness of caste in this respect is well illustrated by the account of the Goalas of Nadia given by the District Census Officer, Mr. A. K. Ray: "It is difficult to obtain evidence against a criminal offender from amongst his fellows, unless he is also a social sinner, in which case it is given with alacrity. This was strongly brought out during the trial of some Goalas of Krishnagar for bad livelihood. They had terrorized over the neighbourhood for years: they had not only done so with impunity, but had punished those that dared to complain against them. So long as they did not touch the person or the purse of a Goala, no evidence could be got. One of the party, however, fouled his nest, and retribution quickly followed. Although previously cases had failed for lack of local evidence, there was overwhelming evidence against the offender and his gang on the present occasion, and about a dozen of them were successfully prosecuted."

A striking case of a caste combining to defeat the ends of justice, which is reported from the same district, is of particular interest as shewing how severely unchastity in a woman, or even a suspicion of it, is punished and to what lengths a caste will go in enforcing its penalties. A young Kaibartta widow went away with her husband's nephew and was suspected of unchastity. She and her only son were outcasted, and her property sold by her husband's brothers. On her return home, the caste Panchayat declined to admit her to her home, and she had to build a hut on the outskirts of the village. But she was not allowed to live in peace even there. Her relatives felt that her living as an outcaste in the same village was a standing reproach to them, and requested the zamindar to evict her. When he refused to do so, they put up the young rakes of the village to molest her in all possible ways. Eventually, they broke into her house at midnight and carried her from her bed to a field, where they outraged her. When she complained to the police of house-breaking and rape, the caste people put the greatest obstacles in their way. The case was eventually sent up to trial but broke down, as the village being composed mostly of Kaibarttas, the villagers would not give evidence on her behalf. She was then prosecuted for bringing a false charge, but fortunately succeeded in obtaining an acquittal.

939. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency for the courts to be referred to in the following cases:—(1) The caste council itself refer the parties to the Magistrate. (2) The Panchayat cannot enforce its decision and therefore sends up a case to the Magistrate, in order that the State may inflict a punishment. (3) The Magistrate is regarded as a court of appeal from the verdict of the Panchayat. (4) A man refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Panchayat and proceeds against its members. In many cases when a Panchayat has a difficult or serious question to settle, they shrink from the responsibility and refer the parties to the Magistrate at once. Not infrequently they do this because they honestly realize that it is a case with which the courts should properly deal or with which it will more

adequately deal. At other times they are afraid of the consequences to themselves, if the police discover they have arrogated the powers of the penal law. They are the more apt to abdicate their functions, as the love of litigation spreads, for there is always the danger that an aggrieved party may prosecute them, *e.g.*, by bringing a case of defamation against them. For the same reason drastic corporal punishment is now not so frequently inflicted, as the man has only to go to the thana and exhibit his injuries. When a case is referred to the courts by the Panchayat, the Magistrate's verdict is not always acquiesced in. In Midnapore, for instance, a Goala was found in the house of a Gareri girl at midnight. Both the Goalas and Gareris resolved to have the man prosecuted and to pronounce its verdict in accordance with the finding of the court. The Goala was eventually acquitted, and the Goalas took no action against him. The Gareris, however, went back on their word and outcasted the girl. A distinction must of course be drawn between cases of this kind and those (of which a sketch will be given later) in which a caste combines with the police to clear out the black sheep of the community and establish a good name for itself. In such cases the Panchayat gives every assistance to the police, and also outcasts the offenders, so that he has both communal and legal punishment.

890. The second class of case occurs either when a Panchayat passes sentence but cannot enforce it because of the contumacy of the offender, or when it realizes that a man cannot be made to resume a decent life unless dealt with by the law. In Patna, for example, a Teli was outcasted for having an intrigue with a widow. In spite of this, he continued the liaison, and was eventually caught with the woman at midnight. Her mother and the other Telis handed him over to the police, and he was, as is usual in such cases, convicted of entering the house to commit theft. The third class consists of cases where the Panchayat itself recognizes the law court as having appellate jurisdiction, and an appeal is made to the Magistrate with its concurrence: the device adopted is for the aggrieved party to bring a charge of defamation against a member of the caste. A curious illustration of such appeals is reported by a Magistrate who served for some time in Singhbhum. He writes:—"Charges of witchcraft are rather common in Kollam. Generally the man or woman condemned and outcasted by the caste Panchayat seeks his remedy in the criminal courts, and I have seen the whole village turning up at Chaibasa to watch the result of the case. If the accused charged with defamation is convicted, then the villagers take it that the issue (as to whether the complainant is a witch or not) has been tried out in court, and, I believe, she is taken back to caste. If, on the other hand, the accused in the defamation case gets off through want of evidence, it is taken that the decision of the caste Panchayat is confirmed, and the complainant has no further remedy." The cases in which an appeal to the law courts is made without the consent of the Panchayat are far more common, however, and, unfortunately for the system of caste government, are of growing frequency. In such cases the man who has been sentenced by the caste either honestly appeals to the court in order to clear himself or seeks by hook or by crook to revenge himself on his fellow castemen. On the whole, the accessibility of the law courts is tending to weaken the system of caste self-government, and the pleader gains at the expense of the Panchayat.

891. An interesting example of the way in which the organization of a caste can be utilized in the interests of good administration is afforded by the history of a recent movement in Patna. In 1902 the Dosadhs, who have long been responsible for most of the dacoities in the district, held a mass meeting, at which two of their leaders impressed on them the shame of their bad name and the advantages of honesty. Their representations had effect, for it was resolved (i) that Dosadhs should not sell cows to butchers, (ii) that marriage in the *saa'i* form should no longer be tolerated, (iii) that Dosadhs who were in the habit of thieving, and those convicted by the Magistrates, should not be allowed to have any social dealings with other Dosadhs and (iv) that Dosadhs who violated these resolutions should not be allowed to intermarry with those Dosadhs who observed them, dine or drink with them, or smoke from the same hookah. Meetings were held in every part of the district, and the movement spread even into Monghyr. The good resolutions

of the Dosadhs were adhered to for some time, largely owing to the sympathetic interest taken in the movement by the late Mr. A. V. Knyvett, C.I.E., Deputy-Inspector General of Police. Not only did the Dosadhs bring social pressure to bear on the black sheep of the community, but they did not scruple to hand over to the police men who refused to live honest lives.

Recently this movement has been revived. In 1909 the Dosadhs held a mass meeting, as a result of which 13 notorious bad characters were handed over to the police with the request that proceedings might be taken against them under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. Within 18 months crime had been reduced by half in the police-station in which this meeting took place. More recently, in December 1910, some 20 of the Dosadh Sardars had an interview with the Superintendent of Police, in which they invoked his assistance in their efforts to reform. They pointed out that formerly the Dosadhs had a reputation for honesty and were employed in positions of trust, for which they received *jagirs*. Nowadays, they were looked down upon for their dishonesty, their social status had been lowered, and they had lost their hereditary employment. It was agreed that the caste Sardars should appoint a headman for each police-station, who should hold meetings of the Dosadhs annually, that the caste itself should deal with dishonest Dosadhs without a criminal prosecution, and that when any Dosadh took to a life of crime, his fellow castemen should report to the headman, who would appoint a Panchayat to deal with the case. General meetings were also to be held annually to review progress and deliberate on future action. Similar meetings were held by the Goalas with equally satisfactory results.

These movements are not due to outside influence, but to the initiative of the castes themselves. They are however spasmodic, the people's interest gradually subsiding, especially if they receive no official encouragement. While they last, however, they do no little good in ranging potential criminals on the side of law and order.

942. The principle that the caste is its own ruler is also acted on by the

CASTE COUNCILS AND THE BRAH-
MANS.

lower castes of Bihar so far as the Brahmans are concerned. Brahmans are rarely called in to assist in the deliberations of the caste councils, and, as a rule, are only consulted about purely religious matters. *e.g.*, the religious penances or expiatory offerings to be performed for religious offences. In any case, of course, they are referred to only by castes which are served by Brahmans. The caste considers itself quite competent to settle other questions, and passes its judgement according to its own traditions and customs. There cannot be clearer proof of the independence of the low castes than the fact that if the caste Panchayat has readmitted a man into caste, the Brahman has no power to brand him as an outcaste, however flagrant his offence according to Brahmanic scriptures. In this and other respects the caste councils are true to the dictum of Narada—"Custom decides everything and overrides scriptural law."

In Orissa the caste councils do not seek ordinarily the advice of Brahmans, but they are invariably called in when a case of *gobadha* or cow-killing occurs. There is a special expert on the question, called Purana Pandit. He is a Brahman, versed in the rules of the *Sastras* about the treatment of cows, who is appointed by the zamindar to decide *gobadha* questions in certain localities. *Gobadha* it may be explained, is not confined to the deliberate killing of cows. If a cow dies for want of proper treatment and care, or with a rope round its neck, it is tantamount to cow-killing. In such cases the owner calls a meeting of the Brahmans, to which the Purana Pandit and leading members of other castes are summoned. They decide whether the death amounts to cow-killing and, if so, how *prayaschitta* should be performed.

In Bengal the Brahmans appear to be more frequently consulted than in Bihar, their advice being sought on difficult and knotty questions. There appears also to be a tendency for Panchayats in some parts to hold that offences require penance according to the *Sastras*, in which case a *vyavashtha*, *i.e.*, a ruling on the nature of the offence and the expiation required, has to be obtained from a Pandit. Scriptural law is thus followed instead of caste custom. This process appears to have gone very far among the Namasudras of

Dinajpur. It is reported that if the decision of the Pradhan, or headman of the village, is not accepted by other Pradhans in the Samaj, a reference is made to the priests of the community and their decision is final. In serious matters the Namasudra priests are consulted before a decision is arrived at by the Panchayat; and where the Pradhans and the priests cannot decide what do do, they refer to Brahman Pandits. The Pandits, it is said, can set aside the judgement of the Pradhans by quoting the authority of the *Sastras*. Among the higher castes, such as the Brahmans and Kayasths, the opinion of the priests who minister to them is seldom sought in caste disputes. Though they are bound to be consulted about religious ceremonies, their social position is a low one, the calling of a priest being looked down upon because it involves the acceptance of petty gifts.

943. In Bengal there is a tendency for the Panchayat system to be supplanted by the practice of referring disputes to the local zamindar. A powerful landlord is, in any case, in a very strong position, for he usually has the barbers and washermen, if not also the priests, under his thumb. A sentence of excommunication cannot be given full effect to without their co-operation; and, on the other hand, the zamindar can coerce his tenants by ordering them to withhold their services. He can thus either act independently or confirm the Panchayat's sentence. He can enforce it by means of his *barkandazes* as well as by forbidding the priests, barbers and washermen to serve a recalcitrant cultivator. Further, the landlord or his agent frequently acts as an arbiter both in social disputes and also in purely caste matters: their adjudication is a source of income which is not easily foregone. One correspondent writes that where the zamindar is a man of ancient lineage, he is often the referee in the social, caste and religious disputes even of the Brahmans, though not a Brahman himself. "Where his position and wealth far outweigh those of his neighbours, his voice prevails, although not in defiance of, or in antagonism to, the opinion of the Pandits; to their credit, it should be said, *Sastric* quotations are available to meet all ordinary emergencies. His authority does not however extend beyond the village or group of villages owned or administered by him. An offender who refuses to bow to the judgement of his fellow Brahmans seeks refuge in a distant place far away from the local zamindar's influence and so escapes altogether. More often, however, he keeps quiet for a while, and absents himself from the village whilst his friends and relatives propitiate the zamindar. They eventually get him to connive at his offence, and he thus escapes punishment."

In Orissa the zamindars occasionally appoint agents of their own to deal with offences against caste rules on their estates. A Behara, for instance, is sometimes appointed by the zamindar for his Kewat tenants; this officer receives a fee of four annas for every marriage. Where Dhobas are numerous, the zamindar appoints, though rarely, a similar functionary or more than one. In this latter caste the Behara gets a number of perquisites, receiving the fines imposed, fees for marriages, for *prayaschitta* ceremonies, for readmission of outcastes, etc. All these are divided between the Jati (caste) Behara and the zamindari Behara.

944. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were once the home of guilds, which flourished when the Buddhist religion was at its zenith. They tried their own law suits, an appeal lying only to the king, punished breaches of contract, and banished offenders against rules. Among other things, they acted as banks, receiving money as trust funds: they kept the principal and allowed 5 per cent. interest to the beneficiary named in the grant. "The reason why the guilds came into prominence just when they did is doubtless because it was at that period that the Buddhists arose, who reached the acme of their power in the third century B. C., and were important for a thousand years afterwards. In accordance with this fact stands, too, the special prominence of guild-life, in the eastern part of India, the home of Buddhism. As the Buddhists placed the warrior caste before the priest caste and gave unrestricted freedom to the third estate, it is not wonderful that guild-life is characteristic of a Buddhist environment. The same, however, is true in regard to the Jains, a rival heretical sect, which also arose in the sixth

century B.C. Hence it is that, on the one hand, early Buddhistic literature, from 350 B.C. onwards, teems with references to the guilds and speaks of the heads of guilds as of the highest social position, while, on the other hand, the seat of guild-power to-day is still found among the Jains (the Buddhists having left India), and specially among the descendants of those who claim to have come originally from the eastern seat of Buddhistic and Jain culture.*

915. The guilds still maintain their existence in Bombay, Gujarat and parts of Northern India. In Central India too the Musalman Bhistis, or water-carriers, are said to form a strict guild, initiation into which is marked by the assumption of an apron of red cloth, tied round the waist, which is known as the *lungi* of Khwaja Khizr. The Bhistis have a common belief in Khwaja Khizr, the god of the waters, and are said to have certain tests, by which they can recognize a member of the brotherhood: the tests are believed to be connected with the number of straps by which the *massakh* or water-bag is suspended, the length of the strap which ties its mouth, etc. Should a Bhisti die in poverty, his fellow Bhistis are bound to help his orphan son and start him in life by providing him a water-bag: it is said that children may often be seen with a tiny water-bag, which the members of the guild have given him in order to comply with the letter, but not the spirit, of the unwritten law.† No such guild can be traced in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, though some Bhistis are found, who say that their forefathers observed such customs when they first came to this part of India, and that they have long ago given them up. The red apron and the veneration of Khwaja Khizr are all that they appear to have in common with the Bhistis Northern India.

916. In Bengal and Bihar, the ancient home of both Buddhism and Jainism, guilds in the proper sense of the word are now unknown. The only mention of anything like an organized trade guild that I can find occurs in the discursive account given by Mr. Motte of a journey through Orissa, which he undertook under the orders of Lord Clive, in 1766:—"The bearers in Calcutta form a commonwealth, the most politic in the world. They have a president, and hold frequent councils, in which everything is settled for the good of the community; and when any resolution is formed, neither stripes nor bonds must cause any member to recede; if he does, he is banished *ab aris et focis*. The air of Bengal has a surprising effect on them; for at home they are reported by their neighbours to be the greatest thieves on earth, whereas in a foreign country they are trusted with everything. It is true they have by-laws, which make it almost impossible to detect them in case of robbery; for, first, a bearer is to perjure himself rather than accuse another, save to the president and council; and, secondly, they will suffer none but brethren to enter their houses, pretending that the profane will defile them. They have gained their present ascendancy by taking advantage of the heat of the climate and the indolence of the English; for if a person incurs the displeasure of this worshipful society, he may walk till he dies of a fever. I have known them carry their authority so far, as to fine a poor gentleman for accidentally spitting in his servant's face, though it had no other consequence than obliging him to wash before he ate. But, the society regarding it as an insult, he must submit, neglect his business or broil in the sun.‡"

917. At the present time the guild has been merged in the caste. Artisan castes, it is true, fix trade holidays, and also lay down rules regarding the traditional occupation, and enforce their observance. I myself have had a case before me in which the Kaseras or braziers of a town had united to keep the last day of the month as a holiday, and outcasted one industrious soul who ventured to break the rule. Among the functional castes encroachment on the privileges of others—"misappropriation of *birat*" as it is styled—is severely dealt with. A Barhi or carpenter must not make ploughs for a villager for whom another Barhi works. A Hajjam or barber must stick to his own clients: in one case a Hajjam was outcasted for working for a man who had already dismissed another Hajjam. A Channar must not take the

* E. W. Hopkins, *etc.*, *India, Old and New*, 1901.

† Gwalior Commercial Journal, December 1910.

‡ Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.

carcasses of cattle that another Chamar has a recognized right to, and the Chamariu, who works as a midwife, must attend only the women of the families that her family customarily attends. Doms, Chamars and Halalkhors in some parts even sell, mortgage or give in dowry their hereditary rights. Among them the Panchayat or caste council has such power, that it may order a general strike and outcaste any one who ventures to work in defiance of its orders. The adoption of another occupation also involves punishment, but only when it is considered a degrading employment, such as making or selling shoes. Apart from such instances there is little or none of the corporate life of a trade guild, and no attempt to fix wages or regulate hours of work—much less any combination of different castes that have the same trade or handicraft. The functional castes now deal mainly with breaches of caste customs regarding morality, marriage and commensality, but to a certain extent also with disputes and quarrels among their members. The absence of co-operation in trade and industrial matters is largely due to the sub-castes having separate Panchayats. Each sub-caste is mainly interested in keeping itself separate from others, as regards commensality and marriage, instead of co-operating in matters affecting their common occupation. Decentralization has further resulted in the weakening of the authority of the higher functionaries, who formerly exercised jurisdiction over large areas. The individual Panchayats have thus assumed a purely local character, and there is consequently little cohesion among the various units in each caste or sub-caste.

948. In concluding this account of caste government a reference may

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.

be made to the part played by co-operative credit societies in the moral and social life of the people. This movement is in its infancy, but the societies which have been started have considerable vitality, and are already beginning to discharge functions which formerly were vested in the caste Panchayats. The reason for this is not far to seek. The village societies being associations formed on the basis of unlimited liability, the instinct of self-preservation makes it necessary for the members to exercise caution not only in the admission of new members and in grant of loans, but also in the elimination of bad characters, the discouragement of wasteful habits and the enforcement of thrift. Their influence is especially felt in two directions, viz., the reduction of expenses on social ceremonies, and the arbitration of disputes. "A society," writes Mr. J. M. Mitra, Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal, "is allowed to lend for any purposes which the Panchayats think necessary, and a member would naturally go to his society for a loan for marriage or *sraddha* expenses. The members of the society know the applicant's worth and how much he ought to spend on a social ceremony. They will naturally not be over-anxious to have feasts at his expense, because if he becomes insolvent, they will have to "stump up" for him. It is for this reason that societies cut down applications for loans for social ceremonies." One society went further and actually intervened to arrange marriages for some of its members. These were old men who could not afford to pay the heavy bride price demanded by their caste fellows. The society thinking that it was high time they were married, negotiated with the brides' fathers to reduce their prices, and gave the would-be bridegrooms loans to enable them to pay them. The knowledge that litigation leads to indebtedness is also instrumental in causing cases to be referred to the village societies for settlement instead of to the law courts: in some instances also Magistrates refer disputes to the societies' Panchayats for settlement. In several of the societies in Cuttack the Panchayats, by common consent, take up petty local cases, levy small fines and place them in a fund which is devoted to village improvements. In Midnapore the societies decided 112 village disputes in a year. In some societies no member is allowed to go to court without first consulting the members.

Numerous other examples might be given of the influence exercised by the co-operative credit societies in social matters, but a few instances will suffice. In one society a member was fined Re. 1 for assaulting his aged mother. Another expelled a member for eloping with his neighbour's wife. In Kalimpong it was decided at a general meeting to smoke only tobacco and not cigarettes; the cigarette-smoker was to be fined. A Santal society

decided that the members should not spend money in brewing or drinking *pachwai*. In another society two members were fined Rs. 5 each for mortgaging their lands surreptitiously and their loans were called in. The members meekly paid the fines and returned the loans, and were then expelled. In the words of Mr. W. H. Buchan, I.C.S., late Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal. "It is not a credulous optimism that reads in facts like these the promise of economic regeneration and of a village life invigorated and made healthier in all its relations.*"

CASTE GOVERNMENT AMONG THE MUHAMMADANS.

949. None of the Musalman groups approach so closely to the Hindu caste system with its numerous restrictions as the Jolahas. The extent to which they are permeated

JOLAHAS.

by the idea of caste cannot be better illustrated than by a sketch of the constitution of their community in Shahabad.† Here every group of Jolahas is ruled by a Panchayat, which has jurisdiction over 10 to 50 houses. Its sphere is usually conterminous with a village, but should there be only a few Jolaha families in the neighbourhood, it may extend over several villages. At its head is the Sardar or headman, who presides at its meetings and is assisted by the Chharidar, who acts as an executive officer. These two officers are appointed by election, the electors being the Jolahas over whom each Panchayat has jurisdiction. The posts are coveted as they carry with them a certain dignity and position, and the candidates canvass from door to door. The successful candidate celebrates his election by giving a feast to the caste-men, or to paupers and beggars, at which the blessings of the saints are invoked. In a majority of cases the ceremony of *Milad Sharif* is performed. This is a semi-religious function, at which two men recite in turn the virtues and attributes of the Prophet Muhammad. At the conclusion of the ceremony, sweets are distributed to all present. Sometimes, also, the new member makes a contribution towards the expenses of lighting the local mosque.

950. When an offence is committed against the unwritten law of the Jolahas, a complaint is made to the Chharidar, who in his turn, reports the matter to the Sardar. The Sardar then orders the Chharidar to convoke a meeting of the Panchayat: this is generally held at the house of the Sardar. The Sardar, the Chharidar and other members of the Jolaha community, the complainant and the accused, all attend. The proceedings begin with a common meal, a humble feast at which *dal bhat* is eaten, toddy is drunk and hookahs are smoked. The feast being over, evidence is taken, and the Panchayat discusses its value and decides on a verdict, which is delivered by the Sardar. When the Panchayat has divergent opinions as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, the matter is referred to four or five Sardars of neighbouring Panchayats. This court of appeal is final.

The nature of the offences dealt with by this tribunal shows clearly how far the Jolahas have assimilated the Hindu ideas about caste. In the first place it deals, and deals severely, with any man who ventures to marry into another caste. "The Jolahas," writes my correspondent, "will rather give their daughters in wedlock to a lazy, worthless, penniless and consumptive boy, belonging to their own caste, who will die the day after marriage, and leave the girl an unfortunate widow all her life, than marry her to a well-to-do, good-looking and stout youth of another caste." A childless Jolaha cannot even adopt as his son and heir a child of another caste. Widow marriage is also a serious offence, the punishment for which is permanent excommunication in rural areas: in towns it is treated more leniently. In rural areas no respectable Jolaha will give his widowed daughter in marriage, even if she is still within her teens, for fear of being ostracised. Eating pork is a grave offence, and all breaches of the marriage law are severely dealt with.

* This account of Co-operative Credit Societies has been compiled from a note kindly contributed by Mr. J. M. Mitra, Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal, and from the Report on Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal for 1910-11.

† This account is prepared from a note contributed by Maulvi Muhammad Habibullah, Probationary Deputy Collector, Arrah.

Other offences of which the Panchayat takes cognizance are refusal to maintain a wife and children, ill-treatment of parents, eating or drinking with an outcaste, failure to attend the social or religious functions performed by caste-fellows without any reasonable cause defaming a caste-fellow, refusal to contribute to a fund raised by the Panchayat (*e.g.*, for sinking a well or erecting a mosque), and petty quarrels and disputes. It also punishes any Jolaha who takes to the degrading occupation of a sweeper or cobbler. Otherwise there are no restrictions on occupations. A Jolaha may be a cultivator, a trader, a hawkor, a washerman, a driver of a tieea gharry, a menial servant, a tailor, a cook, a money-lender, a vegetable vendor or a gardener.

951. The punishments awarded by the Panchayat vary from petty fines to total ostracism. Grave offences, such as kidnapping, abduction, elopement, adultery, eating, drinking or smoking with an outcaste, marrying into the family of an outcaste, and unehastity in a woman, are punished by permanent outcasting. The outcaste is debarred from all social rights and privileges. No Jolaha will eat, drink or smoke with him. He is not allowed to join in their ceremonies; no one will buy the cloth of his looms. The penalty may extend to an innocent relative, and cases are known of the latter committing suicide, preferring death to social isolation. In less serious cases temporary ostracism, *i.e.*, the suspension of all social rights and privileges for a certain period, is the punishment generally resorted to. When an offender is taken back into his caste by the permission of the Panchayat, he has to perform prescribed ceremonies to celebrate his reinstatement. Sometimes a feast is given to all the caste-men, while sometimes the ceremony of *Milad Sharif* is performed in the presence of all the caste-men. Corporal punishment is inflicted as a penalty for minor offences on those persons who are too poor to pay any fine, and on juvenile offenders, but never on females. Petty thefts, treating respectable members of the caste with disrespect, or abusing them, are the chief offences for which a Jolaha youth is liable to corporal punishment. The punishment is carried out by the Chharidar, who uses a stick made out of the stem of the leaves of a palm-tree. The youth is whipped with this on the buttocks in the presence of the caste-men. One curious form of punishment is as follows: The guilty man has to carry an old shoe in his teeth three or four times round the assembly. This is regarded as a particularly degrading and humiliating sentence. Fines are imposed for minor offences on those who can pay them, the amount varying from 8 annas to Rs. 10. The Chharidar either realizes the fine at once, or the man, if he cannot pay it on the spot, is given time ranging from a week to three months. It is the duty of the Chharidar to realize all fines and to see that there are no long-standing arrears. No coercion is employed, or required, for the penalty of non-payment is outcasting. Refusal to obey other orders of the Panchayat is also met by outcasting, which is generally sufficient to reduce a man to abject submission. The barber, the washerman, the cobbler, the sweeper and even the village Dhunia are strictly forbidden to work for him. He is generally boycotted: the villagers cease to buy from him if he is a trader, to borrow money from him, or pawn their ornaments to him, if he is a money-lender, to purchase his cloth if he is a weaver, etc.

952. The Chharidar has to account to the Panchayat for all the fines realized, for their expenditure and for the balance. In most Panchayats no accounts are kept in writing, but where the members can read and write, account books are kept up. The proceeds form a fund, which is put to good use. It is utilized for the necessary expenses of the mosque, *e.g.*, for keeping a lamp burning every night, for earthen water-pots, ropes for drawing water from the well, repairs, the purchase of books of sermons, the pay of the Muazzin, and a subsistence allowance for the Imam who conducts the prayers. Beggars are fed, and aid is also given to any poor Jolaha, *e.g.*, his funeral expenses are met or a contribution is made to his marriage expenses, or he is given money to help him to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Sometimes, too, an allowance is given to a Hafiz *i.e.*, a man who has committed the whole Koran to memory and recites texts from it in the mosque every night during the month of Ramzan. The fund is also drawn upon for giving a

feast to all caste-men on religious occasions, such as *Id*, *Bakr-Id* and *Shabi-barat*, and for the purchase of mats for the Panchayat members to sit on at meetings.

A similar organization is reported in other districts. In Darbhanga there is a central Panchayat at the headquarters station which exercises jurisdiction over all the others.

953. The Panchayat system also prevails among other functional groups.

OTHER FUNCTIONAL GROUPS.

Thus, the Dhunias and Kunjras of North Bihar have permanent headmen, called Manjans, who call Panchayats to deal with and punish moral delinquencies. In Central Bengal the council consists of a President, called Mandal, and several members, called Pradhans whose number varies from 4 to 15. Vacancies both among Mandals and Pradhans are filled by the remaining Pradhans electing a successor. Factions are common, and one village may have more than one Panchayat. Complaints are made to the Mandal, who passes sentence after consulting the Pradhans. Excommunication, fines, feasts and corporal punishments are the usual punishments. The fines are paid into a fund for the maintenance of the village mosque and the celebration of religious ceremonies.

954. The Sheikhs of Bihar have, as a rule, no regular organization or governing body. Should anything occur calling

SHEIKHS.

for communal action, complaint is made to the elders, who hold a meeting (*majlis*), at which the principal members of the community attend. As among Hindu castes, sentences of ostracism are passed, or the culprit is ordered to provide a feast or be beaten. In Purnea their affairs are regulated by a Sardar, whose post is generally hereditary. With the spread of education of recent years, there has been a tendency to abolish the system of hereditary Sardars in favour of referring disputes to the local zamindars or other men of position and influence.

In Eastern Bengal the system resembles that which is falling into desuetude in Purnea, for there is a regular body of office bearers. In Dinajpur there is a headman, called Mahat, over the Sheikh congregation of the Jama Masjid. He decides their petty quarrels, sees that they attend the mosque regularly and presides at burials and feasts. When the congregation is large, the Mahat has one or more assistants. The post of Mahat is generally hereditary, but if there is no male heir to a deceased Mahat, a new Mahat is elected by the people from among themselves. Serious cases, such as adultery or keeping a concubine, are adjudicated upon by the local Mahat and those of the neighbouring Jamas, sometimes assisted by a Maulvi or Mullah. In Rajshahi there is a governing body for each Sheikh community, consisting of two or three men, who are called Pradhan or Mandal and hold office by hereditary right. Elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Pabna, the Panchayat consists of Pradhans or Paramaniks or Sardars, who are simply village elders or men of prominence. The offences of which cognizance is taken are mostly the eating of forbidden food, the adoption of a degrading occupation and offences against morality or decency. Fines are inflicted, and a defaulter is boycotted. None eat or smoke with him, and he is not allowed to join the congregation in the Jama Masjid. The fines are utilized in providing a common feast, in meeting the expenses of the mosque, in giving presents to Maulvis and Mullahs, etc. In Bogra, there is no organized committee, but when a man commits any offence, the principal villagers meet in the mosque, where he is called on to explain the allegations against him. If adjudged guilty, he is called upon to perform the *tob'i* ceremony, which consists of thrice uttering that word in the presence of the assembly, by way of penance, and undertaking never to repeat the offence. He is also required to pay a fine, called *kafira*, ranging from a few rupees to a large sum, which is deposited with the Inam to be spent on some charitable or religious purpose.

955. In the city of Dacca the authority of a general Panchayat is recognized by all Musalmans except members of the Ashraf class. The following account of this system has been contributed by Mr. H. M. Cowan,

THE GENERAL PANCHAYAT OF
DACCÁ.

I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate of Dacca, who prepared it with the

assistance of Khan Sahib Muhammad Azam, Superintendent of the Mahala Sardars.

The Muhammadan Panchayat organization of Dacca is a system for the decision of disputes between members of the Muhammadan community, except the Ashraf class. For this purpose, the whole city is divided into groups, each group being identical with a municipal ward. Within each group are several local sub-groups known as *mahalas* or *tolas*, the boundaries of which correspond to those of a lane or street. There is not much difference between a *mahala* and a *tola*, but generally it may be said that the Muhammadan residents of *mahalas* are called Khasbas and consist of *khan-samas*, tailors, etc., while those of a *tola* are called Kati and consist more of the labouring classes, such as masons, etc. Each *mahala* or *tola* has a Panchayat consisting of practically all members of the Muhammadan community living in the *mahala* or *tola*. Over each Panchayat there is a Sardar, who is elected for life by the Panchayat. When death creates a vacancy, a descendant of the deceased Sardar has preference, other things being equal, over another man. The duty of the Sardar is to look after the mosque of the *mahala* in which he resides, hear the grievances of those living under him, arrange for burials and marriages, see to the character of those living in his *mahala*, convene the Panchayat when necessity arises and preside over its deliberations. Over all the Sardars is a Superintendent elected by them. The Panchayat of a *mahala* or *tola* may be called on to deliberate on any point affecting the community. A member desiring a decision from the Panchayat applies to the Sardar. If any one complains to the Superintendent direct or to the Nawab of Dacca, the Superintendent and the Nawab send the petitions to the local Sardar, and the latter, by means of a messenger known as the Gorid, calls the members of the Panchayat together on a fixed date. On that date as many as choose assemble, live constituting a quorum, and decide the case by vote after hearing both sides. No written decision is required, but generally a note is made by some literate member and kept for reference in case of an appeal. If the dispute is between men of different *mahalas* or *tolas*, and they cannot agree as to which Panchayat shall try the case, a reference is made to the Superintendent and he decides where the case shall be heard.

956. If the parties are not satisfied with the decision of the Panchayat, they can appeal to the Superintendent, and he arranges for a Bench consisting of (1) four Sardars of any four consecutive *mahalas* on his list of Sardars (2) four Sardars of any four consecutive *tolas* on his list of *tolas*, and (3) a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association, who has a casting vote. The only restriction is that these nine men must belong to the same group or ward as the parties. The constitution of this Bench or appellate court is interesting. Formerly appeals were decided by Sardars. The Bench, which has been in existence only about ten years, owes its origin to a desire to link together the *mahalas* and *tolas*. The presence of a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association is a recent innovation, which shows an attempt to link up the local organization, consisting chiefly of common people, with the members of a central organization consisting of educated gentlemen. The presence of a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association on the Bench brings a more highly trained mind to assist in the decision of a dispute which, owing to its complexity or any other cause, has not been satisfactorily decided by the local Panchayat. The Bench makes a record of its decision, which is kept by the Superintendent in his office at Ahsan Manzil, the residence of the Nawab of Dacca. If the decision of the Bench is not satisfactory, there is a further appeal to the Moti-ul-Islam Panchayat or Full Bench, which consists of the Superintendent and all the Sardars: ten constitute a quorum, and the Superintendent has a casting vote. A Full Bench decision is final. It may also be convened for general purposes, such as the levy of a subscription for some public object, etc., but such meetings are rare.

957. Litigation in these courts of arbitration, as they may be termed is not expensive. In the original court the plaintiff is expected to provide money sufficient to supply the members present with tobacco and *van*. Otherwise, there are practically no expenses. Execution of judgement is effected by moral suasion or the pressure of public opinion. In rare cases,

where this is not sufficient, it is reinforced by excommunication of the recalcitrant culprit. During excommunication the sinner is precluded from all social intercourse, and any one having dealings with him is himself liable to the same penalty. *Esprit de corps* is sufficient to ensure a penalty being carried out, and it is usually so disagreeable as to induce a contumacious Musalman to obedience, on which the ban is withdrawn. The majority of cases between Musalmans are settled in these Panchayats, but a large number are also settled amicably by the Nawab of Dacca or by the Superintendent. As for the appellate courts, 24 cases were decided by the Bench and 4 cases by the Full Bench during six months in 1911.

958. There is properly no caste system among the followers of the Prophet. All are on a religious equality; they meet and worship in the same mosque, and

CASTE RESTRICTIONS.

they have got the same Maulvis and Mullahs. In practice, however, they are divided into distinct groups, which are socially separate. Occupation, transmitted from generation to generation, has given rise to divisions as characteristic as those of the Hindu functional castes. The Nikaris are fishermen, the Naluas are bamboo-mat makers, the Kulus are oil-pressers, the Jolahas are weavers, the Dhawas are wood-splitters and *palki*-bearers, the Dhobas are washermen, the Dhunias are cotton-carders, and the Hajjams are barbers. No intermarriage is permitted between the different groups. A man who takes a wife from a lower group is degraded to it, while his children must marry in it. There are also restrictions on eating together, though, according to their religion, a Musalman cannot be degraded by taking food from another of a lower status. In spite of these principles, a Sheikh will not eat with a Jolaha or Kulu in a ceremonial feast, and other groups will only dine with fellow members. On the other hand, there is a tendency for the functional groups to call themselves Sheikhs, a generic name which is coming into use as a designation for all but Saiyads, Mughals and Pathans. In some parts this has gone so far, that Sheikh is said to be a name for the main caste, while the functional groups are referred to as Sheikh sub-castes. This in itself serves to show how far the Musalmans of Bengal have assimilated Hindu ideas.

FUNCTION, CASTE AND SUB-CASTE.

959. In the Bengal Census Report of 1901 Mr. Gait referred to Monsieur Senart's theory that endogamy is the true test of caste, in other words, that the sub-caste should be regarded as the true caste. The hypothesis on which Senart's theory is founded is that the caste name is merely a general term including a number of true castes following the same occupation. Mr. Gait pointed out that the instance of Baniya quoted by Senart was scarcely a case in point, because it is a functional designation and not the name of a caste. The various groups such as Agarwala, Oswal, etc., included under it are, in fact, not sub-castes, but true independent castes. He showed that in Bengal castes are split up into a number of sub-castes and that it would be a misuse of the term 'caste' to apply it to the minor groups. "The caste system is no doubt closely bound up with endogamy, but the two things are not identical. The general conclusion indicated by an examination by the system of subcastes seems to be that although, at any given time, a caste is seen to be split up into numerous separate groups that have no special connection with each other, the fact that they are all included in the same 'caste,' and the theory of a common origin which this term connotes, holds them together in some indefinable way. In certain circumstances different groups will coalesce, while in other circumstances fresh sub-castes will spring into existence, and in any case the restrictions on marriage in the case of the smaller unit are far less rigid than they are in the case of the larger one."

960. In the following paragraphs it is proposed to examine the constitution of a few of the most heterogeneous castes that can be found in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to which, if to any, the principle enunciated by Senart would apply. At the same time, the opportunity will be taken to mention

cases in which new sub-castes are in the process of formation and to give a brief sketch of certain new castes that have been discovered and of their origin.

It will be seen that the groups making up a caste have very different origins. In many cases the distinction is territorial, and the modern name often commemorates some old and forgotten country, e.g., Magahiya refers to the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Magadha, and Saptagrami to the ancient metropolis of Saptagram or Satgaon. Another territorial designation is Jaiswar, which means an inhabitant of Jais, once a Bhar stronghold and now a small town in the Rai Bareilly district of the United Provinces. In Bihar it is a common name for the sub-castes of different castes and in particular of a Kurmi sub-caste. In Bengal it is a self-assumed title of the Chamars, who adopt it as a patent of respectability, thinking that it will associate or identify them with the clean and respectable Kurmis. Some sub-castes are accretions from other groups, while others owe their origin to the adoption of new occupations, or to diversity of practice in the same occupation, or to changes in social customs. These and other causes lead to gradations of rank for which there is often no intelligible reason, and sometimes end in the creation of an entirely new caste. Even the outcastes form themselves into castes and have higher and lower grades. Thus, the Kallars of Bhagalpur are divided into two sections called Chhasera and Dasera. The former, it is said, lost caste in the famine of 1866, when rice sold at 6 seers per rupee and claim to be superior to the Dasera, who were so feeble as to lose caste 10 years later when rice was no dearer than 10 seers per rupee.

It should be added that Hindus themselves use some names as generic designations, notably for fishing castes. In Bengal, the nomenclature is sometimes exceedingly loose. Members of fishing castes, having the same occupations, will call themselves indifferently Jaliya, Tiyar, Kewat or Kaibartta or a combination of these names, such as Jaliya Tiyar, Tiyar Kaibartta or Tiyar Kewat. In Bihar, again, Machhua is a generic name used for fishermen belonging to five separate castes, viz., Bind, Gourhi, Tiyar, Sorahiya and Baupar, but some think that it is a caste name and that these five castes are merely sub-castes.

961. In Bengal at the present time differentiation of occupation is the most fruitful source of fission, new groups being formed by it either into sub-castes or separate castes; it is often difficult to distinguish the two. A recent writer well describes this process, which he calls "upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation." "There is always visible an upward economic movement in a prospering community. Thus it comes to divide itself according to the following groups, ascending in order in the social scale—(a) handicraftsmen, (b) middlemen of the trade, (c) middlemen of other trades. In the upper strata the original fluidity is lost, and the caste and status tend to become more or less stereotyped. The higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in eating and marrying and gradually, by an inevitable course of development, is differentiated into a new caste till even the common origin is sometimes forgotten. . . . Among the fishing castes, when a man has saved some money, his first idea is to give up fishing and become a fishmonger. The middlemen, called Nikaris or Gunris, now constitute a distinct caste higher in status than the ordinary fishing castes. In Dacca, the Sankhari or the shell-cutting caste is divided into two sub-castes, viz., (a) Bara-Bhagiya or Bikrampur Sankhari, and (b) Chhota Bhagiya or Sonargaon Sankhari. The latter are a comparatively small group, constituted of more expert master artisans, who work at polishing shells, which they purchase rough cut—a departure from traditional usage which accounts for their separation from the main body of this caste. In other districts, owing possibly to the smallness of the caste, no similar groups, have been formed. Recently, a certain portion of the Dacca Sankharis have become traders, writers, timber and cloth merchants and claim on that account to be superior in social rank to those who manufacture shell bracelets. This is an interesting example of a caste in the course of formation".*

* Babu Radha Kama Mukharji, *Caste in Indian Economics*, Modern Review, August 1912.

962. The Dhekars are a small caste found only in the Southal Parganas and in adjoining villages in Birbhum. They are ostensibly blacksmiths, but their chief occupation is thieving. The name means "beleher," and is an onomatopoeic word referring to the noise made by the bellows they use. These bellows are peculiar in shape, being worked by the tread, and are like those used by the Karmals. The name has now a sinister signification, connoting a thief in the Southal Parganas and a thief and drunkard in Birbhum. In the latter district a Dhekarn is said to drink day and night. A popular rhyme begins : "Oh Dhekarn, come and drink with us." *Pachrai* is said to be indispensable to them : in fact, it is reported that a Dhekarn regularly takes his measured pots of *pachrai* at least three times a day, and dies if his supply is short ! This seems scarcely credible. The Dhekarns are probably of aboriginal descent. Their own tradition of origin is that they were of the same race as the aboriginal blacksmiths called Ramas and separated from them, because the Ramas sacrificed a sheep. Sheep is a totem to them, and they will eat neither sheep's flesh nor the two vegetables called *chichinga* and *benay kumra*, as the former resembles the horns of a sheep in shape and the latter its belly. The Mals are the only caste with which they will eat ; they and the Mals also celebrate ceremonial feasts together. According to some, they are a sub-caste of Mals, and it seems possible that they owe their origin to aboriginal blacksmiths having formed connections with Mal women. They speak a corrupt form of Bengali, and worship Hindu deities, but eat beef and pigs. Many of those in Birbhum, however, have become Vaishnavas and abjure this forbidden food.

963. The constitution of the Dhobas of Chittagong is interesting on account of its territorial basis. They are divided into six sub-castes, called Ram, Bhalua, Jagdia, Sandipi, Rohangaya and Chhattigaya, of which the Collector (Mr. A. H. Clayton, I.C.S.) gives the following account :—"The Ram Dhobas appear to be the descendants of those washermen who came to the district with the first British regiment and settled here. They are of Hindustani origin, though perfectly domiciled now. They do not wash the clothes of low-caste Hindus such as Doms and Haris. Commensality and intermarriage are strictly confined within the group. They have their own Panchayat presided over by their leading men, or Sardars, who decide all professional or social matters with the help of their priests. Whenever any complaint is made to the Sardar, he invites all the influential members of the caste in a Majlis or assembly to decide the matter. The Bhaluas, Jagdia and Sandipi Dhobas are apparently immigrants from Bhalua (Nonkhali), Jagdia (an old fort near the sea) and the island of Sandip. There is no intermarriage between these three sub-castes, which are governed separately by their respective Panchayats. Commensality is not so rigidly restricted within the group. The Rohangaya and Chhattigaya Dhobas probably come from the same stock. The Rohangayas, who are generally found in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, are so called, probably because their forefathers, who were Dhobas of Chittagong, settled at Cox's Bazar, Mangeloo, Akyab and other places in Arakan, which is known as Rohang. They are despised by the Chittagong Dhobas because they eat pigs. Their complete isolation from the northern part of the district perhaps accounts for their separation from the original stock in social matters. These two sub-castes do not intermarry or interdine and have their separate Sardars and priests as their governing bodies."

964. The Gandas have hitherto not appeared in the caste returns of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their total strength is 213,039, of whom all but 1,264 are inhabitants of Sambalpur and the Orissa Feudatory States. They are a low caste of weavers, who appear to be allied to the Pans, but have lost all connection with them. In addition to weaving coarse cloth, they serve as village watchmen and act as professional pipers and drummers. There are four subdivisions known as Oriya, Laria, Kandhria and Kabria. Three of these appear to be territorial subdivisions, for the Oriya Gandas are those who live in the Oriya country, the Laria those who reside in the Laria country, *i.e.*, Chhattisgarh, while the Kandhrias are so called because they live in the Kandh country. The Kabrias owe their origin to a difference in religion, for they

are Kabirpanthis or followers of Kabir. The Oriyas and Larias intermarry, and will drink, eat and smoke together, but not with the Kandhrias or Kabrias. The Gandas admit into their caste outsiders belonging to higher castes, but no one belonging to the castes which they regard as lower than themselves, viz., Chamar, Ghasi, Hari, Mangan and Mehtar. The Ganda is polluted by the touch of any of these latter and has to take a bath to regain his purity. If he is beaten by, or eats from the hands of, one of them, he is outcasted.

965. Among the Kaibarttas there are two main sub-castes, the Chasi (who are called Halia or Halia Das or Das in Eastern Bengal) and the Jaliya. The principal occupation of the former is cultivation and that of the latter catching and selling fish, or simply selling fish and plying boats for hire. The two sub-castes are entirely distinct, for they do not eat, drink or smoke together, and intermarriage is out of the question. In some parts there is a further differentiation, there being a third sub-caste designated simply as Kaibartta. These unspecified Kaibarttas are also engaged in cultivation, but raise garden crops for the market and sell them, whereas the Chasi Kaibarttas will not sell such produce personally. The recent history of the caste is an interesting record of development. The Chasi Kaibarttas are struggling for recognition as a separate caste under the name Mahishya, and are likely to split up into two separate sub-castes at no distant date, viz., Chasi Kaibarttas and Mahishyas. The latter consists of the more advanced and better educated Chasi Kaibarttas, who claim a superior status. Although the bulk of them admit that they belong to the same caste as the Chasi Kaibarttas, one section of them declines to dine or intermarry with those who personally sell their farm produce in the market. They say that the Mahishya is differentiated from the Chasi Kaibartta by the fact that he does not sell his produce except through servants of other castes. Any one of them found selling his own farm produce in the market is outcasted and called Chasi Kaibartta. Should a Mahishya marry into a simple Kaibartta family, or one which is locally called Chasi Kaibartta (and not Mahishya), his re-admission into caste is conditional on his making presents to the Mahishya Mandals of the neighbouring villages at a special caste feast. Severance of the marriage tie is not ordered, but further public intercourse between the two families must be stopped, although secret communication and visits will be condoned or connived at. Intermarriage with a Jaliya Kaibartta, however, will not be tolerated for an instant, and the punishment will be expulsion from the caste. In Nadia the Panchayat does not permit a Mahishya to become a pound-keeper, to sell shoes or hides, or even to serve as a menial servant to any one but than a Brahman or Kayasth. If one of them does so, he is excommunicated. On the other hand, the abandonment of cultivation for any of the functional temporarily occupations of the higher castes is encouraged and admired. In some parts also the Mahishyas have taken to observing 15 days as the period of mourning (*asauch*) instead of one month like the rest of the Chasi Kaibarttas. The older and more conservative among the latter decline to be called Mahishya, and frankly say that they are not rich enough to join any organization in order to secure a higher status than their forefathers enjoyed. They prefer the old traditions and are quite content to go on cultivating and selling both grain and garden crops. In one village in Hooghly the Chasi Kaibarttas who had adopted the name Kaibartta marked its assumption by refusing to smoke from the same hookah as the Goalas, as they had hitherto done. The latter retaliated by refusing to supply curds, unless the Mahishyas came to their houses for it.

966. The Jaliya Kaibarttas are also in a state of transition, for they are trying to be recognized as Chasi Kaibarttas. As soon as one of them can afford to do so, he gives up selling fish, takes to other occupations and tries to keep himself aloof from other Jaliyas. He drops the name Jaliya and either calls himself simply a Kaibartta or claims to be a Chasi Kaibartta. They resent the Chasi Kaibarttas repudiating all connection with them, and maintain that, as they have a common origin, they have just as much right to be called Mahishya. There is a danger therefore that the very name which the Chasi Kaibarttas have adopted in order to distinguish

them from Jaliyas, will also be assumed by the latter. At this census certain Patnis also claimed to be recorded as Mahishyas on the ground that they were cultivators in addition to being boatmen. Four days before the census they changed their ground as they had discovered a passage in an ancient work referring to Kaibarttas as boatmen and wanted to be designated Manjhi Kaibarttas.

967. Other subdivisions of the caste are reported from different districts. In Howrah there are four sub-castes, viz., Uttarrarhi, Dakshinarhi, Jaliya and Mala. The first two are engaged in cultivation and trade, and call themselves Mahishyas. The origin of these two sub-castes seems to be that one section lived in the north of Rarhi and the other in the south. The origin of the other two is functional, the Jaliyas being fishermen and the Malas boatmen. It is reported that there is no intermarriage between any of these sub-castes : any persons who break this rule are outcasted and are never re-admitted. All four sub-castes have also separate priests : members of the first two may smoke from the same hookah, but none may eat cooked rice at each other's house. In Purnea the Chasi Kaibarttas are subdivided into three sections, which are, in a descending scale of respectability, the Sankh-becha, who sell conch bangles, the Pan-becha who sell betel leaf, and the Tikadars, who are inoculators. There is no intermarriage between these three sections.

968. The name Kamar is commonly applied to all workers in metal,

KAMARS AND KARMAKARS.

but there are really three distinct castes, viz., the Kamar of Bihar, the Kamar of Chota Nagpur and the adjoining districts and the Karmakar of Bengal. The constitution of the Kamars and Karmakars will be briefly examined in two Bengal districts forming a kind of ethnic border, where they are composed of the most divergent elements, after which an account will be given of the Karmakar sub-castes in Central Bengal.

Both Kamars and Karmakars are found in Bankura. The former, who are known locally as Kamaria, appear to be of aboriginal descent. Originally, the Kamarias used to burn charcoal, smelt iron and make iron implements, but diversity of occupation has led to the creation of two sub-castes called Dhokra and Loharia. The name of the former is probably derived from *dhukan*, meaning to breathe heavily, and refers to the noise made by their bellows. The Dhokras now manufacture brass vessels, whereas the Loharias have adhered to their original occupation. Endogamy and commensality are strictly enforced in each sub-caste, and they have separate Panchayats. The following sub-castes are found amongst the Karmakars of the same district, viz., Astaloi, Belaloi, Mahmudpuria, Rana and Raykamar. The Ranas are probably an accretion from an aboriginal tribe, Rana being a common name for blacksmiths among such tribes. Tradition assigns a common origin to the Astalois and Belalois, and says that the former name is due to the fact that the Astaloi used to work with eight anvils (*asta*, eight and *loi*, an anvil) while the Belaloi used to work without an anvil (*bela* or *bina*, without). It is also said that the Mahmudpurias came of the same stock as the Astaloi, but separated and settled in Mahmudpur.* Legend relates that a Chandai once prepared a weapon which was highly prized by the Nawab. When asked what he wanted as a reward, the Chandai begged to be given the same status as the Karmakar. The Nawab ordered the Karmakars to dine with the Chandai, whereupon some of them fled to Mahmudpur. Thus they managed to save their caste and came to be known as Mahmudpuria. The Ray Kamars are said to be descendants of the Karmakars who ate with the skilful Chandai craftsman. In the course of time they have attained prosperity and now intermarry with the Astaloi and Belaloi sub-castes. Otherwise intermarriage is strictly interdicted ; if a Mahmudpuria marries an Astaloi, he is outcasted and becomes an Astaloi. There is no commensality between the members of the different sub-castes : they will, however, all smoke from the same hookah. Each outcaste has its own Panchayat.

* Mahmudpur or Muhannadpur is a village in Jessore named after Mahmud Shah, King of Bengal from 1442 to 1459 A.D. It was later the capital of Sitaram Rai and the capital of Bhulima. See Jessore District Gazetteer, pp. 23-25, 159 *et seq.*

969. In Midnapore the principal Karmakar sub-castes are Astalaik, Kansari or Belaloi, Rana, Dhokra and Ghosh. All of these are functional groups. The Astalaik (apparently the same as the Astaloi) works in gold, silver and bell-metal, the Kansari in bell-metal only, as the name signifies, *kansa* meaning bell-metal. The Dhokra smelts iron, and the Ghosh makes images of gods and goddesses from sacred earth dug up from cremation *ghats*. The Ranas and Dhokras, as in Bankura, were probably aboriginal blacksmiths. There are other minor groups called Bangal, Daklino, Kaiti and Palali: Palali means a runaway, and tradition says that they fled from their original home because the ruler of the place tried to force them to intermarry with Namasudras. This legend is obviously only a variant of that already related. No intermarriage is allowed among the sub-castes, but commensality is allowed among the first three sub-castes. There are separate Panchayats for each sub-caste.

970. The Karmakars of Jessore have no less than seven territorial sub-castes, viz., Rarhi, Barendra, Naldi, Saptagrami, Bhushnai, Dhakai and Muhammadshahi. These groups are territorial. Rarhi and Barendra are well known; Naldi, Bhushna and Muhammadshahi are old *parganas*; Dhakai is probably derived from Dacca, and Saptagram is the old form of Satgaon. Intermarriage and commensality are absolutely forbidden on pain of excommunication. In Murshidabad there are three common sub-castes, viz., Barendra, Uttarrarhi and Dakshinarhi, which are also territorial. There is no intermarriage, nor do they eat with one another; all of them, however, may smoke in the same hookah. If a man takes a girl from or gives a girl to a man of a different sub-caste, he is expelled from the sub-caste: he can, however, get re-admission if he performs the worship of Satyanarayan and feeds other members of the community. Each of the sub-castes has a separate Panchayat. The sub-castes found in the 24-Parganas are Anarpuri or Ukro, Panchnar, Saptagrami and Chaklai. These classes appear to have been formed by residence in different localities. They all work as blacksmiths and goldsmiths, observe the same social and religious practices and are ministered to by the same Brahmans. There is no intermarriage, the rules of endogamy applying as much to the taking as to the giving of girls in marriage. There is also no commensality, except in some parts of the Basirhat subdivision. The Subdivisional Officer of Barrackpore reports that the Panchnar claim a higher social status, and while they freely take girls from the Anarpuri, never give their girls in marriage to any other class.

971. The Karmakars of Nadia furnish an interesting example of fission, which is tending to proceed further, as will be seen from the following note furnished by Mr. A. K. Ray, the District Census Officer:—"There are two principal sections of the Kamar caste, Rarhis and Barendras, and also four principal Samajes, viz., the Nadia Samaj, Agradwip Samaj, Daspara Samaj and Panch Samaj. Marriages are restricted, as a rule, within the Samaj, provided they do not violate laws of consanguinity. The members of the Agradwip Samaj are stated, however, to be inferior in social status to those of the Nadia Samaj, and are desirous of establishing social connection with the latter by giving their daughters in marriage to them. It is said that the Nadia Samaj follows the *smarta* system and the Agradwipa Samaj follows the *kaulik agara*. As the *smarta* doctrine is considered to be superior to *kaulik*, this appears to account for the respective status of the members of the two Samajes. As regards the remaining two Samajes, the members of the Daspara Samaj are goldsmiths by occupation, and those of the Panch Samaj are generally iron-workers. The Rarhis and Barendras among the Karmakars not only do not intermarry, but I understand that in the Sadar Subdivision they do not even interdine with each other. The Subdivisional Officer of Kushtia reports, however, that there is no restriction as regards intermarriage and interdining among the Rarhi and Barendra Kamars of his subdivision. Besides the above Samajes and sub-castes, the Kamars are also divided into two hypergamous groups, viz., Kulins and Mauliks. The Kulins can take girls in marriage from the Mauliks but cannot marry their own girls to them. A violation of this rule involves permanent loss of Kulinism.

"The Rarhi and Barendra sub-castes originated no doubt from territorial distribution, but as regards the four Samajes, the Nadia, or Nabadwipa, and Agradwipa Samajes, the Nadia, or Nabadwipa, and Agradwipa Samajes have been differentiated probably by their difference of occupation. These Samajes or social divisions, which are mostly endogamous, are really what may be termed nascent sub-castes. Of late, some educated Karmakars have formed a society at Calcutta, called Karmakar Vaisya Tuttwik Samaj, with a view to obliterate all minor differences among the different sub-castes and Samajes and to establish that Karmakars are Vaisyas and not Sudras. In one of their pamphlets these propagandists declare that, unlike the Kayasths and other, there are no sub-castes among the Karmakars, like Rarhi, Barendra, etc. But one ounce of fact is better than a ton of theory, and, in spite of the praiseworthy endeavour of the reformers, the distinction between the Rarhi and Barendra Karmakars as two different sub-castes is still glaring, and is daily met with in many parts of the Sadar and Kushtia subdivisions." On the other hand, it is reported from Khulna that there are no sub-castes among the Kamars. The District Census Officer reports—"Societies are formed of the members inhabiting different localities, and these are known as Samajes, e.g., Bhusna Samaj, Guptaipara Samaj, etc.; but these groups are not regarded as sub-castes. Formerly there was no intermarriage between the different Samajes, but now such intermarriages take place and commensality prevails among all the Kamars. There is a Bengali saying—*Jadi bolo Kamar, bhat khaio eshe amar*, i.e., if you call yourself a Kamar, come and take my rice. The Karmakars (Kamars) are goldsmiths or blacksmiths by profession; some of them are well educated and hold appointments in Government service or are legal practitioners and the like. But all of them can dine together without any objection."

972. The Karmales or Kolhes are a tribe of iron-workers and iron-

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smelters found in the Sonthal Parganas, where they are known as Kols. Ethnologically they belong to the Mundari peoples; linguistically are closely related to the Santals and Muhlis. It is probable that they come of the same stock as Santals, and that their special occupation has caused them to set up as a separate tribe: they now have no connection with the Santals. It is a curious fact that the working in iron appears to be frequently a cause of fission, sections of aboriginal tribes who have taken to that occupation separating from the main body and becoming a separate caste or tribe. They claim to be Hindus, but this merely means that, like most aboriginal tribes, they worship some Hindu godlings in addition to their own animistic deities.

973. The Lohars of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa are, according to

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Sir Herbert Risley, "a large and heterogeneous aggregate comprising members of several different tribes and castes, who in different parts of the country took up the profession of working in iron."* It is doubtful if these remarks hold good with regard to the Lohars of Bihar, where the sub-castes appear to owe their origin to residence in different localities, as indeed the names imply, e.g., Kanaujia, Maghaiya and Gaurdeshia. The last is found in Purnea and recalls the former glory of Gaur, the capital of Bengal. In that district the sub-castes are strictly endogamous, both as regards giving as well as taking girls in marriage. The rules as regards commensality are less rigid, for if any one eats with one of another sub-caste, he is let off with a fine. Intermarriage, however, is punished with expulsion from the sub-caste. In Muzaffarpur this caste has no less than seven sub-castes, which are Belantia, Kanaujia, Digwara, Melia, Mahuli, Heri and Kanka. Kanaujia is of course a territorial group, and so is Digwara, for it is the name of an ancient village in Saran which dates back to Buddhist times.† The origin of the other groups is unknown. They all follow the same occupations, viz., working in iron, carpentry and agriculture; they also eat together, smoke from the same hookah, and have a common Panchayat. The only restriction to which they are subject is that a man must marry or give in marriage in his

* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 22.

† Saran District Gazetteer, pp. 17, 151.

own sub-caste. If this rule is contravened, the offender is permanently outcasted. Sir Herbert Risley also includes immigrant Kamias (*sic*) from Nepal among the Bihari Lohars, but these are Kamis, an entirely different caste.

974. In Ranchi the Lohars of Bihar are called Kanaujia Lohars, and the indigenous blacksmiths are known as Nagpatria Lohars or Lohras. The latter are a recent accretion from the ranks of the aboriginals, and are very often called Kol Lohars. They are divided into two sub-castes, viz., Sad Kamar and Lohras proper. The former have given up work as blacksmiths and are engaged in agriculture. They still speak Mundari and in some localities observe the Mundari custom of burial in the ancestral *sasandiri*. They do not, however, take any meat other than that of fowls or goats, and do not drink *pachwai*. They also do not take cooked food from Mundas, and will take drinking water only from those who observe the same restrictions about food and drink as they do. On the other hand, the Sad Kamars admit into the caste children born by Mundari women, a privilege which they would not accord to children born by women of any other caste, even the highest. The mother, however, remains outside the pale. She is regarded as a concubine and as a Munda, and no Sad Kamar would accept any cooked food from her through her bastard children become Sad Kamars. Children of a Sad Kamar woman by a father of the Munda or any other caste cannot be admitted into the caste. The Lohras are iron-smelters and blacksmiths. They observe very few restrictions about food or drink, for they take cooked food from Oraons and Mundas and eat even the carcases of dead animals. Inter-marriages between Sad Kamars and Lohras are unknown: any Sad Kamar marrying into a Lohra family would be permanently outcasted.

975. The Lohars of Bankura appear to be of non-Aryan descent and are divided into four sub-castes, viz., Gobaria, Angaria, Manjhi and Kasai-kulia. The Gobaria Lohars are so-called, because they clean the spot where they eat with cowdung (*gobar*) after the meal is over. The Angaria Lohars are so named because they burn and sell charcoal. The origin of the Manjhi sub-caste, who are weavers, is said to be unknown, while the Kasai-kulia Lohars are reported to be so called because they manufacture articles of bell-metal (*kansa*, bell metal). Both the latter are probably accretions from the ranks of the Bagdis, who have also sub-castes called Manjhi and Kasai-kulia: the latter name is due to their having been originally settled on the banks of the Kasai river. There is no commensality or intermarriage amongst the members of the different sub-castes, nor will they smoke from the same hookah. Each sub-caste has its own Panchayat. If a man keeps a woman of another sub-caste, the woman's father is sentenced by the Panchayat to pay a fine, which is divided equally amongst the Paramanik, their Barnabipra Brahman and the Raja of Chhatna. The man himself has to do *prayaschitta* and pay a fine before he can be taken back into the fold. If persons of different sub-castes eat together, or smoke from the same hookah, they are outcasted until they perform *prayaschitta*, and each must pay a fine. The amount of the fine is said to be usually Rs. 3-12—a convenient figure, for it represents 60 annas.

976. The term Lohar in the border district of Singhbhum is applied to four groups which are rather castes than sub-castes, viz., Kanaujia or Sad Lohar, Dhokra Kamar, Kol Lohar and Lohar Majhi. The first group consists of immigrants from whom Brahmans will take water. They do not work the bellows with their feet like the other sub-castes, but with their hands. Their bellows used always to be made of deer or *sambar* skin, but some have lately taken to using tanned leather of various kinds, including cow and buffalo hides. They do not eat fowls, and widow marriage is not practised. The Dhokra Kamars, who are a semi-Hinduized caste, generally use untanned leather for their bellows. They eat beef and fowls, drink liquor, practise widow marriage and are considered to be a low caste. The Kol Lohars are an accretion from the Hos and have much the same customs as the latter. There is, however, no intermarriage between them and the Hos. Those living in the towns and their neighbourhood have given up eating beef and are reluctant to have social intercourse with their brethren in the interior. Hindu barbers and washermen have begun to serve them, and they

bid hair to become a separate sub-caste. The Lohar Manjhis, who are found in Dhalbhum, are quite separate. They do not smelt or work in iron and may be an offshoot of the Bagdis.

977. The blacksmiths of the Southal Parganas are a curious medley, the name Lohar being applied to several entirely distinct castes, not sub-castes. The name is applied in the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions to up-country Lohars and to Kamars or Karmakars of Bengal, as well as to Ranas, a low caste of beef-eaters who are of aboriginal descent. In Rajmahal, which is on the border line between Bengal and Bihar, it is reported that there are three sub-castes, viz., Kanaujia, Magahiya and Bangala. The first two were originally sub-castes of the Lohar caste of Bihar, and the last was the Bengal Karmakar. They appear to have become domiciled and to have merged into sub-castes of one and the same caste. Kanaujia and Magahiya are considered superior to the Bangala, and may not take food from him, whereas he will take food from them. Intermarriage is not allowed between any of the sub-castes, but since the Bangala Lohar is inferior to the Magahiya or Kanaujia, if he takes a wife from them, he does not lose his caste. On the other hand, if a Magahiya or Kanaujia marries a Bangala girl, he is outcasted and can be re-admitted only by going on pilgrimage and feeding his fellow castemen. The groups in the Pakaur subdivision are of a curious character. They are called Bhikaria and Karanjia, the former meaning beggars and the latter workmen. The Bhikaria is the descendant of the early blacksmith of the village community who was paid in kind for his work. At harvest time he would go round begging for a reward for his labours, and each cultivator would give something in proportion to the yield of his field. This system of collecting wages is called *bhik* or begging, because it was entirely left to the villagers to pay as they liked: in the case of failure of the crops, nothing was paid at all. The name Karanjia is derived from *kar* work and *na* to live, and was applied to those who took cash payment for their work. The two groups eat and smoke together and are exogamous, i.e., a Bhikaria must marry into a Karanjia family and *vice versa*. Each group has a Panchayat of its own, but the Panchayats co-operate when any one is guilty of gross misconduct, e.g., marrying or eating with some one of another caste.

978. The Namasudras have four main sub-castes, viz., Halia, Chasi, Karati and Jaliya. Halias and Chasis are engaged in cultivation, while Karatis work as carpenters.

NAMASUDRAS.

The functional distinction between these three sub-castes is disappearing, and the three occupations are often followed by different members of one of the same family. There is intermarriage between the Halias, Chasis and Karatis; they also eat, drink and smoke together. In fact all these three sub-castes may be regarded as Halia or cultivating Namasudras as distinct from the Jaliya (or fishing) Namasudras. The Halias are too proud to admit the Jaliyas as Namasudras at all. If any member of the Halia class contracts a matrimonial alliance with a Jaliya, he is degraded to the latter class. In fact, the cleavage between the two is as sharp as that between the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas and the Jaliya Kaibarttas. The Jaliyas comprise two subdivisions called Karal, who are fishmongers and Jiani, who are fishermen. The cultivating Namasudras include the Dhanis, who were originally cultivators of rice, and the Siyalis, who used to cultivate and tap date palm trees, but now both cultivate other crops as well as rice and date palms.

979. The Paridhas are a small caste found in Angul and the Orissa States. They are an offshoot of the Chasas and are said to owe their origin to the fact that the

PARIDHAS.

Garhjat Rajas, or Chiefs of the States, being scrupulous Hindus, refused to ride on ponies that were groomed by untouchable Haris, and requisitioned the services of some Chasas. The latter were outcasted by the Chasas, because they worked as syces, and formed a separate caste. They still, however, use the same *sintak* or signature mark as the Chasas, viz., the *mai* or ladder. In addition to doing syces' work, they are employed as elephant mahants. Though they groom ponies, they will on no account cut grass for them, this being regarded as the avocation of a Ghasi. They also look down on the work of farm servants and day labourers as degrading. Intermarriage with other castes is strictly forbidden. They practise adult marriage and eat

fowls and pork, but not cow's flesh. Any Paridha eating beef would be permanently excommunicated.

980. An interesting example of the manner in which a new sect comes into being is afforded by the Sauntis of the Orissa Feudatory States. The nucleus of the caste consisted of persons outcasted from respectable Oriya castes, who were allowed by the Chief of Keonjhar to settle in Mananta, one of the villages in his State. Their numbers grew rapidly as they received other outcastes with open arms. The only qualification for admission was that the new comers must have belonged to some caste from whom Brahmans would take water.

SAUNTIS

They called themselves Saunta, meaning "gathered in," which in course of time was changed to Saunti. The leadership was assumed by a Khandait family from Khurda in the Puri district, the head of which received the title of Bedhajal from the Chief; this name is similar to Saunta, as it means "surrounding with a net." The Bedhajal is the acknowledged leader of the caste and enjoys certain privileges, being permitted to ride in a *pilki*, to have drums beaten in his procession, and a *chaura* carried before him, on State occasions. The Sauntis now number 22,659, and are to be found in the Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Pal Lahara and Nilgiri States, and, to a small extent, in Puri and Balasore. The Sauntis in all these places recognize the Bedhajal as their head and abide by his decision in caste matters. Most of them wear the sacred thread, and Brahmans drink water from their hands, though they eat fowls and drink liquor. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are performed in very much the same manner as for other good Hindu castes. They have free access to the temples and are considered a clean caste. Their headquarters is at a place called Musakori in Keonjhar, which is the seat of the Bedhajal.

981. The Savars are one of the oldest races of Orissa, and have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaroi of Ptolemy. They themselves say that

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they were originally a wandering tribe roaming through the hills of Orissa and living on the products of the forest. Legend points to their having been at one time a dominant race. The Dhenkanal State is said to derive its name from an aborigine of the Savar caste, named Dhenka Savara, who was in possession of a strip of land, upon which the present residence of the Chief stands. There still exists to the west of the Chief's residence a stone, commonly known as the Dhenka Savara Munda—Munda means a headman—to which worship is rendered once or twice in a year. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said to have been selected by the Savars and other tribes as their Chief; and legend relates that he obtained the name Pal because he was saved during a battle by the Savars hiding him under a heap of straw.† The Savars are also intimately connected with the worship of Jagannath. The original image of this deity, according to mythology, was discovered in the land of the Savars, where its priest was a Savar fowler named Basu or Viswa Basu.

982. The Savars are now divided into two castes, the Savar and the Sahar; the latter are more commonly called Sahara, another variant being Saura. In some parts it is impossible to distinguish the two, those who have come into contact with Hindus and have adopted Hindu customs being called Sahars and those who have not yet reached that stage Savars. This is the case in Talcher, where they have the same marriage, death and religious ceremonies. Elsewhere, two separate castes are recognized. They admit a common origin and say that their forefathers were clothed only in leaves, knew not the use of salt or oil, and lived on jungle products and the spoils of the chase. Otherwise, they have no connection, and intermarriage is impossible. The Savars are still a race of nomad hunters. They worship the bow, and have one peculiarity in its use. They draw the string with the forefinger and middle finger, and never use the thumb. Another peculiarity is that in some parts, such as Baramba, where they have become Hinduized, the Savars wear the sacred thread, and that their touch does not cause pollution like that of the Sahars. One section is called Patra Savar, a

° Orissa States Gazetteer, page 165

† Orissa States Gazetteer, page 276.

name which is reminiscent of their wearing no clothing but leaves. The Patra Savars are a gipsy race of minstrels and musicians; this is an occupation not confined to them, but also followed by other Savars as well as by Sahars.

The Sahars are the section of the tribe who became the serfs of their Aryan conquerors and were Hinduized at an early period. They are now mostly day labourers or petty cultivators, and are despised by the woodland Savars, because they do earthwork and are farm labourers. They are a low servile class ranking very low in the social scale. They drink wine and eat all kinds of animals except beef and pork. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed, and no Brahmans will serve them. Like other degraded races, such as Pans and Haris, they live outside the village site.

983. Both Savars and Sahars worship animistic deities, called generically Gram Devata, the chief of whom seems to be Komorudia, who is represented by an egg-shaped earthen drum. In Angul the Savars are so far Hinduized that, even when they worship the bow before going out on a hunt, they call it the worship of Banaraj Bana Durga, i.e., the forest Durga, lord of the forest. In Talcher the Sahars and Savars worship Hingula, a goddess of fire, who is of an unique character. Her symbol is a piece of stone, and her annual worship takes place on the full moon day of Chait. Some days before that date she is said to appear in the shape of fire burning in a coal-field. The Dehuri or officiating priest, who is a Sudha by caste, brings coal to create, or keep up, the fire. On the final day the assembled people throw in molasses, ghi, fragments of cloth and other inflammable material. The fire is kept up for some days, after which it is quenched. In the Khondmals the chief object of worship is Badral Thakurani, which is the Oriya name for the earth goddess, a Khond deity who is worshipped by non-Khonds as well as by Khonds. Formerly, the priest who offered sacrifices to the goddess was always a Khond, but now the Sahars employ a man of their own tribe, and the Oriyas a man of the Sudha caste. A Khond priest is still required to officiate for the Sahars at the worship of Gram Devata, but other sacrifices are performed by persons of their own tribe, while offerings to ancestors are made by heads of families.

984. There are some minor sections which appear to be separate from the two main bodies. In Angul there is a community called Kol Savar, who stand midway between the pure Savars and the Sahars. They claim to be Hindus and worship Durga, one of their own caste officiating as priests. They still practise adult marriage and admit that formerly they were a wandering race of hunters. Now they are labourers, who will cut paddy and hew wood, but will not do earthwork, as that is a degrading occupation. In Midnapore the Savars are hunters, hawkers of jungle products, and snake charmers. There is a separate community called Sahar Bagal, probably an accretion from the Savars, who are a clean caste having much the same position as Goalas. Another group in Puri is similarly called Sar-Bauri, because they have the same occupations as Bauris. There is, however, no intermarriage between them and the Bauris: a Bauri would be polluted by their touch. Perhaps the most interesting section of the old Savar race consists of the Suars of Puri, who claim to be descendants of Viswa Basu, the Savar priest of Jagannath. They are no longer Jagannath's priests, but his cooks, for they cook the rice offered to the god, which thereby becomes *mahavrasad* and may be partaken of by high and low castes together. Hindu ingenuity derives their name from the Sanskrit *supakara*, but it is undoubtedly only another form of Savar. Another name used by them is Daita, or Daitapati, which is accounted for by a tradition that they are descended from Daitapati or the left hand of Jagannath, whereas others are descendants of Basu, who represented his right hand.

985. There are numerous sub-castes or septs among the Sahars. Some are obviously named after a common ancestor, such as the Basu Sahars and the Guha Sahars. Basu was the Savar priest of Jagannath just mentioned. Guha is mentioned in the *Ramayana* as a Savar chief from whom Ram himself accepted hospitality. Two groups (described in Angul as sub-septs and elsewhere as sub-castes) owe their origin to differences in the method of cremating the dead. They are called Joria and Khuntia, and the distinction

between them is that the former burn their dead near a *jor*, or small stream, while the latter do so near a *khunt*, literally a stump, which in practice means an old tree on high ground. These subdivisions intermarry and eat together, but differ in their marriage customs. The Jorias consider it a sin to marry a girl after she has attained puberty, while the Khuntias see nothing wrong in exceeding the age of puberty. The Jorias have therefore adopted the custom of marrying a girl to an arrow, if she cannot be disposed of before she attains maturity. Other groups appear to be functional. The Paiks are the descendants of Sahars, or Savars, who served as *paiks*, i.e., as soldiers in the old State armies. The Naiks and Bisals served as headmen, and the Bhois and Beheras as messengers and carriers, while the Bureks took to catching fish as a profession. Various accounts are given of the origin of some sub-septs. The Gajpuria Bisals took service at Hindu temples and the Kapattalia Bisals are said to have got their name from being liars and deceivers (*kapat*). The Chandania Bhois use *chandana* or sandalwood paste for making forehead marks. The Dhobalbansia Bhois formed a separate sub-sept because they took to washing clothes for other people like a Dhoba or washerman. Washing clothes for another person is looked upon as a menial service.

From Sambalpur and the adjoining States one peculiar subdivision is reported, called Kalapithia, i.e., the black-backed. It is said that they are chiefly found in Puri and pull Jagannath's car at the festival. They are considered superior to all the other sub-castes as they refrain from drinking liquor and eating fowls: other septs take wine and fowls, but not beef and pork. No information regarding the Kalapithias is forthcoming from Puri, and it is certain that now-a-days the task of pulling the car is not confined to any particular caste or sub-caste. I am inclined to think that it is a name given to the Suars, or cooks of Jagannath, who are in all probability the descendants of his early Savar priests.

986. In some places Tanti is used as a generic term for different functional castes or is applied to endogamous groups loosely affiliated to the Tanti caste. This is notably the case in the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, where it is applied to four separate classes of weavers, viz., the Modi Tanti, Chapual Tanti, Jogi Tanti and Palia Tanti. The Palia Tantis are merely persons belonging to the Palia sub-castes of Rajbansis, who weave cloth; it is possible that they may in time separate from the Rajbansis, but at present they are not distinct from the Palias. In the case of the Jogi Tanti, the process of fission has been completed, for the Jogi Tantis are distinct from the Jogis proper, who are lime manufacturers. The Chapual or Chaupal Tantis are really a separate cast of weavers who are said to have migrated from Nādia during a famine. There is no information available regarding the origin of the Modi Tantis, but they are so far superior to the other Tantis that Brahmans and other higher castes will drink water from their hands. The name shows that they belonged to some trading caste that abandoned their traditional occupation for weaving.

Elsewhere in North Bihar the term Tanti is used for a distinct caste with several of the usual territorial sub-castes. In Bhagalpur there are two main divisions called Uttarkul and Purabkul, the latter being also commonly known as Pairowa Tantis because they worship the deity presiding over their craft on Pairowa day, i.e., the first day after the full moon. They have their own Panchayats for settling caste disputes, and do not allow intermarriage with other Tantis. The Uttarkul Tantis, who are known commonly as Jolabs or Jolahas, are subdivided into Magahiyas, Tirhutias and Kanauijas. Each of these sub-castes has its own Panchayat to punish social offenders: intermarriage between the different sub-castes is not allowed. Two more territorial sub-castes are reported from Champaran, viz., Sonpuria and Banaudhia, and there is also a functional sub-caste called Khatwe. The latter appears to have developed from its members having a special occupation, viz., weaving of *newar* beds. In this district intermarriage and commensality are not allowed between the various sub-castes. When a member of one sub-caste gives his daughter in marriage to, or takes a wife from, another sub-caste, the penalty is a fine, and, in default, excommunication.

When members of different sub-castes eat together, or smoke from the same hookah, the offender is either fined or ordered to bathe in the Ganges or to go to some place of pilgrimage.

Rangwas are another sub-caste in Saran, who keep to the traditional occupation of weaving and hence rank higher than the other Tantis, such as Kahar, Tantis and Chamar Tantis, who follow the occupations of the castes from which they sprang. The Chamar Tantis are the lowest in the scale. They still work as drummers like the Chamars, and in some parts also keep pigs. They are entirely separate from the other Tantis, who will neither eat with them, take water from their hands, smoke with them, or marry any of them. In Bhagalpur there are some Bengali Tantis who have migrated from Bengal, but have become domesticated and adopted the Bihar language. They still marry their sons and daughters in Bengal, more especially in the Murshidabad and Bardwan districts, whence the forefathers of most of them appear to have come. Thus, it often happens, that a Bengali-speaking boy of Murshidabad has for his wife a Hindi-speaking girl of his caste from Bhagalpur or *vice versa*.

987. In West Bengal there are several territorial sub-castes, such as Barandra, Uttarakul and Madhyakul, between which there is no intermarriage. Two other sub-castes are named after months in the Hindu year, viz., Aswini and Baisakhi. The former is considered a superior sub-caste in Midnapore, because its members do not use rice paste to starch their labours and are, therefore, considered cleaner. The Sakhi Tanti is a sub-caste which only sells cloths and does not weave them. The abandonment of the traditional occupation appears to have led to their becoming a separate sub-caste. The Jogi Tanti is probably an accretion from the Jogi caste. From Midnapore six other sub-castes are reported, viz., Saria, Sivakul, Chakandia, Matibandi, Dholi, Pan and Kutura. The Sarias are, as already mentioned in this report, Buddhists, elsewhere, and in some places form a separate caste. The Sivakul sub-caste derives its name from one Siva Das, and to be their common ancestor. There is very little difference between them and the Aswamis, but regarding caste inter-casting being allowed. The Chakandias are so called because they arrange four clusters of thread together in the warp which has their names, one or two, and are therefore called Chakandia or Dholi Das. The Matibandis lay their goods, their name is said to refer to the practice of spreading in cloth with oil. The Dholi Tantis, Pan Tantis and Kutura Tantis are collectively formed by accretions from other groups. Similar accretions exist in Orissa, where there are Green Tantis from the Gonds and Green Tantis from the Gonds, as well as Pan Tantis. The caste status of the accretions from the Gonds is still more or less doubtful, for the accretions from the Gonds who were taken from the Green Tribes, as they are called, from the Gonds themselves. There are also Hari Tantis, or Tantis of low caste of indigenous Orissa origin, and Saria Tantis, who are accretions from marriage processions.

988. In Singal, *Phragmites* is given to different castes, and is considered a superior caste, viz. Aswita rank; the last named is the historical tract of a caste members of this group will take water. Int allowed, nor do the dif special occasions; but in a man of a different caste to have its own Patra and Patra, who are of the Patra-weave silk fabric. The two sub-caste, which is sometimes

distinct from Tantis. They arrogate the name of Tanti, because they weave cloths, but they are nothing more than Pans, and have not succeeded in getting affiliated to the Tantis as they have elsewhere.

989. An interesting example of social differentiation is found among the Tantis of Calcutta, who are divided into three distinct groups called Basak, Dakshinkul and Madhyamkul. The cleavage between them is attributed to the Tantis engaging in trade in the early days of British rule. Some became middlemen for the sale of the fabrics of the Tantis' looms, others engaged in general trade. Both gradually rose in the social scale and dissociated themselves more or less from their humble brethren of the craft. The middlemen formed the Dakshinkul sub-caste; the general traders, who rank above them, became a separate community called Basak. Now only the Madhyamkuls practise their hereditary craft.*

STATISTICS OF CASTES.

990. Subsidiary Table II at the end of this chapter shows the strength at each census of the castes that now contribute two or more per mille to the population of either Province, and also the variations which have occurred between each census. It is not proposed to discuss the variations which occurred prior to 1901, many of which are extraordinary. The greater completeness and accuracy of successive censuses are responsible for the increases shown in some cases. In others, the variations are due to differences in classification, of which there is no record until the census of 1901. The changes which have taken place since then are due in some instances to special circumstances which require a brief explanation. It will be seen that the number of Banias has been steadily falling since 1881, and that in the last ten years they have registered a loss of over one-fourth. This, however, does not mean that the Bania communities are dying out. The decrease is merely due to the fact that Bania is a generic term for several distinct castes and that, with a progressive improvement in the methods of enumeration, an increasing number are returned under their distinctive caste names and not under the general designation of Bania. The extraordinary decrease in the number of unspecified Kaibarttas is the result of the Kaibarttas dividing into two sharply defined sections instead of remaining an united caste. Very many more consequently return themselves either as Chasi (Mahishya) or Jaliya Kaibartta than used to be the case. In the case of the Oriya castes considerable variations have been caused by the reconstitution of the Orissa Feudatory States and a consequent addition of population. This is the explanation of what seems *prima facie* an abnormal rise (144 per cent.) among the Kandhs (Khonds). The Koehes also register an increase of over four-fifths, which is to be attributed to their being separately tabulated at this census instead of being grouped with Rajbansis as in 1901. It is noticeable that in the districts where the increase in their numbers is greatest, there is only a reasonable increase in the number of Rajbansis and Koehes taken together.

There are also extraordinary variations in the figures for Musalmans, which is very largely due to the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam allowing Jolahas to return themselves as Sheikhs, Pathans, etc. It is on this account that the Jolahas have decreased by 10 per cent., while the Sheikhs have added 14 per cent. and the Pathans 18 per cent. to their numbers. The Ajlaf or Atrap again have a loss of over two-thirds, which is due to the term having lost popularity. It is a designation for those miscellaneous groups which do not belong either to the functional or racial classes of Musalmans. It is now rejected by the low Musalman classes, whose aspiration is to be called Sheikhs. At the last census nearly 285,000 persons were returned as Ajlaf in Khulna; the number is now reduced to 445, there being a corresponding rise in the number of Sheikhs.

* Radha Kamal Mukherjee, *Caste in Indian Economics*, Modern Review, August, 1912.

991. It is sometimes thought that the higher Hindu classes are declining, but the census statistics do not bear out this supposition, though they are not growing so rapidly as some of the low castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginal races. In the last decade every one of the higher castes, viz., Brahman, Babhan, Rajput, Khandait, Karan, Kayasth and Baidya,* has grown except the Babhans and Rajputs, who have declined

slightly: the marginal figures are for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole. For the decline among the Babhans plague must be held responsible, for the reasons given in the section below dealing with Babhans. The decrease in the number of Rajputs or Chhattris is more apparent than real. The diminution is accounted for by the Southul Parganas, where the census officers succeeded in obtaining a correct return of that elusive but interesting race, the Khetauris, most of whom have hitherto passed as Chhattris. In Bengal none of the three castes which contribute most largely to the Bhadrak class are on the down grade. The Brahmans in this province have increased by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Baidyas by 9 per cent. and the Kayasths by 13 per cent.

992. The aboriginal races, as shown in the margin, are making steady progress, the percentage of increase varying from 8 per cent. in the case of the Oraons to 25 per cent. in the case of the Mundas. Large increases are also registered by many of the depressed classes, such as Doms (16 per cent.) and Bindis (15 per cent.), and by other low castes, such as the Kewat (19 per cent.) and Pod (15 per cent.).

The following is a brief account of the distribution and variation in the numbers of the castes and races of the greatest numerical strength and of a few others that present special points of interest.

993. The Babhans, who number 1,131,330, are practically confined to Bihar, there being only a few of their community in adjoining districts such as Purnea and Hazaribagh. Since 1901 they have decreased by 1 per cent., and this loss must probably be ascribed to plague. The greater part of it has taken place in the plague-stricken districts of Patna and Saran, and it is significant that the falling off is confined to the women, who, as pointed out in a previous chapter, suffer more from the ravages of plague than the other sex.

994. The Bagdis with a strength of a little over 1 million are mainly found in West and Central Bengal, over two-thirds of the number being inhabitants of West Bengal. A small minority only is found in the adjoining districts and in Eastern Bengal; those enumerated in the latter area were temporary emigrants engaged in cutting crops or other forms of labour at the time of the census. This caste has been practically stationary since 1901, which is somewhat surprising considering that it is a hardy race of semi-aboriginals. The Bauris in West Bengal to whom the same remark would apply have also registered a very small increase.

995. The increase of the Baishnabs by 8 per cent. is only natural, for this is a caste which grows by accession from outside, as well as from natural causes. It is very largely a Cave of Adullam, the refuge of many in revolt against society and Brahmanical domination. With this accession to their numbers, their aggregate is now a little over half a million.

996. The Bauris are far more widely distributed than the Bagdis, whom they resemble in many ways, for half of the total number (606,157) are found in West Bengal, and practically all the remainder in Cuttack, Peri and Manbhum. In the district last named they number over 100,000 and form the bulk of the labourers in the coal mines. The Bauri is, in fact, fast becoming a collier, so much so that coal mining is beginning to be regarded as the traditional occupation of the caste. Since 1901 they have increased only by 2 per cent., which is less than that might naturally be expected from such a hardy race.

* Khattris are excluded because they are not an indigenous caste: in any case, their number is small.

down by the others. Their request was granted as an experimental measure and orders issued to have all country spirit shops in the Khondmals closed down.

1009. The Kayasths have grown by $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1901, but the rate of increase in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa is very different. In Bengal they have an addition of 129,000 (13 per cent.), to which the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions contribute three-fourths. In the former Division there is an increase of 55,000, over half of which may be accounted for by Sudras entering themselves as Kayasths; the number of Sudras has fallen by 29,000. In the Chittagong Division, where there has been an increase of 48,000 Kayasths, we find a decrease of 9,000 Sudras. The Karan is an Oriya caste of writers, corresponding to the Kayasths of Bengal and Bihar. They have an increase of 6 per cent., which is the result of natural growth.

1010. The Khambus, including the Jimdars, are the most numerous Nepalese tribe enumerated, their total number being 61,871, of whom 40,409 were found in Darjeeling and 15,872 in Sikkim. All but 2,644 returned their caste as Jimdar. It seems probable that the term Khambu was originally geographical and was applied to a race of aborigines who, according to Newar tradition, came into Nepal from the east, *i.e.*, from Tibet. Another name applied to them was Kiranti, also a geographical term applied to all the races (Limbus and Yakhas as well as Khambus) living in Kirant, a tract in the east of Nepal, of which the limits are uncertain. It was bounded on the west by the Dud Kosi, but, its eastern boundary is said to be either the Singalila range or the Arun or the Tambar river. The Khambu country proper is said to lay to the east of this tract, either between that Arun or Tambar or to the east of the Tambar. Legend relates that formerly the Kirantis killed and ate every kind of animal including cows. War was declared upon them by the Gurkhas, and after the Gurkha conquest the eating of beef was prohibited. At present the main distinction between the Khambus and Jimdars is that the former can and do eat cow's flesh, whereas the Jimdars do not. The Khambus also have different household deities and are reported by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to offer cow's flesh to them: they certainly offer pigs and fowls, through their own priests, who are called Home. When a Khambu dies, a pig is brained (with a pestle for grinding corn), and its tail and ears cut off and placed under the dead man's armpits before he is buried. Only the wealthier Khambus are cremated. The two appear to be of the same stock, the Jimdars being a more completely Hinduized section. They still however eat and drink together and also intermarry, and many of their sub-castes are the same, *e.g.*, Kulung, Chaurasia and Lohorong. They both call themselves Rais, and a Jimdar when asked if he is a Khambu will generally admit that he is.

1011. The Khandaits are another Oriya caste corresponding to the Rajputs on other parts of the country. They have an increase of 12 per cent., which is the result partly of Chasas recording their caste as Khandaits and partly of the transfer of a large Oriya population from the Central Provinces. They now number 805,761, or 41,586 less than the Chasas, but it is probable that accretion from the ranks of the latter will soon cause them to supplant the Chasas as the most numerous caste in Orissa.

1012. The Koiri and Kurmi are two great cultivating castes of Bihar, but the latter is also the name of an aboriginal tribe in Chota Nagpur and the Orissa States, who spell their name with a harder, whereas the Bihari castes use a soft r. It was impossible to distinguish between the spellings, and they have therefore been grouped together. The Koiris number 1,306,469 and have grown by 3 per cent. since 1901. The Kurmis, with a strength of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, have advanced more rapidly, their percentage of increase being nearly 7 per cent. This is accounted for by the expansion in Chota Nagpur, where the semi-aboriginal Kurmis have added 100,000 to their numbers. The Bihari Kurmis have sustained a loss of 17,000 and may, therefore, be described as stationary.

1013. The Lepchas are a small but interesting race, almost entirely confined to Sikkim and Darjeeling, who number 20,316 (including 1,240 Christians in Darjeeling,

and 202 in Sikkim).* Fears have been expressed that the Lepchas are dying out, but there appears to be no warrant for this belief, though the consideration of the question of their real growth is somewhat complicated by the greater accuracy of each successive census bringing to light a larger number of Lepchas in Sikkim. In Sikkim they have registered an increase of 16 per cent. during the last 10 years, and in Darjeeling they have increased by 6 per cent. In the latter district they are concentrating more and more in the Kalimpong thana, where their number has risen during the last 20 years from 4,708 to 6,750, which is more than half the total found in the whole district. As Mr. Bell remarks—"No doubt many of the race have left the unsuitable environment of Darjeeling town and other parts of the district in order to settle in Kalimpong, where the forest, though reserved and under Government restriction, is still plentiful and close. Many more have emigrated to Bhutan, where still more abundant forests, untrammelled by restrictions, enable them to follow their wasteful, though ancient, system of *jhuming* . . . The Lepcha is apt to let his rights slide with the saying 'We Lepchas do not know how to bring complaints.' As a cultivator, the Lepcha is steadily improving by contact with his Nepalese neighbours. He has lost most of his jungle-craft with the reservation of the forests, but has learnt in its place how to make terraces for rice fields, to cultivate the chief crops, and generally to carry on his affairs in such a manner as is necessary to enable him to exist under the altered conditions of British rule and the scramble for land that has followed in its wake."†

1014. The Mundas number 558,200 (including the Christian Mundas), of whom about three-fifths are residents of Ranchi. There they are distributed among three religions, 67,000 being Christians, 57,000 Hindus and 220,000 Animists. The increase in their numbers during the last ten years represents no less than 25 per cent., which is due partly to a number of persons who returned themselves as Kols in the Orissa States being classified as Mundas instead of being grouped with Hos as in 1901. There has also been a large increase in Ranchi, which is partly the result of the settlement securing agrarian rights to the Munda race. Cases have consequently been frequent of men who used to call themselves Rajputs, disclaiming that caste when it was a question of their being recorded as Mundari Khuntkattidars and of obtaining the rights attaching to that tenure. In such cases the pseudo-Rajputs have not only admitted that they are Mundas, but taken considerable trouble to prove it.

1015. The Namasudras have grown by 3 per cent. during the last ten years, and with an aggregate of 1,913,343 are the seventh largest Hindu caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They are a progressive Bengali caste chiefly found in Eastern Bengal.

1016. An increase of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has brought the number of Oraons up to 640,010, including the Christian Oraons, of whom there are 113,000. Their distribution is very similar to that of the Mundas, for they are found in greatest strength in Ranchi, where nearly 400,000 were enumerated. They have, however, migrated far more freely than the Mundas, and 90,000 are found in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri.

1017. The Pods number 536,590, of whom 470,000, or nine-tenths, are residents of the 24-Parganas and Khulna. In the former district they represent one-seventh, and in the latter one-tenth of the total population. They are multiplying rapidly, an increase of 11 per cent. in 1901 having been followed by a further increase of $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the subsequent ten years.

1018. The Rajbansis, on the other hand, have lost ground, the decrease amounting to 150,000 or 7 per cent. The decrease is, however, more apparent than real. It is due to the Koches having been recorded separately instead of grouped with Rajbansis as in 1901. Half the decrease has occurred in the Rajshahi Division, where 76,523 more Koches were enumerated than in 1901, while the Rajbansis have decreased by 107,696: in this area only

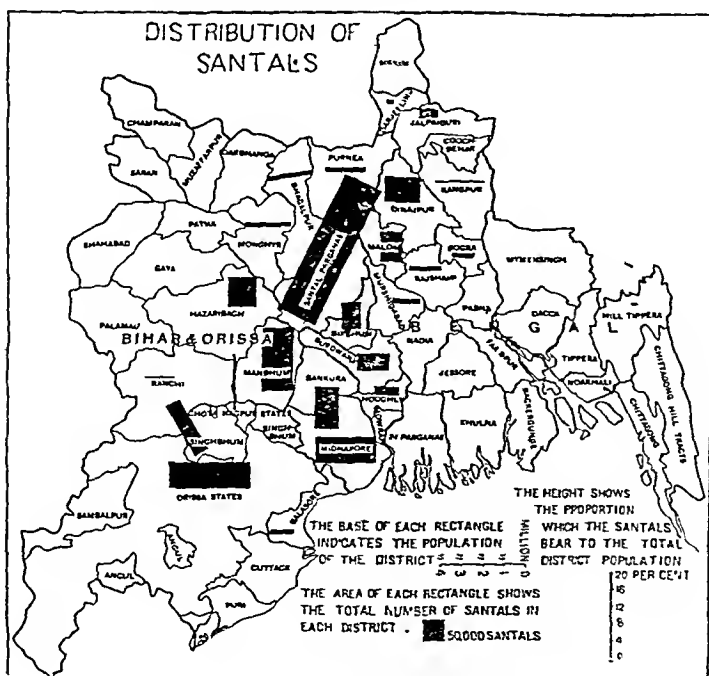
* There were also 1,598 persons in Darjeeling who returned themselves as Native Christians without specification of tribe or race, but returned their language as Lepcha. These Lepchas, who have become converts to Christianity, are excluded from the figures above.

305 Koches were returned at the last census. With a total of 1,916,376 the Rajbansis are the sixth largest Hindu caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Two-thirds of them are found in the Rajshahi Division, but they are relatively strongest in the Cooch Behar State, where they account for nearly three-fifths of the population. The Koches number 128,000, or 58,000 more than the number returned in 1901. Nearly all were enumerated in North and East Bengal, and they are most numerous in Dinajpur and Mymensingh, which contain over half the total number.

1019. The number of Rajputs has fallen by 2 per cent., the actual decrease being 26,973. This is accounted for by an addition of 25,593 among the Khetauris of the Sonthal Parganas, most of whom were grouped with the Chhatris, i.e., Rajputs, in 1901. Two number of Rajputs in that district has fallen by over 27,000, while the aggregate of Khetauris is 27,024, which corresponds fairly closely with the estimate of 30,000 made by Mr. W. B. Oldham.* Two other districts, viz., Shahabad and Saran, also record heavy losses. In both districts some decline might naturally be expected on account of the decrease in the general population. In Shahabad, however, the loss represents 7 per cent., while the general population has only fallen by 5 per cent. The Rajputs there are now reduced to a number less than that returned in 1872. Seven-eighths of the loss has taken place among the females and is probably, to a large extent, the result of plague mortality. In Saran there is a decrease of nearly 7 per cent., which is 2 per cent. above the general decrease; here too the loss among females exceeds the loss among the males.

The number of Khatri has, at the same time, fallen by 21,000, reducing their aggregate to 46,029. There is always the greatest difficulty in distinguishing between the entries Khatri and Chhatri in slip copying and subsequent compilation; and the decrease must be attributed to greater success in deciphering them, a large proportion of those previously treated as Khatri being consequently entered as Chhatri. The Khatri are an immigrant caste, and their real number is probably smaller even than that now returned. There are also 16,419 persons classified as Kshatriyas in Eastern Bengal. Nearly all are Manipuris in Hill Tippera, who on conversion of Hinduism arrogate that name. These pseudo-Rajputs should more properly be grouped with the Chhatris or Rajputs instead of being given such an archaic and generic designation.

1020. An addition of 13 per cent. has brought the number of Santals to over 2 millions (2,068,000), and they are the fifth largest race in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In addition to those enumerated in these two Provinces, there are 59,000 in Assam.

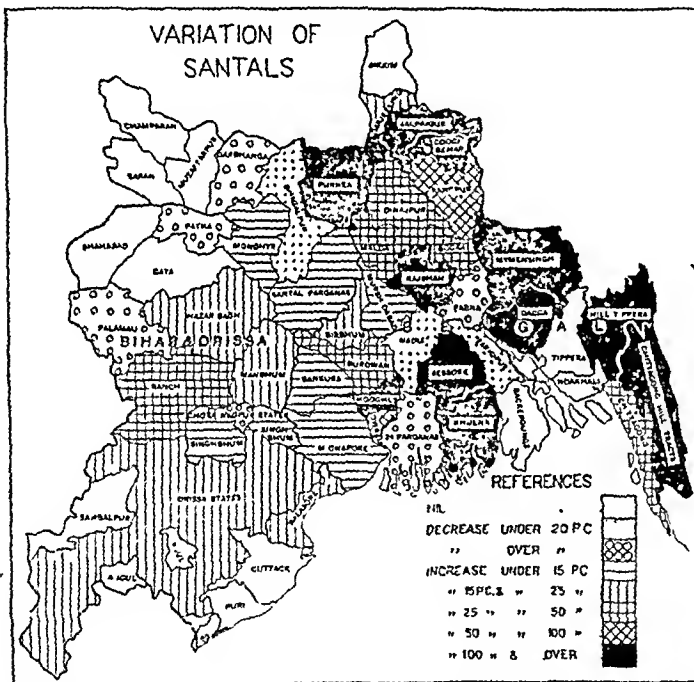


Altogether 668,149 are found in the district (the Sonthal Parganas) which bears their name, one-third being inhabitants of the Damin-i-Koh. In this district they have decreased by 1,386 since 1901, which at first sight appears surprising considering what a hardy, prolific race they are. The explanation lies in emigration and partly in the fact that 10,000 Kols or Karmales were classified as Santals in 1901; Kol is the local name for Karmales

* Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District, Index, p. xi.

The position of the Santals in the Sonthal Parganas has been well explained by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., formerly Settlement Officer in the Sonthal Parganas:—"In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilized Bengali, Bihari and up-country immigrant came at his heels and pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery." These remarks are to some extent confirmed by the results of the present census, for in the Damin, where they are protected, the Santals have increased by 2 per cent. in spite of extensive emigration, while they have decreased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. outside it. They have been spreading far afield in search of land or labour, especially to the north-east. Purnea and North Bengal record an addition of 88,510 Santals or 54 per cent., part only of which is due to natural growth among the earlier settlers. Of this increase, Dinajpur, where the Santals are flocking into the Barind, claims 36,000, Malda, which also has a Barind tract, 14,000, and Purnea the same number.

1021. Another large body of Santals is found in the districts of Hazari-



bagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Midnapore and the Orissa Feudatory States, which between them contain 803,122. In Manbhum there has been an increase of 19 per cent., the result largely of immigration to the coalfields: the rate of increase is the same as among the general population. With the addition of the new-comers, the Santals of Manbhum now represent one-seventh of the district population. The attractions of the coal-fields are also largely responsible for an increment

of 19,500 or over 40 per cent. in Burdwan. Hooghly again has an addition of 13,000 or 130 per cent.; here the Santal is beginning to take to labour and cultivation in alluvial flats away from the rolling uplands where he has hitherto made his home. So far he has not proceeded further south-east than Hooghly or moved to the delta proper. Excluding Murshidabad, where conditions are different, there are only 4,356 Santals in the whole of Central and East Bengal. The mills do not appear to attract him, and he abhors city life. Calcutta contains only 56 Santals and the metropolitan districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, with their numerous mill towns, only 1,217.

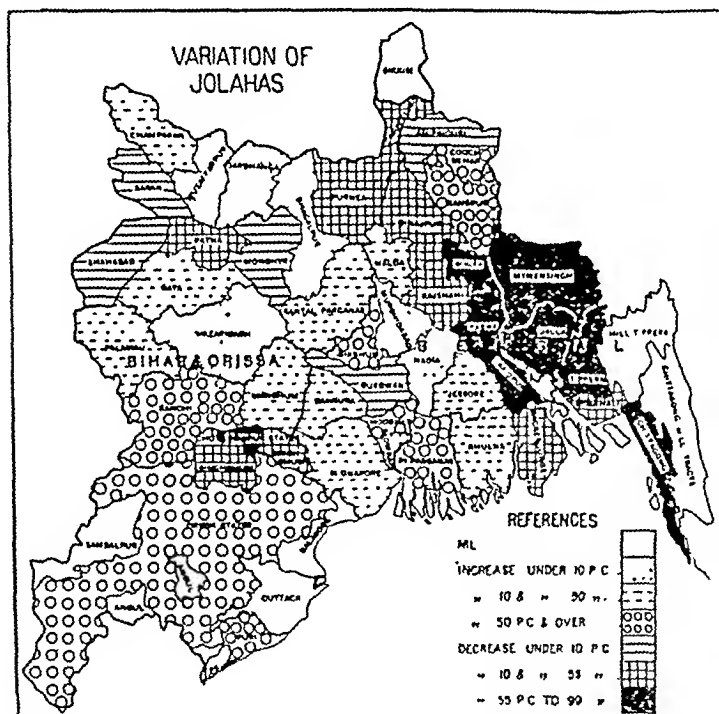
1022. A certain number of Santals, who have given up eating cows, pigs and fowls have assumed the name of Kharwar, as mentioned in Chapter IV in the account of the Kharwar movement. A number of them returned Kharwar and not Santal as their caste, and it is probable that most of the 1,306 Kharwars returned for the Sonthal Parganas are really Santals. It is noticeable that the number of Santals returned as Hindus in that district has fallen from 73,881 to 265.

1023. The Sauria Paharias, or Maler, and the Mal Paharias are two races found almost exclusively in the Sonthal Parganas.

SAURIA AND MAL PAHARIA. The number of the former in that district is 62,327, or one-third more than in 1901, and of the latter 38,553 or 50 per cent. more than in that year. Those very large increases are due to the greater completeness of the census in the Sonthal Parganas and to the care taken by the local officers to secure an accurate record. This was mainly effected by using the name Sauria Paharia instead of Maler, which is easily confused with Mal, Malo or Mal Paharia, and by tabooing terms used by various sections of the Mal Paharias, such as Kumarbhag, Manlik, Naiya, and Pujahar. The local distribution of the Sauria and Mal Paharias is somewhat different. Practically all the former are found in the Damin in the Rajmahal, Godda and Pakaur subdivisions, whereas over four-fifths of the Mal Paharias live outside the Damin and less than 3,000 are resident in the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions.

1024. At this census the Sheikhs registered an addition of a little under three millions (14 per cent.), and their aggregate is now a little under 24½ millions. Nearly 23 millions are found in Bengal, where they account for 95 per cent. of the total Musalman population. In North and East Bengal they have

increased by 2¼ millions owing mainly to the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam that the lower functional groups such as Jolahas and Kulus might return themselves as Pathans, Sheikhs, etc. The Pathans are more numerous by 78,000 or 18 per cent. than they were 10 years ago, while the Jolahas have lost 134,000, the Nasyas 199,000, and the Kulus 46,000. The



marginal map shows the variations which have taken place among the Jolahas.

1025. The Sunris and Shahas were formerly treated as one and the same caste, but at this census they were recorded separately in Bengal. The great majority of the

persons who entered themselves as Shahas are really Sunris, and the two must be taken together for comparative purposes. If the Sunris are considered separately, we find that in the area administered by the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, where Sunris were freely allowed to return themselves as Shahas, the number of Sunris has fallen from 285,000 to 5,000, and in their place a body of 298,000 Shahas has sprung up. Taking both Sunris and Shahas together, there is an increase of 14 per cent. since 1901, their distribution being as noted in the margin.

	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Sunri	119,325	267,114
Shaha	324,927	...

1026. The Tantis, whose number 936,260, have sustained a loss of 10,000 or 1 per cent. during the last decade, which does not, however, represent a real decline. It is

TANTI.

due to the fact that in Singhbhum most of the Pans succeeded in passing themselves off as Tantis in 1901, whereas, at this census, they were returned by their real caste name. The result was a decrease in the number of Tantis in that district by 22,000 and an increase of nearly 23,000 among the Pans.

QUESTIONS OF RACE.

1027. The question of race as determined by anthropometry was discussed in the last report on the Census of India, where the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was allocated to the following four main types :—(I) The Aryo-Dravidian type found in Bihar and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman and in its lower by the Chamars. It is said to be probably the result of the inter-mixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, the former element predominating in the lower groups and the latter in the higher. (II) The Mongolo-Dravidian type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahman and Kayasths, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. It is said to be probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. (III) The Mongoloid type of the Himadayas, Nepal, etc., represented by the Lepchas of Darjeeling and the Limbus, Murmis, and Garungs of Nepal. (IV) The Dravidian type pervading the whole of Chota Nagpur; its most characteristic representatives are the Santals. This is said to be probably the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements.

1028. Of late years anthropometry as a test of race has begun to fall out of favour. Professor Ridgeway considers that physical type depends far more on environment than on race. "From the evidence already to hand there is high probability that intermarriages can do little to form a new race, unless the parents on both sides are of races evolved in similar environments."* Elsewhere he points out that "as the physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement, the historical inquirer must not at present base any argument on this class of evidence."† Another writer remarks :—"Neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race. The truth is, the method of indices has been thoroughly discredited among anthropologists, and were it not employed in the 'People of India,' a book published in 1908, we should have supposed it had no longer any followers. Sergi, the eminent professor of anthropology at Rome, says : 'A method which is only in appearance a method inevitably leads to errors and can produce no results.' For this 'old and irrational method,' Sergi would substitute the natural method, which consists in judging by the form of the skull."‡ Professor Ridgeway, however, is of a different opinion. "Osteological differences," he says, "may be but foundations of sand, because it is certain that such variations take place within very short periods, not only in the case of the lower animals, as in the horse family, but in man himself.§" His views appear to be confirmed by the recent discoveries of Wachter, who has drawn attention to the changes which can be made in the shape of the skull of newly born infants by inducing them to lie constantly on the side or on the back, according as it is desired to make the head long or short. Infants willingly lie on their back, if they are given a soft feather pillow. If, on the other hand, a hard pillow is used they prefer to lie on the side. Of twins, one who was kept on the side had a long head (index 78·4) and also a long face, while the other who was kept on the back had a short head (index 86·2) and a short face.¶

* Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1904.

† Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, p. 73.

‡ Professor Homboldt Cox, *Anthropometry and Race*, Modern Review, May, 1911.

§ Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1908.

¶ Article in the *Muenchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, dated the 17th January 1911.

1029. Another test of race which has recently been propounded is that blue patches are an infallible proof of Mongolian descent. Herr Baolz, the author of this theory, states :—“Every Chinese, every Korean, Japanese and Malay, is born with a dark blue patch of irregular shape in the lower sacral region. Sometimes it is equally divided on both sides and sometimes not. Sometimes it is only the size of a shilling, and at other times nearly as large as the hand. In addition, there are also more or less numerous similar patches on the trunk and limbs, but never on the face. Sometimes they are so numerous as to cover nearly half the surface of the body. Their appearance is as if the child has been bruised by a fall. These patches generally disappear in the first year of life, but sometimes they last for several years. If it be the case, as I believe, that such patches are found exclusively amongst persons of Mongolian race, they furnish a most important criterion for distinguishing between this and other races.”* Inquiries regarding the occurrence of such marks have been made in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which afford a particularly suitable field for investigation in view of Sir Herbert Risley's theory that the Bengalis are a Mongolo-Dravidian race. If Baolz's theory is true that they are found exclusively among Mongolian children or children of Mongolian descent, they would naturally be absent in areas such as Bihar, and among races such as Hindustani Brahmans, to whom no Mongolian strain has been attributed.

1030. Such patches are quite common in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and they are not confined to any particular caste or race. Both Hindus and Musalmans, high castes and low castes, aboriginals and others, have them. Out of 8,298 children, 498 were found to have blue patches, but there were the most extraordinary variations in the percentages in different districts, due in all probability to babies being examined in some cases and children in others. The fact that the patches generally disappear within a year after birth was not always realized : one Civil Surgeon solemnly reported the results of the examination of 112 adults, which was of course nil. In Cuttaek only 11 out of 3,365 children had blue patches, whereas in the adjoining district of Puri, they were found on 21 out of 29 children. In Singhbhum 2,000 children were examined, but only 4 children (all Hos) had pigmented skins. One doctor found them in 1 out of every 10 ; another in 1 out of every 7 of the children that came under observation ; and a few in 50 to 90 per cent. of the cases examined. Excluding returns that seem to be of doubtful validity, the general proportion seems to be about 1 in every 10.

1031. The most reliable results were obtained in the Eden Hospital in Calcutta, where observations were made by the Resident Surgeons among the infants born in the hospital. Here 61 out of 192 babies, or nearly one-third, had blue patches at birth. They were usually noticed on the lower part of the back and over the hips. Their dimensions varied from the size of a rupee to the size of an adult's hand. The colour was always light blue. Out of the 61 children, 11 were Eurasians, 10 were Kayasths and one was a Jewish child. The remainder were Brahmans, Goalas, Telis, Kaibarttas, Gandhabaniks, Napits, Kumhars, Tantis, Bagdis, Indian Christians and Musalmans. These blue patches often run in families. A Bengali gentleman, a Barendra Brahman by caste, writes—“In our family almost all the infants are born with blue patches. They sometimes appear on the upper part of the back, some on both the lower and upper parts, but generally on the lower part of the back. They are roundish or irregular in shape, prominent in children with fair skins and naturally less prominent in dark skins. They usually disappear within a few months after birth, but in the case of a niece of mine they could be traced until she was six years of age.” All the children of another Brahman in Orissa (seven in number) were born with similar skin pigmentation.

1032. The so-called Mongolian patches, though found in all parts and among all castes, appear to be most common among the Mongoloid races of the Chittagong Hill

RACIAL PREVALENCE.

* On the races of East Asia, with special reference to Japan, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1901, Part II

Tracts and among the Rajbansis of North

Area.	Caste or race.	Number of children examined.	Number with blue patches.
Chittagong Hill Tracts	Chakma	106	94
	Kumli	25	24
	Maghi	104	84
	Murung	30	23
	Tipara	120	85
Jalpaiguri	Rajbanshi	52	29
Chota Nagpur Plateau	Kharia	27	...
	Munda	64	2
	Oron	79	4
	Santal	253	9

Bengal. This form of pigmentation is far less prevalent among the races of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, as may be realized from the marginal figures. Patches of this kind have also been found in pure European children—in one out of every 200—where their presence is ascribed not to mixed blood, but to atavism or throwing back to ancestors with dark or black skins. It is also said that similar patches occur in some

species of monkeys.*

So far as Bengal is concerned, my opinion is that the presence of the so-called Mongolian patches cannot be said to support Sir Herbert Risley's hypothesis that the Bengalis are a Mongolo-Dravidian race. The results also seem to discount the hypothesis that they are found exclusively among Mongolian races, though they are undoubtedly most frequent among children of Mongolian stock or with a Mongolian strain. In view of the Darwinian theory, it would be interesting to know the relative prevalence of congenital blue patches among monkeys and human beings.

1033. Inquiry was also made regarding the prevalence of melanoglossia, to which attention was first drawn by Colonel F. Maynard, I.M.S., so far as this part of India is concerned. Colonel Maynard carried out his observations at Ranchi, where he examined 347 tongues and found pigmentation in 32 per cent. of the cases. The distribution of the races in which they were found was as shown in the margin. "The other castes," Colonel Maynard remarked, "include a considerable number of castes of Aryan origin, and the relative infre-

MELANOGLOSSIA.

Race.	Per cent.
Munda	48.2
Oron	47.5
Kharia	36
Bhuiya	47.5
Other castes	19.9

quency of pigmented tongues among them (19.9 per cent.) compared with their frequency among the Dravidian tribes (average 44.8 per cent.) confirms the general impression I had formed that the pigmentation of the tongue varies with the pigmentation of the skin. For the Kolarian tribes (Mundas, Oraons, Kharias, etc.) have, as a rule, the blackest skins possible, and the depth of skin pigment was generally observed to correspond directly with the depth of the tongue pigment. The distribution and extent of the discoloration varied greatly. In some cases the fungiform papillae were each surrounded by a blue or brown rim, giving the tongue a curious speckled look; in others there were irregular blue or black blotches, simple or multiple, and varying in size from a two-anna bit to a rupee on the dorsum or along the edges of the tongue. In one only was the whole tongue black. In no case were the gums or roof of the mouth pigmented. The marks were found at all ages, though more commonly, more widely spread and of deeper hue in adults than in children.

"The children of 46 parents who had pigmented tongues were examined with the following results. Of 16 sons of melanoglossal *fathers*, 7 had their tongues pigmented; 4 daughters of the same group of fathers showed no marks. Of 14 sons of melanoglossal *mothers*, 3 had pigmented tongues; and, of 12 daughters of the same, 3 were pigmented. As far as could be ascertained, the pigment was not in any way due to malaria. Enlarged spleens were not found more frequently in those who had than in those who had not pigmented tongues. Thus, melanoglossia, as far as these 347 cases go, would appear to be largely a question of race, and to be more common the lower the race is in the scale of civilization. It is almost equally common in the two sexes. It would appear to be hereditary, though not necessarily appearing in early childhood. No connection with any diseased condition was to be made out."†

* *The Hospital* (p. 249), dated 26th November 1912.

† Lieutenant-Colonel F. P. Maynard, I.M.S., *A Note on Melanoglossia*, Indian Medical Gazette, October 1897.

1034. Investigations carried out in all the districts of Bengal (as constituted at the time of the census) show that pigmented tongues are quite common. Altogether 18,444 observations were made, and melanoglossia was found in 11 per cent. of the cases.

NATURAL DIVISION OR DISTRICT.	Number examined.	Number with melanoglossia.	Percentage.
West Bengal ...	910	75	8
Central Bengal ...	7,115	709	10
Darjeeling ...	81	17	21
North Bihar ...	1,050	145	14
South Bihar ...	2,210	210	9½
Orissa ...	3,861	58	1½
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	3,250	835	25
Total ...	18,444	2,033	11

The area in which it is least common appears to be Orissa, while it is most prevalent in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where aboriginal races predominate. The marginal statement shows the result of the examinations made. These can be taken as reliable, for observations were made in hospitals and dispensaries, while Civil Surgeons examined the tongues of prisoners in jail. Melanoglossia is

not confined to races of aboriginal descent, though it is undoubtedly more common among them. In addition to the tribes and castes mentioned by

CASTE, ETC.	Number examined.	Number of pigmented tongues.
Babhan ...	56	12
Ohamar ...	64	12
Dom ...	79	18
Gosla ...	120	15
Kahar ...	83	8
Kayasth ...	75	3
Kolli ...	22	13
Kurmi ...	63	10
Muslman ...	259	24
Rajput ...	101	17

Colonel Maynard, it has been ascertained that the incidence among Santals is 40 per cent., 246 out of 584 Santals having pigmented tongues. The figures for Darjeeling also deserve attention: all but four of the persons with pigmented tongues belong to the hill races, viz., Jindars, Mangars, Gurungs, Khas, Bhotias and Lepchas.

Cases of melanoglossia are reported for over 100 different castes or races; the marginal statement shows its incidence among some Hindu castes and Musalman groups in South Bihar and Hazaribagh, which may be taken as representative of different social strata. It seems by no means certain that melanoglossia is racial and not pathological. The opinion is common among those medical officers who kindly assisted in the inquiry that it is a concomitant of malaria. Observations carried out in Ranchi, among aboriginal or semi-aboriginal races, also indicate that it is commoner among females than among males, and that it is six times as common among adults as among children under 16 years of age. The result of 1,800 observations in that district is to show that the percentage of pigmented tongues among males and females under 16 years of age is 5 and 6, respectively, whereas the ratio is 30 per cent. among males and 40 per cent. among females over that age. This form of pigmentation is certainly therefore not congenital, and it is a fair inference that it is not racial.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS.

GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000'S OMITTED.			GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000'S OMITTED.		
	Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.		Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	84,741	46,306	38,435	XI.—Bards and astrologers	18	18	...
I.—Land-holders	3,321	182	3,139	XII.—Writers	1,662	1,167	495
Bahian (Bhumihar Brahman) ...	1,130	...	1,130	Karan	147	...	147
Khandait	769	...	769	Kayasth	1,462	1,114	348
Rajput (Chhatri)	1,370	130	1,240	Others	53	53	...
Others	52	32	...	XIII.—Musicians, singers, dancers, mimics and jugglers.	118	48	70
II.—Cultivators (including growers of special products).	13,575	7,993	5,582	XIV.—Traders and pedlars	1,020	617	403
Barui and Barai	308	178	130	Banlya	141	...	141
Bird	135	...	135	Gandhabank	119	119	...
Chafu	93	93	...	Hanjar	83	...	83
Chasa	846	...	846	Shahi	325	325	...
Dhanuk	572	...	572	Subarnabank	110	110	...
Gond	236	...	236	Others	242	63	179
Gancanta	83	...	83	XV.—Carriers by pack animals.	...	...	...
Kalbarta (Chasi)	2,138	2,138	...	XVI.—Barbers	1,031	458	573
Koch	125	125	...	Bhandari	117	...	117
Kojir	1,281	...	1,281	Hajjam	389	...	389
Kol	124	...	124	Nalit	447	447	...
Konja	189	...	189	Others	78	11	67
Kurmi	1,490	177	1,313	XVII.—Washermen	659	232	427
Mal	108	108	...	Dhoba	605	228	377
Namasuira	1,909	1,909	...	Others	54	4	60
Pol	536	...	536	XVIII.—Weavers, cardors and dyers.	3,431	1,150	2,281
Rajbandi	1,917	1,409	108	Ganla	212	...	212
Sadgon	550	550	...	Jogi and Jugi	361	361	...
Sudi (Sudha)	79	...	79	Jolaha	1,108	292	826
Others	856	370	486	Kapali	154	154	...
III.—Labourers	2,644	1,572	1,072	Pan (Panika)	464	...	464
Bagli	1,016	1,016	...	Tanti and Tatwa	936	323	613
Bauri	607	314	293	Others	196	30	166
Kaora	112	112	...	XIX.—Tailors	43	6	37
Musahar	627	...	627	XX.—Carpenters	513	182	331
Rajwar	132	...	132	Barhi	324	...	324
Others	150	130	20	Entredhar	177	177	...
IV.—Forest and hill tribes	6,603	1,677	4,926	Others	12	5	7
Bhogta	79	...	79	XXI.—Masons ... ..	...	...	...
Bhuiya	664	...	664	XXII.—Pollers	808	295	513
Bhumij	273	...	273	Kumhar	808	205	513
Ho	419	...	419	XXIII.—Glass and lac workers.	2	2	...
Kandh	303	...	303	XXIV.—Blacksmiths	827	325	502
Kharla	105	...	105	Kamar and Lohar	791	311	480
Kharwar	86	...	86	Others	36	14	29
Munda	410	...	410	XXV.—Gold and silver-smiths.	268	56	212
Oron	640	165	475	Sonar	212	...	212
Santal	2,068	669	1,399	Others	56	56	...
Savari (Sahar)	218	...	218	XXVI.—Brass and copper-smiths.	86	17	69
Tipara	130	130	...	XXVII.—Priests and devotees	3,680	1,679	2,001
Others	1,208	713	495	Balshah and Balragi	503	424	79
V.—Graziers and dairy men	4,725	663	4,062	Brahman	2,966	1,211	1,755
Oaseri	92	...	92	Others	211	44	167
Gaura	713	...	713	IX.—Temple servants	6	...	6
Gosia	3,896	646	3,250	X.—Genealogists	34	7	27
Others	24	17	7				
VI.—Fishermen, boatmen and palki-bearers.	2,981	1,177	1,804				
Gonhi	130	...	130				
Kalbarta (Jaliya)	327	327	...				
Kabar	524	...	524				
Kewat	421	...	421				
Khatwa	117	...	117				
Mallah	363	...	363				
Malo	247	247	...				
Tijar	215	215	...				
Others	637	388	249				
VII.—Hunters and fowlers ...	72	36	36				
VIII.—Priests and devotees	3,680	1,679	2,001				
Balshah and Balragi	503	424	79				
Brahman	2,966	1,211	1,755				
Others	211	44	167				
IX.—Temple servants	6	...	6				
X.—Genealogists	34	7	27				

Only those castes are shown which contribute more than 2 per mille to the population of either Province; the less

number 256 or over two-fifths of the concerns, and they give employment to 105,000 persons or two-thirds of the labour force. The only other important industrial concerns are indigo plantations, which, number 119 and employ 30,680 persons. The latter figure includes those employed directly by the factories in cultivation as well as in the manufacture of indigo. It would have been greater had the industrial census been taken in the manufacturing season ; as it was, many of the factories were not at work, and were consequently excluded from the returns, while in others the labour force was only a fraction of what it would be later in the year. Excluding mines and indigo plantations, the total number of industrial and manufacturing works in the province is 208 with 44,000 operatives, half of whom are at work in railway workshops and timber yards.

1043. The most backward part of the province is the Orissa Division, which has a population of 5 millions, but contains only 16 industrial concerns with 1,474 employes.

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.

The Patna Division is but little better, though it has 20 towns and $5\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants, for there are no more than 26 works employing under 3,000 hands. The returns for the Tirhut Division are very different owing to the indigo industry, which accounts for two-thirds of the concerns and all but 8,000 of the employes. This industry has little vitality in Saran, but still maintains itself in the other three districts of the division. The only other works of importance in Tirhut are the railway works at Samastipur in the Darbhanga district. In the Bhagalpur Division the only district which can be said to be in any way industrial is Monghyr, where the railway workshops of the East Indian Railway at Jamalpur employ over 8,000 men, while the tobacco factory of the Peninsular Tobacco Company at Monghyr, though not long started, has over 1,000 hands. In this division there are still 20 indigo factories at work with nearly 3,000 employes ; the only other important works are the stone quarries of the Sonthal Parganas. The Chota Nagpur Division, though in other respects the most backward tract in the province, is the most advanced industrially owing to its mineral resources. The development of the Jheria coal-fields puts Manbhum far ahead of the other districts, for at the time of the census 194 collieries were at work and 80,000 persons were employed in them. The figures for lac factories in this district do not give a clear idea of the expansion of the lac industry, for most were not at work at the time of the census. In Hazaribagh there are no less than 42 mica mines with 9,000 labourers, which exceeds by 3,000 the number employed in the Giridih collieries. In Singhbhum the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi, though they were still under construction when the census took place and had not started manufacturing, already employed 4,600 persons, the copper mine of the Copper Company at Matigara over 1,000, and the iron mines of the Bengal Iron and Steel Works nearly 1,500. In the Orissa Feudatory States only Mayurbhanj and Gangpur contain industrial works. In the former the working of the iron mines at Gurumaishani afforded employment to over 4,000 persons. In the latter the development of the timber trade has led to the concentration of over 8,000 men in timber yards.

1044. Joint stock enterprise has not developed to the same extent as in Bengal, only a little over one-fourth of the concerns (excluding those belonging to Government) being

OWNERS AND MANAGERS.

owned by companies. The majority of these are mining companies, and there are only 40 companies for the exploitation of other forms of industry or manufacture. The Indian inhabitants are either more averse to forming companies than the Bengalis, or their management of them is less successful, for the companies, of which the directors are solely or partly drawn from the Indian community, number no more than 23 or one-seventh of the total number. The indigo concerns, unlike the tea gardens, are still mainly in private hands, and all but 14 are owned by Europeans. European companies, however, own two-fifths of the coal mines, one-fifth of the mica mines, and all but one of the iron, manganese and copper mines. Of the concerns

CLASS.	Number.	Employes
1. Collieries ...	100	88,478
2. Indigo plantations ...	119	30,680
3. Mica mines ...	52	10,810
4. Railway workshops	7	10,260

having private owners, two-thirds belong to Indians, who practically monopolize all but the indigo plantations. One-fifth of the private owners of Indian origin are Brahmans, who have possession of no less than 27 mines and indigo plantations. Next to them the Agarwalas own the largest number of industrial undertakings, the proportion being one-eighth, while the Kayasths come third with one-ninth : members of the caste last named own 13 collieries and 10 mica mines.

1045. The managers are equally divided between the Indian and the European and Anglo-Indian communities. The latter manage all but two of the indigo plantations and over two-fifths of the collieries, but only 89 other concerns. The Indian managers are in control of 112 coal mines, four-fifths of the mica mines and sugar factories, and practically all the lac factories. One-fourth of them are Brahmans, who manage nearly a fifth of the collieries and a fourth of the mica mines. One-sixth are Kayasths, the majority of whom are also employed in coal and mica mines, and then come the Agarwalas and Kalwars, each contributing one-eighth of the total number of Indian managers : the Kalwars owe their position to their interest in the lac trade, 16 lac factories being owned and 18 managed by them.

CHARACTER OF MILL AND FACTORY LABOUR.

1046. Before concluding this account of the industrial census, reference may be made to the character of mill and factory labour. As a rule, the labourers do not work throughout the year, and employment in the mills and factories is not their only means of subsistence. No better account of the conditions regulating the supply can be given than that contained in the report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1907-08.

"The habits of the Indian factory operative are determined by the fact that he is primarily an agriculturist or a labourer on the land. In almost all cases his hereditary occupation is agriculture ; his home is in the village from which he comes, not in the city in which he labours ; his wife and family ordinarily continue to live in that village ; he regularly remits a portion of his wages there, and he returns there periodically to look after his affairs, and to obtain rest after the strain of factory life. There is as yet practically no factory population, such as exists in European countries, consisting of a large number of operatives trained from their youth to one particular class of work, and dependent upon employment at that work for their livelihood. It follows that the Indian operative is, in general, independent of factory work, to the extent that he does not rely exclusively upon factory employment in order to obtain a livelihood ; at most seasons he can command a wage sufficient to keep him, probably on a somewhat lower scale of comfort, by accepting work on the land ; and there are also numerous other avenues of employment, more remunerative than agricultural labour, which are open to every worker in any large industrial centre. If the operative is not merely a landless labourer, he will in general be bound by strong ties to the land and to the village from which he originally came ; he can at any time abandon factory life in order to revert to agriculture ; and the claims of the village where he has a definite and accepted position are in practice, as experience has shown, sufficiently powerful to recall him from city life for a period which extends, on the average, to at least a month in each year. The Bombay operative resident in the Konkan, probably returns to his village for one month each year ; and the jute weaver of Bengal, working longer hours and earning higher wages, is not content with less than two or three months. Whenever factory life becomes irksome, the operative can return to his village ; there is probably always work of some kind for him there if he wishes it ; and in most cases he is secured against want by the joint family system. The position of the operative has been greatly strengthened by the fact that the supply of factory labour undoubtedly is, and has been, inadequate ; and there is, and has been, the keenest competition among employers to secure a full labour-supply. These two main causes—the independence of the Indian labourer, owing to the fact that he possesses other and congenial means of

earning a livelihood. and the deficient labour supply—govern the whole situation.”

1047. Another noticeable feature of modern industrial conditions in Bengal is the extent to which its large manufactures and industries depend on other Provinces for their labour supply. The industrial expansion of Calcutta and its neighbourhood has created a demand for labour which the Bengalis have not been able to meet. The inadequacy of the number of local artificers, mechanics and labourers, and, to some extent, their inefficiency have made it necessary to employ an increasing number of workers from other parts of India. In the jute mills only a minority of the operatives are Bengalis. “Twenty years ago all the hands were Bengalis, but they have gradually been replaced by Hindustanis from the United Provinces and Bihar. These men have been found more regular, stronger, steadier and more satisfactory generally, so that at present in most of the mills two-thirds of the hands are composed of up-country men.”* In the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling the Bengalis form an insignificant minority. In the coal mines semi-Hinduized aboriginals or pure aboriginals, such as Bauris and Santals, predominate. In the cotton mills Oriyas contribute largely to the ranks of the operatives, and one is astonished to see how many Oriyas there are in the jute presses and what heavy loads they carry. The same tendency is seen in other branches of industry, where the personnel is gradually changing, as the Bengali gives place to immigrants. The manner in which the latter are filling the labour market may be illustrated by an extract from a speech delivered a few years ago in the Bengal Legislative Council by a member, who was himself a large employer of labour with long experience of the country:—

“It is certainly a fact, which my experience has proved, that the Bengali carpenter is being slowly, but surely, supplanted by his Chinese competitor. Again speaking from my own experience, this gradual dying out of the Bengali carpenter is very materially due not only to his lack of training, but also to the disinclination of parents to let their children follow the calling of mechanics. I have known several instances of Bengali carpenters in my own employ bringing their sons to me to be taken on as clerks in my office, with an Entrance or First Arts qualification. Twenty-five years ago, our workmen were nearly all Bengali Hindus, and there was not a single Chinaman in our employ and only one or two Muhammadans. Now we have a large number of Chinamen, and among the Indians the Bengalis are in a very small minority. The Chinaman, it is true, gets larger wages, but he earns his money to the hilt, works steadily, takes only one or at most two holidays in the year, is sober, punctual and intelligent, and does not need to be continually urged to his work. The Bengali, I am constrained to say, is very much the contrary. He gets small wages certainly, but he earns for his employer even less than he gets. As a rule, he takes little or no real interest in his work, and if not carefully watched, will scamp his job.”

GENERAL CENSUS.

1048. Of the 16 columns of the census schedule, no less than three are intended for the entry of occupations or means of livelihood. There are two columns for actual workers, one to show the principal and the other the subsidiary occupation. The third column is headed “means of subsistence of dependants on actual workers,” a somewhat infelicitous expression, the meaning of which is not at first sight obvious. It means the occupation or means of livelihood of the person by whom a dependant (*i.e.*, any person who does not earn his own living) is supported. The instructions regarding the manner in which these columns were to be filled up were more elaborate and detailed than in 1901. One important modification consisted in the more precise definition of workers, dependants and subsidiary occupations. It was laid down that only those persons should be shown as workers who help to augment the family income.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS.

* B. Foley, *Supply of Labour in Bengal*, 1906.

As an illustration of the rule, it was stated that a woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker but a dependant, whereas a woman who collects and sells fire-wood or cow-dung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as a worker. Similarly, a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (e.g., the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots) is an actual worker, but not one who merely renders a little occasional help. The result of this rule has been the addition of a large number of female workers. As regards subsidiary occupations, it was laid down that where a man has two occupations, the principal one is that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income. A subsidiary occupation was to be entered *if followed at any time of the year*. The words shewn in italics are of particular importance, as the entry of occasional occupations, taken up, it may be, for a few days in the year, has enormously increased the entries of subsidiary occupations. The returns of such occasional occupations are of little practical value; and considering the heavy task already imposed on an improvised agency, there is much to be said in favour of not attempting to obtain a return of subsidiary occupations, which is merely one of the bye-products of the census.

1049. At the last census occupations were classified according to an elaborate scheme, being divided into 8 main classes, which were subdivided into 24 orders, 79 sub-orders and 520 groups. As remarked by the Census Commissioner: "It is generally admitted that a classification which distinguishes no fewer than 520 groups is far too elaborate for census work in India. It involves an altogether excessive amount of labour in compilation, while the results are of no greater value than those of a far simpler table would be: in some cases indeed they are actually misleading."^a At this census the Census Commissioner prescribed a revised scheme of classification, based on that prepared by M. Bertillon with modifications necessary to adapt it to conditions in India. This scheme has already formed the basis of the tabulation of occupations in Italy, and also (though with some modifications) in Germany, while the new classification scheme of the United States approaches it closely. It has further been adopted by Brazil in the census of 1910, Egypt in 1907, Bulgaria in 1900, Spain in 1900, and also in Chili, Venezuela and Mexico, and in Belgium (with some changes). The adoption of this scheme in India therefore facilitates the comparison of international statistics. At the same time the reduction of the number of detailed heads has resulted in a great saving in the time and labour involved by compilation. Comparison with the results of the last census has to some extent been rendered difficult, and the difficulties have been increased by one partition following another. The demands of time and the exigencies of expenditure have rendered it impossible to compile comparative statistics for the two provinces as now constituted, but a comparative statement has been prepared for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, which will be found in Subsidiary Table VII. In this statement the difficulty caused by the change of classification has been got over, as far as possible, by re-arranging the statistics of the last census according to the new scheme.

1050. Though far simpler and casier than that followed at the last census, the scheme seems still unduly elaborate, considering conditions in India. Its main object is to render the statistics of India comparable with those for other countries, but for this purpose all that is needed is tabulation in accordance with the 61 sub-orders of M. Bertillon's scheme, and the groups might be largely reduced without loss of any reliable information that is of value. Still, much has been gained by reducing the number of detailed heads from 520 to 169, and the difficulties of classification under these heads were minimized by an admirable alphabetical index prepared by the Census Commissioner, in which the group numbers of a vast number of occupations of different kinds were shown. Apart from its elaborate character, the defects in the scheme itself were few. The most noticeable defect was

^a As examples of the curious results obtained, it may be mentioned that the occupation table of 1901 showed only 56 cartmen in Noakhali, though carts are in general use there, only two persons as growers of fruits and vegetables, and no pig-breeders or swine-herds. In Mouhlyr there were only seven sweetmeat-makers and in Purnea none.

land come under the category of rent-receivers, while zamindars and raiyats who cultivate their land and do not sublet it are rent-payers. It would have been preferable, had it been permissible, to have laid down merely that a man was to be entered simply by the designation ordinarily recognized, such as zamindari and cultivation. Entries of this kind are quite sufficient for compilation, and would have saved a good deal of correspondence and searching of mind among the census staff.*

It was not attempted to make any further differentiation of rent-payers and rent-receivers for the reasons explained in 1901. "Any attempt to do so would have been misleading, owing to the impossibility of securing entries in the schedules sufficiently clear to permit of the necessary differentiation. The terms used in describing the different kinds of interest in land are so numerous, that any attempt to particularize would have been fore-doomed to failure."

1053. One of the greatest difficulties in carrying out a detailed scheme

VAGUENESS OF THE ENTRIES.

of classification is the vagueness of the original entries. An untrained mind loves general terms, and consequently there are a large number of such entries as labourer, servant, shop-keeper, etc., though the greatest care was taken at the time of enumeration to reduce vague entries to a minimum and to specify exactly the kind of labour, service, etc., that was actually followed. Some enumerators indeed were so impressed by the necessity for clear and distinct entries, that they gave details which were almost as troublesome as generic entries. For instance, instead of entering *manohari doka*n or *khichari farosh*, i.e., a shop dealing with miscellaneous goods, they would give a catalogue of all articles sold in the shop. In the same way, instead of entering a *Mudri's* shop as such, there were such entries as "a shop for the sale of rice, salt, spices, tobacco, *ahi*, flour, etc."

There were also a few curious entries which required a little intelligence and knowledge to discover their meaning. One man's occupation was entered as *net bajana*, i.e., a belly-drummer, which meant that he was a beggar who slapped his stomach to show how hollow and, inferentially, empty it was. A poison-dealer was easily identified as a chemist, and a children-gatherer as a nurse or *aya*, these being apparently English translations of vernacular expressions. A less easily recognizable return was *Mahabiri kuri*. This refers to the handful of grain taken from each bag that is weighed and offered to Mahavira, the actual recipients being the priests of the temple. The right to collect and keep this tithe had been leased out by the priests, and the entry actually referred to a lessee. Other curious entries were *dur denevala* or giver of blessings, i.e., a religious mendicant, *murda ka kafan lenewala* (taking shrouds from corpses), i.e., burial ground service, and *akas birit*. The last is difficult to translate. Literally, it means income from heaven, and connotes dependence on the mercy of heaven, in other words begging.

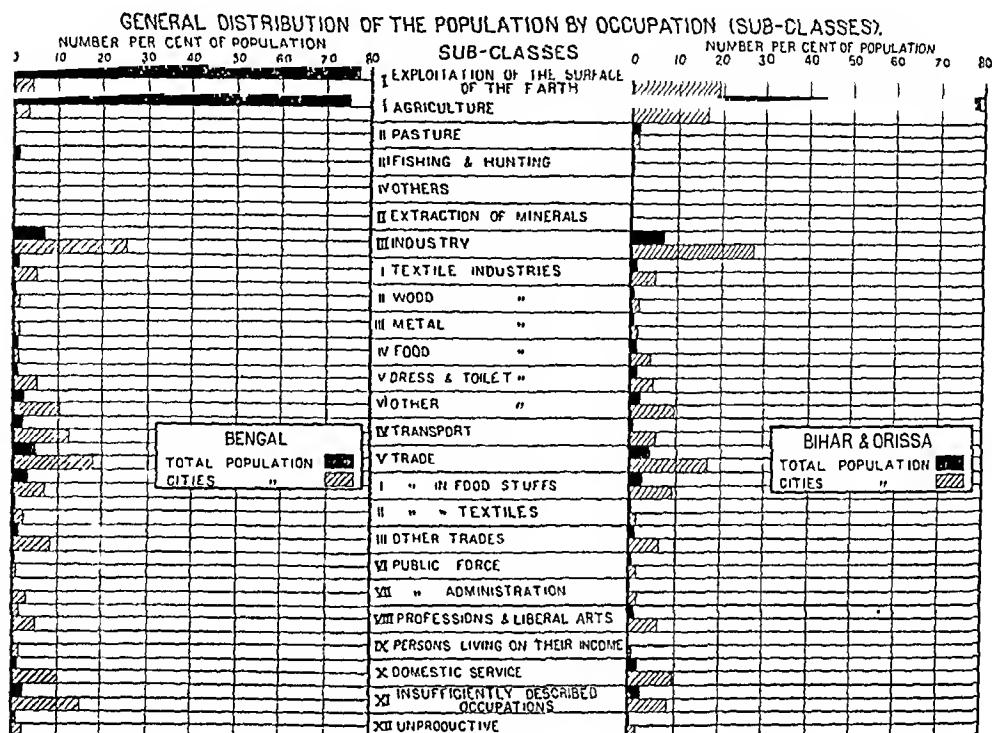
General Distribution of Occupations.

CLASS.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Total.	Per-centage.	Total.	Per-centage.
1. Production of raw materials...	36,078,900	78	31,115,000	81
2. Reparation and supply of material substances.	6,724,000	14½	4,808,000	12½
3. Public administration and liberal arts.	1,182,000	2½	652,000	2
4. Miscellaneous ...	2,322,000	5	1,860,000	5

1054. The marginal statement gives actual and proportional figures for the four main classes of occupations in the two provinces. In both the majority of the dependent on cognate pi

* A statement of the different tenures and of the groups prepared for use in the compilation offices, and will be available be quite sufficient for the classification of the terms entered.

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1055. In Bengal $35\frac{1}{2}$ million persons, or three-quarters of the population, are supported by pasture and agriculture. Nearly

30 millions, or two-thirds of the people, are ordinary cultivators, while 1,200,000, or 3 per cent., are maintained by income from agricultural land, and nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., come under the head of farm servants and field labourers. It is a clear sign of the low industrial level of the province that agricultural labourers are only slightly outnumbered by those who follow industrial pursuits or depend on industries for their support. The number returned under the head "Industry" is 3,441,000, of whom about one-fourth depend on textile industries. Trade accounts for $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 5 per cent., while those who come under the head "Transport" aggregate nearly one million, or 2 per cent. The latter are outnumbered slightly by "Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified", who correspond to general labourers. Nearly a third of a million subsist by service in the public force (mainly the public or village police) or in various branches of the administration. Professions and the liberal arts (including religion) account for four-fifths of a million or under 2 per cent. Domestic service provides for over half a million, while those subsisting by unproductive professions, such as prostitutes and beggars, number 446,000 or nearly one per cent.

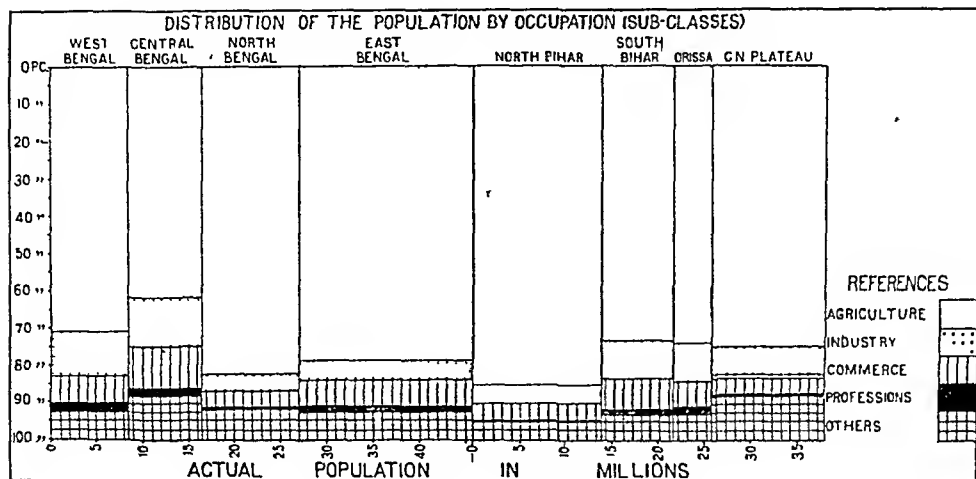
BENGAL.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

1056. The predominance of pasture and agriculture is even more pronounced in Bihar and Orissa, where they form the means of subsistence of 31 millions or five-sixths of the total population. No less than 30 millions are dependent on cultivation, 22 millions or 57 per cent. being cultivators, two-thirds of a million rent-receivers, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or 19 per cent., farm servants and field labourers. The number who obtain a livelihood from industries is nearly 3 millions, representing 7 per cent. of the population, while $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 4 per cent., subsist by trade. Employment in the public force and public administration provides for nearly a quarter of a million, or 115,000 less than "Transport." Those who subsist by professions and the liberal arts are more numerous, aggregating nearly 400,000 or 1 per cent., but domestic service is still more important, providing for 2 per cent. General labourers, whose description of their occupation was insufficient to allocate them to any other head, aggregate 889,000, while the total for unproductive occupations is under 200,000, or less than half that returned for Bengal.

1057. North Bengal contains a larger proportion of persons dependent on agriculture than any other part of Bengal; in Bihar and Orissa this position is held by North Bihar. In both tracts the predominance of agriculture is not relieved by the

DISTRIBUTION BY LOCALITY.



presence of any large industries except the indigo and tea industries, both of which are, of course, only partially manufactory. Both in North and East Bengal the comparative paucity of agricultural labourers is noticeable. In Bengal the industrial population is largest in Central Bengal and West Bengal, owing to the industrial towns clustered along the Hooghly; in the new Province it is largest in Orissa and South Bihar, where the urban population is most numerous. Trade has naturally the strongest representation in Central Bengal, and the commercial population is relatively least numerous in the undeveloped districts of Chota Nagpur, which are, however, but little inferior to North Bengal. In Bengal the professions are most favoured in West and then in Central Bengal: the proportion of persons who subsist by this means in North Bengal is less than a quarter what it is in the former two divisions. In Bihar and Orissa the professional classes are least numerous in North Bihar and are found in greatest strength in Orissa, which indeed contains a larger proportion than any other division of the two provinces except West Bengal. Orissa owes its position to the fact that the religious classes are grouped with the strictly professional classes, and that it is a land under priestly domination: in Puri, which contains the temple of Jagannath, one of the centres of Hindu priesthood, no less than 3 per cent. of the population come under this head. The detailed figures in the table of occupations may now be reviewed.

1058. The first class "Production of raw materials" is divided into two sub-classes, viz., "Exploitation of the surface of the earth" and "Extraction of minerals." The

AGRICULTURE.

former sub-class includes two orders, the first being "Pasture and agriculture" and the second "Fishing and hunting." It will be convenient to discuss the statistics of agriculture separately from those for pasture. Reference has already been made to the number and proportional strength of the principal groups, viz., those who subsist by income derived from the rent of agricultural land, ordinary cultivators, and farm servants and field-labourers.

In the two provinces taken together ordinary cultivators have increased by only 5 per cent., but rent-receivers by 19 per cent, since 1901. In the latter case part of the increase must be attributed to the natural desire of cultivators to claim the more respectable status of zamindars, if they hold a little zamindari in addition to their tenant's holdings, and partly to the extent to which other classes, such as pleaders and traders, acquire landed property. The increase in the number of agricultural labourers is *prima facie* remarkable, for since 1901 it has been more than doubled, the addition being over 5 millions. This increase, however, does not imply that the ranks of landless labourers have been swollen by the accretion of 5 millions from other classes.

cultivators who have lost their land, from weavers who can no longer support themselves by their looms, etc. Some of the addition may be ascribed to this cause, and some must be due to natural growth; but the greater part is due to the greater precision of the census, which resulted in a very much larger number having their occupation entered as agricultural labour instead of simply as labour. In consequence of this, we find that the number of persons who have had to be allocated to the head "Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified" has fallen by nearly 4 millions, and now numbers only 2 millions.

Another point which calls for notice is the difference between the returns for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa. Those dependent on agricultural labour in the latter province are more than twice as numerous as in Bengal, the actual excess being nearly 4 millions. Some part of the difference may be attributable to the higher standard of census work in Bihar and Orissa: a quarter of a million less persons were entered simply as labourers than in Bengal. This however is only a fraction of the difference, and the real explanation is that the number of landless field labourers is far greater in Bihar and Orissa than in the richer province of Bengal. The well-to-do Bengali cultivators depend largely on the annual influx of labourers from Bihar and Orissa for reaping their crops, and complaints are frequent of the inadequacy of the supply of local labour. At other seasons of the year they have a system of mutual exchange of labour, and co-operate to work in one another's fields in turn.

In no part of Bihar and Orissa is the percentage of field labourers to the general population less than one-tenth, the minimum being reached in Orissa, which in this, as in other respects, resembles Bengal. The maximum is reached in Bihar, where over one-fifth of the total population subsists by field labour. In Bengal, on the other hand, the proportion falls to 5 per cent. in North Bengal and to 3 per cent. in East Bengal, where the population consists mainly of Musalmans who till their own fields. It rises above 10 per cent. only in West and Central Bengal, where the relatively high figure is probably due to some extent to a higher standard of accuracy: it is noticeable that in these two divisions the proportion of insufficiently described occupations is lower than elsewhere in the province.

1059. In Bengal 416,726 persons, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the actual workers, returned agriculture as a subsidiary occupation: in other words they obtain their livelihood principally from other pursuits, but are partially dependent on agriculture. The corresponding number in Bihar and Orissa is 413,539 or 2.2 per cent. One-eighth of the actual workers in either

OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS.					
	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
	Total.	Agricultural.	Non-agricultural.	Total.	Agricultural.	Non-agricultural.
Landlords	89,791	33,843	55,948	61,496	47,217	14,279
Cultivators	1,222,078	292,474	929,604	1,644,616	501,916	1,139,700
Agricultural labourers...	105,285	32,868	72,417	224,438	63,030	161,408
GRAND TOTAL ...	1,417,154	359,185	1,057,969	1,930,550	615,163	1,315,387

Province whose main occupation is pasture and agriculture have subsidiary occupations. From the marginal figures it will be seen that agriculture forms one of the dual occupations in a large number of cases, for landlords

also cultivate land themselves, cultivators, in addition to tilling their own fields, lease them out to sub-tenants, and agricultural labourers have small holdings, the cultivation of which supplements the wages they get by working in the fields of more prosperous peasants. The proportion of non-agricultural pursuits followed by agriculturists is exactly the same in both provinces, viz., 9 per cent.

1060. Excluding those who returned pasture and agriculture as their principal means of support, the ratio of workers who are partially agriculturists is 7 per cent. in Bengal and 9 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, the actual numbers being 387,252 and 375,274 respectively. About one-fourth of those who serve in the public force, e.g., as policemen or village chaukidars,

the present system of differentiating between herdsmen and cattle-keepers, I may point to the marginal figures for male cattle-keepers at each of the last three censuses in three divisions. It must also be remembered that a large number of those supported by pasture return their occupation as that of milk, butter or *ghee* sellers, and are consequently allocated to the head "Trade." Far fewer, however, appeared to have done this than in 1901, the result being a decrease of nearly 200,000 in those returned as sellers of milk, butter, *ghee*, etc., and an increase of 186,000 in the number of cattle breeders and keepers in the two provinces.

1065. Altogether 644,000 persons in Bengal subsist by fishing, or double the number subsisting by pasture. Nor is this to be wondered at considering the nature of the country and the resources, even though imperfectly developed, of its rivers, its estuaries and the sea board. In addition, moreover, to those actively engaged in fishing, there are 324,000 maintained by the sale of fish, so that the total number supported by eating and selling fish is very little under 1 million, or 2 per cent. of the total population. As explained in 1901, the two occupations should be amalgamated, as they cannot be kept distinct. A few sections of the fishing community catch fish, but do not retail them, and a few others expose them for sale, but do not catch them; and the majority both catch and sell. Special statistics of the estates engaged in fishing in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions show that half are Bagdis, and one-eighth are Malos, who only slightly outnumber the Jalya Kabarttas. Of other castes, the most strongly represented are the Nyars, Rajbansis and Namasudras.

Comparatively few persons are engaged in fishing in Bihar and Orissa, where so many of the rivers remain dry for a great part of the year. The total returned under this head is 134,000, of whom 40,000 are inhabitants of the sea-board districts of Orissa. Of the actual fishermen, about one-third are Mallahs and one-fifth are Kewats, both well-known Bihar castes.

It remains to note that since 1901 the aggregate of persons supported by fishing in the two provinces has increased by no less than 226,000 or 40 per cent. This apparently extraordinary increase is, however, simply due to the reduction of the number returned as fish-sellers by 268,000 or 39 per cent. The figures do not mean that fish-sellers have given up their shops or stopped hawking fish and taken to catching fish, but merely that there was a clearer differentiation of those engaged in the fishing industry and in the fish trade. The two, moreover, are, as already noticed, not clearly demarcated in actual practice, and the same man returns himself either as a fisherman or as a fish dealer or as both. Taking the two together, we find a decrease of 3 per cent, a result which confirms what is a matter of common knowledge, viz., that fishing is not a progressive industry. Apart from that, it must be remembered that fishing is not considered an honourable reputation, and that the ambition of fishing castes is to attain greater respectability by becoming cultivators. As it is, one in every twelve of those whose principal occupation is fishing also cultivates some land in Bengal, and one in six in Bihar and Orissa. 1066. The total number of persons returned under the head shown in the margin is 116,000 in Bengal and 164,000 in Bihar and Orissa; all but an insignificant minority subsist by coal mining.

EXTRACTION OF MINERALS.

COAL MINING.

Coal mining is the means of livelihood of 242,000 persons (in both provinces), of whom 155,000 are actual workers. Since 1901 there has been an increase of no less than 158,000, or 188 per cent., in the number supported by this industry, which in itself shows the strides it has made during the last decade. Further proof of the rapidity of its development is furnished by the returns of the Mines Department. In 1901 the total output was under 6 million tons, and the average number of workers in the mines amounted to 80,000. In 1911 the output had risen to nearly 11 million tons (nine-tenths of the total yield for India); and the average labour force to 100,000. In the latter year there were no less than 422 mines at work, of which 268 yielding 7½ million tons are situated in Bihar and Orissa.

That province contains the progressive Jheria field, which was only tapped by the railway in 1894, but now accounts for half the total production of India. This field and a part of the Raniganj field are comprised within the district of Manbhum, which is pre-eminently the chief mining district of India; the census returns show that 111,000 or 7 per cent. of its inhabitants are supported by work in the collieries. Another important coal-field in this province is the Giridih field in Hazaribagh, which has been worked systematically since 1871, and now contains 6 mines with an output of 700,000 tons, or 5 per cent. of the production of India. The Daltonganj field in the Palamau district was opened in 1901 and yields 70,000 tons, but the output is as yet small in the other fields, viz.—(1) the Bokaro-Ramgarh field in Hazaribagh, where mining was begun in 1908; (2) the Rajmahal field in the Southal Parganas, where work had long been discontinued, but was resumed in 1897; and (3) the Hingir-Rampur field in Sambalpur, which was opened in 1909. The only mines in Bengal are found in the Raniganj field, there being 151 in Burdwan, 2 in Bankura and 1 in Birbhum; the total output was nearly 4 million tons in 1911. This is the oldest field in either province, work being started in 1777, and it was till recently by far the largest producer, but since 1906 it has been outstripped by the Jheria field.

THE LABOUR FORCE.

also of women and children. The men cut the coal; the women and children carry it to the tubs, and as a rule also push the tubs to the shaft or incline, horses and ponies being rarely employed for this purpose. Whole families work together and choose their own hours of labour. The industrial census shows that among the unskilled labourers women outnumber men, and that there is one boy or girl under 14 years of age to every six workers aged 14 and over. The daily output per miner is very small compared with that of England, both because the miners are not so hard working and skilful, and also because they work for fewer days: one result is that a mine in Bengal requires 2½ times as many underground workers as an English mine. The Indian miner will not give his whole time to mining. He seldom works more than four or five days in the week, and observes all holidays: the man who gets most wages works the least number of days. "He is not an economist, either political or domestic; his logic is of the simplest, viz., that his labour should be regulated only by the eating and drinking capacity of himself and family. As by filling one tub per day he can obtain quite sufficient to meet all his needs, it does not dawn upon him that by filling three he might be steadily placing himself beyond the risk of want."* At present, many only work casually during the off-season of agriculture; others are nomadic by nature and drift from mine to mine; others work fitfully and irregularly, for they will not leave their native villages and live near the mines. "Some of the persons employed at a Bengali colliery live 30 miles from the pit. They walk the distance through rough jungle, stay at the colliery for 6 or 7 days, and then return home for a week's rest. Others live from 10 to 15 miles away and come irregularly to the mine. They stay there for 24 hours, of which they will spend 18 underground, working a double shift."† It is evident, however, that the comparatively high wages paid in the coal-fields, and the steady expansion of the industry, will before long have the effect of establishing a permanent mining population in the colliery districts. There are already signs that the evolution of a distinct class of miners has begun. They are mainly aboriginals or semi-aboriginals, drawn from the neighbouring districts and trained on the collieries, such as Bauris, who have now been engaged in coal-cutting so long that they are beginning to consider it a caste occupation.

An examination of the returns of castes of workers in coal mines shows that one-fourth are Bauris and nearly the same number are Santals. Of the remainder the majority are semi-aboriginals or low Hindu castes, such as Bhuiya, Chamar and Muchi, Kora, Rajwar, Dosadh and Musahar. In Manbhum nearly two-thirds are labourers born in the district, and one-fifth come from the districts of the Burdwan division and Murshidabad. Two-

thirds of the coal miners in Burdwan are local labourers, while one-sixth come from the Southal Parganas and nearly as many from Chota Nagpur. 1068. There were 52 mica mines at work at the time of the census, of which 42 are situated in Hazaribagh, six in Gaya and four in Monghyr. The number of persons actually at work in the mines was 11,000, of whom nearly a fifth were children under 14 years of age; they are employed above ground, and their work is very light, consisting chiefly of shaping and sorting the mineral. The total for all other mines, including iron, manganese and copper mines, was 7,500. The remaining of saltpetre is still an industry of some importance in Bihar, being the means of livelihood of 29,000 persons, or 14 per cent. more than in 1901.

1069. Textile industries are still the most important of the industries of either province, the number dependent on them being 870,000, or a quarter of the industrial population, in Bengal, and 480,000, or 17 per cent., in Bihar and Orissa.

1070. Cotton spinning and weaving alone provide for 853,000 persons, viz., 460,000 in Bengal and 393,000 in Bihar and Orissa. Of these only 11,000 are employed in cotton mills, and the remainder work at home. In spite of the stimulus given to this industry by the *swadeshi* movement and by the efforts of Government to introduce improved and more profitable methods of work, there has been a serious decline since 1901 in the number who subsist by the produce of their looms: the actual decrease in both provinces is a quarter of a million or 23 per cent.

1071. Jute spinning, pressing and weaving, however, attract a growing number of workers. The aggregate of those dependent on the manipulation of jute has, in fact, risen during the last 10 years by 201,000 or 140 per cent. It is pre-eminently an industry of Bengal, where it provides for 328,000 persons, as shown in the margin. Over two-thirds of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta (144,840) and the metropolitan districts of Hooghly (50,740), Howrah (74,818) and the 24 Parganas (168,773). As already stated, 200,000 persons were employed at the date of the census in the jute mills lining the banks of the Hooghly in these districts. In addition to these operatives, there were 14,000 persons working in jute presses, of whom half were found in the districts of North and East Bengal.

The statistics contained in Part IV of the Appendix to Table XVI in the Bengal volume of tables furnish some interesting information regarding the castes of jute mill employes. Altogether 71 castes, each with over 100 representatives, appear in the list, and of these the most numerous are the Musalman groups of Sheikh and Jolaha, which between them account for over one-third of the total number. The most numerous Hindu castes are mainly low castes, but there are nearly 9,000 Brahmans. The Chamars, numbering nearly 22,000, account for one-tenth of the workers, and one other caste, viz., the Chasi Kabarttas, contributes over 10,000. Then come in order Brahmans, Tantis, Tels, Bagdis, Munchis and Dosadhs.

1072. The total number of silk spinners and silk weavers has increased but slightly since 1901, rising from 56,000 to 57,000, of whom 49,000 were enumerated in Bengal and 8,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The marginal statement shows the chief centres of the industry (which includes the spinning and weaving of tussar silk as well as pure silk) and the variations which have taken place since 1901. Briefly, it is progressive in Birbhum, Bankura and Malda, slightly decadent in Alurshidabad, and in danger of extinction in Rajshahi. In Bhagpur there has been what appears to be a phenomenal increase, but the district is a well-known centre of tussar silk

DISTRICT.	NUMBER SUPPORTED.	
	1911.	1901.
Birbhum	3,098	2,101
Bankura	4,800	3,022
Malda	27,338	28,861
Murshidabad	7,960	6,916
Rajshahi	3,127	7,400
Bhagpur	5,518	224

SILK INDUSTRY.

batia (mixed cotton and silk) weaving, and it is difficult to understand the figures of 1901. Apart from that, the Bihar Trading Company of Bhagalpur has done much to push the products of the local looms, and has customers in Bombay and Burma, Bengal and the Deccan. The decline of the industry in Rajshahi is due to the closing of several filatures of the Bengal Silk Company in 1909. The output of silk in this district has since fallen still further decreasing from 43,251 lbs. in 1910 to 22,402 lbs. in 1911. Disease among silk worms has hampered the rearsers, and many have given up rearing cocoons as less profitable than the cultivation of jute.

As shown in the margin, the industry of rearing silk-worms and gathering cocoons has almost become extinct in Rajshahi, and is on the down grade in Murshidabad, but is still holding its own in Malda. It remains to note that the industrial census shows that 7,000 persons are employed by silk filatures in Bengal, of whom five-sevenths are resident in Murshidabad and one-sixth in Rajshahi.

1073. While there are only 8,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa returned as dependent on work in "hides, skins and hard material from the animal kingdom," the number is nearly seven times as great in Bengal. The great majority are tanners, curriers, leather-dressers and leather-dyers; those who actually make leather articles, such as trunks and water-bags, are numerically insignificant. The reason is that, except for shoes, leather articles are not in demand either among Hindus and Muslims; it is significant that the shoe-makers in the two provinces are thrice as numerous as the tanners, curriers, etc. The returns of the castes of actual workers show that leather-working and shoe-making are almost entirely confined to Chamaras and Murchis, whose traditional occupation it is. The industry has not as yet been organized and developed by modern methods. In spite of its large possibilities, there are as yet only 13 tanneries and four leather factories in the two provinces, and these are only small concerns employing only 1,740 hands.

WORK IN HIDES AND SKINS.

DISTRICT.	NUMBER REPORTED.	
	1911.	1901.
Murshidabad	6,903	10,041
Malda	34,393	34,393
Rajshahi	766	33,156

1074. The eighth sub-class of industry, which is designated "Wood," includes two very different classes of workers.

WORK IN WOOD.

The first consists of artisans, such as sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners. They and their families number 229,000 in Bengal and 125,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The difference between the figures for the two provinces is accounted for by the fact that the latter province contains a large population of aboriginals who are mostly their own carpenters. Unlike the old Hindu people, with their sharp differentiation of functions, they shift for themselves, hew the rafters for their huts, and do any rough carpentry required in their domestic life. Among the Hindus carpentry is more or less the preserve of the Barhis, whose hereditary occupation it is. In spite of the large area still under forests and the supplies they yield, work in wood is still for the most part a cottage industry. So far the number employed in saw mills, carpentry works, timber yards and furniture factories in both provinces is only 11,000. Nor is this altogether to be wondered at, for in most places, outside the forest areas the country is so much denuded that the people are forced to use cakes of cow-dung and litter for their fires. But little woodwork is in any case required for the ordinary houses, as the floors are of earth, and the walls of plastered mud or bamboos. Moreover, even if he had the means to do so, the peasant has no desire to beautify his house, for he regards it merely as place in which to sleep, eat his food, keep his chattels, etc. The second class included under this head consists of persons making baskets, mats and bamboos articles, who chiefly belong to the lower classes and to aboriginal races. They number 140,000 in Bengal and 172,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In the latter province they outnumber the artisan class of carpenters and joiners; in the former 16,000, or nearly one-eighth of the total number, are found in Midnapore, from which come large supplies of the matting commonly known as Calcutta grass matting.

WORK IN METALS.

1075. Work in metals maintains 185,000 persons in Bengal and 208,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In both provinces the great majority are blacksmiths, but in the former 48,000

and in the latter 37,000 persons are engaged in making brass, copper and bell-metal articles. This latter industry holds its own, the number maintained by it having increased by 18 per cent. since 1901. The workers in these materials, with the families, aggregate 15,000 in Midnapore, where there are several centres for the manufacture of brass and bell-metal utensils. "This industry is better organized than any other in the province; and it is most highly organized at Chatral and Kharar in Midnapore district. The masters there are enterprising and wealthy; they obtain the material in economically large quantities—from Straits Settlements and copper from Japan, and so on; they distribute the labour, they pay by piece-work, and they have a steady demand from Bazar in 'Calcutta.' (Other metal industries are also fairly well organized, there being 131 manufactures or workshops in Bengal employing 32,000 persons. Of these, 7,500 work in iron foundries, 2,000 in iron and steel works, nearly 6,000 in Government arms factories, and 12,000 in machinery and engineering works; The most considerable iron foundries are those of the Bengal Iron and Steel Works at Bakarat (in Burdwan), which employ over 3,000 hands. The manufacture of tin goods is a comparatively recent development, which shows promise of expansion, there being nearly 3,000 persons employed in tin works. In Bihar and Orissa there are iron and steel works and 7 machinery and engineering workshops, which employed altogether 5,639 hands at the time of the census. The Tata Iron and Steel Works in Singhbhum are, however, the only works of great economic importance in this province. As already stated, they had not started manufacture at the time of the census, and the number of employees was only a fraction of what will eventually be the labour force. 1076. The manufacture of pottery, earthen bowls, bricks, glass, tiles

1076. The manufacture of pottery, earthen bowls, bricks, tiles etc., is the means of subsistence of 227,000 persons in Bengal and of quarter of a million in Bihar and Orissa. In the former province brick and tile manufacture is a thriving industry along the Hooghly, where brickfields are even more numerous than mills. Howrah, Hooghly and the 21 Parganas alone contain 132 brick and tile factories, in which 17,000 persons were employed at the time of the census. Glass manufacture is an industry of very small importance owing to the difficulty of getting sand suitable for its production, but two small factories have been started in Bengal. The only works in which pottery is made on a large scale are those of Messrs. Burn & Co. at Ranigum, where glazed drain pipes, bricks, tiles and every kind of pottery are produced. The manufacture and refining of oil is by far the most important of the occupations relating to chemical products. In 1907, the number supported by it being 123,000 in Chemical products.

of the occupations relating to chemical products, the number supported by it being 123,000 in Bengal and 136,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In the two provinces, taken together, only 30,000 persons are returned for other occupations, such as the manufacture of matches, explosives, fireworks, aerated and mineral waters, dyes, paint, ink, paper, soap, candles, lac, gutch, perfumes and drugs. Of these, the most important is the manufacture of lac, which is chiefly carried on in Chhota Nagpur and the Southat Parganas; unfortunately the industrial returns do not give a full idea of the organization of this industry, as a large number of the factories were not at work when it was held. On the other hand, they furnish interesting information regarding the extent to which the manufacture of chemicals and chemical products is attracting Indian specialists, not to mention capitalists. There are 11 chemical works in Calcutta and its vicinity, prominent among which is the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, started by Dr. P. C. Ray, M. A., B. Sc., which is "one of the most go-ahead young enterprises in Bengal." Royal manufacturing has been taken up by the Small Industries Development Company; six soap factories have been started in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and there are also one perfumery, one candle and three starch factories. Paper-making as a home industry has been aided by Government, and there are three paper mills employing 13,000 hands, which belong to the British Paper-Mills Co. and the Bengal Paper Mills Co. of Bombay.

1028 The total number of samples collected, the location of the

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and what needs to be changed.

the same way, we can see that the system is not stable.

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1. The first step is to identify the key components of the system. This involves understanding the hardware and software involved, as well as the data flow and processing logic.

המחשבה הזאת, שיש לה פוטנציאל להפוך לאחד מהמיתוסים הלאומיים של ישראל, נבעה מן ההנחה שיש לה שורשים עמוקים במחשבת ישראל. ההנחה הזאת נבעה מן ההנחה שיש לה שורשים עמוקים במחשבת ישראל. ההנחה הזאת נבעה מן ההנחה שיש לה שורשים עמוקים במחשבת ישראל.

THESE RESULTS ARE IN ACCORD WITH THE FINDINGS OF OTHER STUDIES ON THE EFFECTS OF VIBRATION ON THE HUMAN BODY. THE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF VIBRATION ON THE HUMAN BODY IS A COMPLEX TASK, AND THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY ARE IN ACCORD WITH THE FINDINGS OF OTHER STUDIES ON THE EFFECTS OF VIBRATION ON THE HUMAN BODY.

1786]

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university, but in the handwriting industry, and less than 1,000 are employed to do them in specialty workshops. Printers, lithographers and

1087. Sweetest, strongest, dust and sweeping collectors number

(Over one-fourth of the latter are found in California, where they are usually regarded as weeds or scavengers.

1982. Twenty-four million persons in foreign air transport or as dependent on the works. As is only natural in a

Indian transport by water provides for a large proportion. The actual number of foreigners concerning great inland waterways is not known, but it is estimated that 311,000, of whom 225,000 are boat-owners and boatmen and their families, are employed in the water districts of the Dacca Division.

which contain 60,000, and (Thiazogay Division 35,000. Calcutta, the focus of the boat traffic, contains 20,000 and Patna 14,000. There are also 65,000 persons located on the shipping and steamer traffic, of whom Calcutta

contains 20,000, Chittagong 17,000 and Dacca 12,000. Transport by road provides for 458,000 persons, of whom 188,000 are employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, or are supported by persons so employed. That are haul conveyance, the *pullis*; still maintains its position, owners or bearers of *pullis* and their families numbering 127,000. The returns for porters and messengers are misleading, for the aggregate is only 35,000, which is an absurd figure. The explanation is that most were simply entered in the schedules as coolies and relegated to the head of "Labourers otherwise unspecified." Work on the railways supports 161,000, and the post-office, telegraph and telephone services 32,000: a later section deals with the number actually in employ at the time of the census, in both provinces. An attempt was made to distinguish between labourers employed on railway construction and other railway employes, but the statistics are of no value, as the entries in the schedules did not distinguish between open lines and lines under construction.

The number supported by transport in Bihar and Orissa, viz., 361,000, is only three-eighths of that returned by Bengal. As might be expected in a province with a small sea-board, and no ports but only roadsheads, and with few great navigable rivers, transport by water is of minor importance. The total supported by it is 52,000, most of whom are boat-owners and boatmen. The upkeep of, and traffic along, roads provide for four times as many. The inhabitants being poorer, and also more energetic and physically stronger, than the Bengalis, the number of *akli*-bearers and owners (38,000) is about a third of that returned for the rich and favoured province. So many tracts being hilly, rugged and roadless, pack bullock owners and drivers is 30,000, instead of carts. The number of pack bullock owners and drivers is 30,000, while it is under 1,000 in Bengal. The railways account for 82,000, and the post office, telegraph and telephone services for 12,000.

RAILWAYS AND THE IMMIGRATION, TELEGRAPH AND POSTAL DEPARTMENTS.

of persons in the two provinces as a whole who were employed at the date of the census on the railways and in the Immigration, Telegraph and Postal Departments. Statistics are also given of the number in different grades and classes of employment, and of the number who were Europeans and Anglo-Indians or belonged to the Indian community. The railways, it need scarcely be said, are one of the greatest employers of labour in the country, nearly a quarter of a million being either directly or indirectly in their service; of these, only 4,394 persons were Europeans or Anglo-Indians, nearly all in the higher ranks. The Immigration Department had in its employment 20,000 persons, of whom a quarter were actually employed directly. This large body of men included only 30 Europeans or Anglo-Indians. The aggregate of those employed in the Postal Department was 23,000, of whom only 104 were Europeans or Anglo-Indians, while the Telegraph Department had a strength of 4,600. Excluding signallers (537), the European and Anglo-Indian element in the latter department was very small, there being only 77 representatives of those two communities. The fifth sub-class "Trade" is divided into no less than 18 orders, each of which deals with different aspects of commercial life. Of the 2½ millions subsisting by trade in Bengal, over 1,400,000 persons deal in articles of food or drink. The most numerous are grocers and sellers of vegetable, oil, salt and other condiments (355,000), fish dealers (324,000), sellers of cardamom, betel-leaf, and sellers of dairy produce, such as milk, butter and *ghee* (145,000). Of other commercial pursuits, trade in textiles is most generally followed, 194,000 persons being returned under it. Altogether 131,000 are shown under the head "Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance," but the greater part are nothing but money-lenders. Their number would be greater still, were it not that usury, though a common subsidiary occupation of landlords, grain-dealers and cloth merchants, is not their principal means of livelihood. Banks are few in number among a people who prefer to hoard or actually bury their money. Insurance companies are increasing in number, but are often of mushroom growth.

In Bihar and Orissa commercial occupations are followed by 1,650,000 persons, over a million of whom are engaged in or maintained by the sale of food and drink. Of these, nearly 320,000 are grocers and vendors of vegetable, oil, salt, etc., 223,000 are grain and pulse dealers, and 147,000 sell cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and araca nuts. Bankers and money-lenders number only 68,000, while trade in textiles accounts for 103,000. There are two features in the returns for traders in Bihar and Orissa which call for notice, viz.—(1) the large number of vendors of wine, liquor and reated water; and (2) the extent to which trade in fuel is carried on. Vendors of wine, liquor, etc., number 86,000 or four times as many as in Bengal, while trade in fuel supports 109,000 persons, or more than double the number recorded in Bengal. The fuel which forms the material of this trade includes firewood, charcoal and cow-dung cakes.

1087. Public administration, which forms a separate sub-class, does not correspond to Government service, as a large number of persons in the employment of Government

are allocated to other groups of the scheme of classification. For instance, officers in the Forest Department are classed under "Forestry," which is treated as a part of "Pasture and Agriculture." The Medical, Education and Public Works Departments are comprised within "Professions and Liberal Arts," the Postal and Telegraph Departments come under "Transport," and Settlement Officers are relegated to estate management, where they are grouped under the head of "Pasture and Agriculture" with estate agents and managers. rent-collectors and clerks. The returns for "Public Administration," therefore, give no indication of the number actually engaged in the administration of the country or supported by the salaries of Government servants.

There are two main subdivisions of this sub-class, viz., "Public Force" and "Public Administration." The former includes the Army, Navy and Police, and Police includes not only policemen but also *chaukidars*. The returns for Police show 175,000 workers and dependants in Bengal, and 179,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The number returned as workers, i.e., persons who are actually police officers, constables, *dafadars* and *chaukidars*, is by no means the same as that shown by the departmental returns, the reason being that the salaries paid to them are not always their main means of support. A *chaukidar*, for instance, generally combines cultivation with his duties as watchman, and the proceeds of his crops are often a more important source of income than his small monthly stipend; in such cases the entry of principal occupation is of course cultivation. As regards "Public Administration," the figures are:—Bengal (134,000) and Bihar and Orissa (67,000). The great majority are supported by State service in the limited sense already explained, and the remainder mainly by Municipal service.

PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS. RELIGION.

1088. The marginal table shows the number (including both workers and dependants) returned under the five orders of this sub-class. The predominance of religious occupations in both provinces is noticeable, those for whom religion provides a daily meal being well over half a million. What is even more noticeable is that the number following those occupations is very much greater in Bengal.

where Musalmanism is more than half the population, than in Bihar and Orissa, which is mainly Hindu. Though the Hindus of Bengal number 21 millions, and those in Bihar and Orissa 32 millions, the Hindus who subsist by religious occupations are more numerous by 117,000 (or nearly 40 per cent.) in the former province. The distribution of different religious pursuits is moreover very different in the two provinces, for in Bengal the number who live by exercising priestly functions is more than double that returned for Bihar and Orissa, where a far greater number follow minor occupations, such as temple and burning ground service.

OCCUPATION		Bihar and Orissa.	
Religion	...	371,000	208,000
Law	...	78,000	24,000
Medicine	...	163,000	34,000
Instruction	...	97,000	65,000
Letters and arts and sciences.	...	105,000	56,000
Total	...	812,000	393,000

1089. Bengal also has the advantage over the other province in its supply of lawyers, lawyers' clerks, petition-writers and touts. Of lawyers alone, such as *vakils* and *mukhtars*, Bengal has about three to every one in Bihar and Orissa, the

actual number subsisting by their practice being 9,641 and 3,517 respectively. Calcutta alone contains 1,862 of these successful practitioners; and of 153 for each district in the less advanced province. The Bengali lawyer has one drawback compared to his brother of the robe in Bihar and Orissa, viz., that he has a larger family to support. For he has on the average four and the other only three dependants. The legal profession is growing in popularity as a lucrative occupation, the number supported by it increasing by 30 per cent. since 1901. It is becoming more and more a monopoly of the Indian, even in its higher branches. In 1911 out of 170 barristers practising in the High Court of Calcutta, only 22 were Europeans; in other words, there were six Indian barristers practising to every European barrister.

1090. The number of those supported by medicine in Bengal is three as great as in Bihar and Orissa, and there is this further difference between the two provinces, that in the former medical practitioners predominate, and in the latter those persons who occupy a subordinate position, such as midwives, compounders and valetudinaires. The average number of medical practitioners actually subsisting by their practice is 1,279 in each Bengal district, and only 282 in the districts of Bihar and Orissa. It cannot be said that their medical knowledge is very extensive; in fact, the high order, or that their medical knowledge is very extensive; in fact, the Bengal staff of the census office thought "quack" was the proper translation for most of the entries. Their number has increased by 12 per cent. within the last 10 years. The second group of this sub-class includes not only midwives, compounders and valetudinaires, but also nurses and masseurs. From the proportion of the sexes, it is evident that the majority are midwives, there being seven female to every two male workers.

1091. The sub-class designated "Instruction" includes those who live by the art of teaching, whether professors and teachers (except of law, medicine, music and dancing) or clerks or servants connected with education. The number classified under this head in Bengal (97,000) is nearly double as great as it is in Bihar and Orissa.

1092. Neither province affords much scope to persons with literary, artistic or scientific attainments. The aggregate number of persons employed in the literary, artistic or scientific professions is 105,000 in Bengal, and 56,000 in Bihar and Orissa, but three-fourths of them subsist by music, singing, dancing and acting, and it must be admitted that, as a rule, the dangers (mostly women of low character) and the musicians (such as village drummers and tom-tom players) hold no high rank in artistic life. The remainder are nearly all either (1) architects, surveyors, engineers and their employes (including the Public Works Department) or (2) authors, artists, photographers, sculptors, meteorologists, botanists and astrologers. The figures for each of these latter two classes are about the same, viz., 14,000 in Bengal and half as many in Bihar and Orissa. Their smallness is a sufficient proof of the low estimation in which arts and sciences are held or at least of the poor income they command.

1093. The returns for persons living principally on their income, such as proprietors of houses, persons living on funds or investments and pensioners, show what a small proportion of the population have independent means. The aggregate is only 52,000 in Bengal, where nearly two-fifths are resident in Calcutta, and 10,000 in Bihar and Orissa.

1094. Domestic service is the means of livelihood of 527,000 persons, or 1 per cent. of the population, in Bengal, and of 726,000, or nearly 2 per cent., in Bihar and Orissa. No less than 110,000 were enumerated in Calcutta, where they constitute one-eighth of the inhabitants.

1095. The cloven-hoof sub-class is reserved for those whose occupations are so vaguely described that they cannot be assigned to any other group in the scheme of classification. The great majority are "workmen and labourers unspecified," i.e., persons described by such vague terms as cooly, labourer,

etc., of whom there are over a million in Bengal and nearly 900,000 in Bihar and Orissa : these correspond more or less to general labourers.

1096. The last sub-class consists of unproductive occupations, viz.—

(1) inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals, and

(2) persons following disreputable callings, such as beggars, vagrants, prostitutes, receivers of stolen goods and cattle poisoners. It is satisfactory that unproductive pursuits of this character support only 1 per cent. of the people of Bengal and a half per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, the actual numbers being 446,000 and 192,000 respectively*. Among the workers, females predominate in Bengal owing to the large number of prostitutes. In Calcutta alone nearly 13,000 women, or 5.7 per cent. of the females aged 10 and over, returned themselves as subsisting by prostitution.

WORKERS AND DEPENDANTS.

1097. In Bengal as a whole there are 36 workers to 64 dependants—a fact which, in itself, points to a fair level of prosperity.

BENGAL.

The dependants are most numerous among the lawyers, among whom there are 4 dependants to every worker. I am not in a position to state whether this is due to profligacy, or to their having many drones or hangers-on in their families in consequence of their affluence. Of other occupations, dependants bulk most largely among persons supported by pasture and agriculture, or living on their incomes, or maintained by the public administration. In all these cases every worker has approximately 2 dependants. The proportion of dependants is smallest in domestic service, where they constitute only 31 per cent. of the total number, and then among vagrants, beggars and prostitutes 36 per cent. The relative paucity of dependants in the latter case is easily intelligible, as all three are classes who shift for themselves and do not have encumbrances if they can avoid it. Among miners there are only 4 dependants to every 5 workers, but, as already explained, both women and children work in the coal mines, and women are even more numerous than men among the unskilled labourers. It must moreover be remembered that a considerable number of the workers are immigrants from other provinces, who leave their families behind, so that their dependants are not included in the returns for Bengal.

One point in the returns calls for special mention, viz., that the proportion of dependants is highest in East Bengal, not only in the agricultural population, where it is as high as 72 per cent., but also in the industrial, professional and commercial population. The explanation is threefold. In the first place, the people are more prosperous than elsewhere. Secondly, they are mainly Musalmans, who, as shown in previous chapters, are more prolific than other communities. Lastly, the number of adult male immigrants from outside is less than elsewhere.

1098. In Bihar and Orissa there is far less disparity between workers

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

and dependants. They are, in fact, nearly equally balanced, there being 48 of the former to 52 of the latter. In this province, as in Bengal, those who have adopted the legal profession can apparently afford to support more than any other class, and have the largest percentage of dependants, viz., 72 per 100 workers. Then come those engaged in the public administration (65 per cent.), those living on their income (61) and the police (63). The agriculturists are in a very different position to those of Bengal, for there are 53 dependants to every 47 workers. The difference is accounted for by the fact that in Bihar and Orissa the peasant is a poorer man than the Bengali; he cannot afford hired labour to the same extent, and his family has therefore to take a much more active part in cultivation. The minimum number of dependants is found among the mining population, which have 3 dependants only to every 7 workers. The explanation of their relative paucity which has been already given for Bengal also applies to this province with this addition, that in Bihar and Orissa the miners are drawn more largely from local sources.

* There were also 13,000 persons in Bengal and 23,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa, classified under religion in group 149 which relates to religious incidents and numbers of non-religious. A large proportion of these put out by the census.

As regards localities, the antithesis to the rich sub-province of East Bengal is found in the Chota Nagpur Plateau with its population of poor and hardly aboriginals, whose birth-right is labour, whether they are males or females. In this tract there are only 17 dependants to every 100 workers among the agriculturists, who form the great majority of the inhabitants, and the proportion is even lower among traders (45) and in the industrial and mining population (42).

1099. The difference between conditions in the two provinces is further exemplified by the figures showing the number of women who actually work in different occupations. In Bihar and Orissa it is three as great, amounting to nearly 6½ millions. Expressed in proportions, there is one female to every two male workers in the latter, and two females to every seven male workers in the former. The causes of the difference are patent. Bengal is a richer province, and the women need not work to the same extent. Apart from the pressure of necessity, more than half the people of Bengal are Musalmans, and though they are chiefly of a low class, it is thought a sign of respectability to keep women in seclusion as much as possible. Among the Bengali Hindus, moreover, the *bhadralok*, or respectable middle classes that observe the zomana system, are strongly represented. The population of Bihar and Orissa is poorer, and a large proportion are other low caste Hindus, or semi-Hinduized aboriginals, or pure aboriginals, with whom it is an immemorial usage for women to engage in manual labour.

Statistics of the number and proportion of male and female workers in each sub-class, and in selected orders and groups, will be found in Subsidary Table VI. The orders and groups selected are those in which the total number of workers is large, or in which the proportion of female to male workers is high. There are certain occupations which naturally fall to a woman's lot, such as the domestic industries of rice pounding and husking and the parching of grain. In Bengal there are 27 women to every male engaged in rice pounding and husking, while in Bihar and Orissa the proportion is 16 to 1. Midwifery is also a woman's task, nor need it surprise us that in the unproductive class, which includes prostitutes, the Bengali women should outnumber the males.

1100. Excluding the occupations above mentioned, there are only three occupations in which the female outnumber the male workers in all three cases it is more or less natural that they should. Two of these are domestic industries, for which women are well suited, viz., silk-worm rearing and making wine or string. The third is the sale of fuel, which, as is well known, consists of cow-dung cakes that women make from the cow-dung and litter they pick up and carry to market. It may be added that women workers are nearly as numerous as male workers on the tea gardens, where plucking the tea leaves is a task for which they are admirably fitted.

1101. The list of occupations in which women workers are in excess in Bihar and Orissa is a long one, and to save space is given in the margin. It is also interesting to note that as many women as men keep cattle or buffaloes. Of the occupations mentioned in the list, some are home industries, such as cotton spinning and cleaning, making oil, spinning and weaving silk, and making wine and string. Others are industries natural to the poorer classes who bulk largely in the population, such as basket-making, collecting firewood, and selling fuel, grass and fodder. Others show that it is regarded as a woman's function to dispose of the articles that her husband makes, grows or catches, such as pots and household utensils, milk, *ghee*, and fish. The last classes of occupation to be mentioned are domestic service,

Number per 1,000 males	...	...	...
6,938	...	Trade in fuel	...
3,100	...	Hope, twine and string making	...
2,257	...	Fish dealers	...
2,052	...	Sellers of milk and <i>ghee</i>	...
1,982	...	Trade in pottery	...
1,868	...	Sweepers and scavengers	...
1,762	...	Vegetable and fruit sellers	...
1,373	...	Basket-makers	...
1,289	...	Silk spinners and weavers	...
1,200	...	Washing and cleaning and dyeing	...
1,155	...	Cotton spinning and cleaning	...
1,135	...	Firewood collectors	...
1,081	...	Manufacture and refining of oil	...
1,033	...	Indoor servants	...

in which women are naturally employed largely, and the menial tasks falling to the female sweeper.

OCCUPATIONS IN CITIES.

1102. The marginal statement shows how greatly the distribution of

occupations differs in urban and rural areas, and the extent to which industrial and commercial pursuits predominate in the former. In the cities of Bengal, Howrah and Dacca, industrial industries, the principal is jute manufacture, which affords the means of subsistence to nearly a fifth of the industrial population. The commercial population (excluding those engaged in transport) represents nearly one-sixth, and those dependent for their daily bread on domestic service one-fourth, of the population. The professions and liberal arts provide for 11,000 persons, or 5,000 less than those who subsist by industries of the dress and toilet. Landlords outnumber all those engaged in the legal and medical professions. Nearly 7,000 landlords or 2 per cent. of the landlords of Bengal were enumerated in Calcutta alone, from which it may be inferred that there is good ground for the frequent complaints about absentee landlords who prefer the amenities of the metropolis to life on their estates. There are only three cities in Bihar and Orissa, viz., Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur, and none of them is on the same level, industrially or commercially, as Calcutta and its suburbs or Howrah. A considerable number of the inhabitants are engaged in cultivation, either in the city limits or on the outskirts. Those dependent on pasture and agriculture represent nearly a fifth of the population, and actually outnumber the commercial community (excluding those engaged in transport).

OCCUPATION.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.		TOTAL.
	Province.	Tikka.	Province.	Tikka.	
NUMBERS PER 1,000 SUPPLY METHOD.					
Agriculture	721	37	72	169	62
Industry	76	22	77	26	231
Commerce (transport and trade)	71	303	22	231	62
Professions and liberal arts	19	23	10	62	62

OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION.

1103. Statistics of the number of adherents of each religion following different occupations are given in Imperial Tables XV-D, and proportional figures will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter. For facility of reference, the marginal table is added to show the proportion of each religion supported by the main occupations.

OCCUPATION.	PERCENTAGE SUPPORTED.				
	Hindus.	Muslimans.	Christians.	Buddhists.	Animists.
Agriculture and pasture	65	66	41	79	691
Industry	11	4	6	4	3
Trade and transport	11	4	19	8	0.15
Public administration, professions and liberal arts	4	1	1	2	0.15

1104. What is more interesting is the distribution of occupations between different religions, and in particular between Muslims and Hindus. In order that the reader may understand the relevancy of the figures, it may be mentioned, in the first place, that Muslims constitute 52 per cent. and Hindus 45 per cent. of the population. The proportion of Muslims engaged in agriculture is far higher than that returned for Hindus—a fact which explains the weakness of their representation in other occupations. Nearly 21 million Muslims are dependent on agricultural pursuits, leaving only 3½ millions, or 15 per cent. of their total number, for other pursuits, whereas the balance of Hindus available for non-agricultural occupations is 7½ millions or 37 per cent.

The great majority of the Musalman are cultivators, who have not yet risen to the level of landed proprietors, but till their own holdings. They aggregate nearly 19 millions and outnumber the Hindu tenants by over 8 millions, the proportion being 9 Musalman to 5 Hindu. The landlords, on the other hand, consist mainly of Hindus, of whom there are seven to every three Musalman. The Musalman are largely outnumbered by the Hindu in the industrial and commercial population, but there are a few notable exceptions. There are more Musalman employed in the furniture and building industries, and they also have a large share of the inland traffic along the waterways of Bengal, outnumbering the Hindus slightly in the boating population. They are in a strong majority among the lascars and others employed on ships and steamers, forming indeed two-sixths of the total number. In the jute mills they are only half as numerous as the Hindu operatives, but here the balance is set largely against them by the influx of Hindu immigrants from up-country. Work in hides, shoe-making and scavenging is almost a monopoly of the Hindus, but nearly all the tailors come from the Muhammadan community. The latter have a predominant interest in two branches of trade, viz., trade in clothing and trade in means of transport, such as boats and carts, horses and cattle. In the unproductive occupations also there is a slight excess of Musalman, but in practically every other avocation they form a minority. The professions and liberal arts do not appear to appeal to them. There is only one Musalman to every nine Hindus in the legal, and one to every five in the medical profession, but there are two Musalman to every seven Hindus in educational employment. Their share of appointments in the public service is disproportionately large for their numerical strength, for in the Police there are double as many Hindus as in the service of the State $\frac{3}{5}$ times as many Hindus as there are Musalman.

1105. Two-fifths of the Christian community obtain a living by pasture and agriculture, which is due simply to the fact that two-thirds of them are Indian converts. Nearly as many are supported by trade, transport, the professions and the public services, in all of which Europeans and Anglo-Indians have a share. In spite, however, of this latter element, the Christians contribute less than 3 per cent. to the number of those for whom service in the State affords subsistence. The proportion is 4 per cent. in the case of educational work; it is very nearly that figure for literary, artistic and scientific professions; and it reaches 6 per cent. on the railways. The extent to which different Christian races, such as Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, find employment in various directions will be discussed later.

1106. A little over two-thirds of the Buddhists, who consist mainly of Hinmalayan races or of Maghis in Chittagong, are agriculturists. The Annamitic races, who are chiefly immigrants, are most strongly represented on the tea gardens and coal mines, accounting for one-fifth of the number supported by work on the former, and for one-ninth on the latter. A twelfth of the Buddhist population also work, or are supported by work, in the tea gardens, the coolies who adhere to Buddhism being largely Nepalese, Bhotas and Lepchas. Both Buddhists and Annamites eschew the occupations of barber, washerman and sweeper; the aggregate of both religions for these three pursuits is, in fact, under 150.

1107. A statement similar to that for Bengal is given in the margin for Bihar and Orissa. In this latter province a comparison of the extent to which occupations are distributed between the different religions is not of the same interest, as the Hindus are in such an overwhelming majority that they predominate in nearly every case.

PERCENTAGE SUPPORTED.				
Bihar and Orissa.				
OCCUPATION.				
Agriculture and pasture	80.3	75	72	83
Industry	...	...	...	...
Trade and transport	...	...	...	...
Public administration, professions and liberal arts	...	...	...	...
	2	2	2	0.4
	7	10	4	3
	7	7	4	3
	80.3	75	72	83
	Hindus.	Musalman.	Christians.	Annamites.

1108. Among the Hindus 17 per mille, and among the Musalmans 22 per mille, are landlords—proportions very different from those of Bengal, viz., 40 and 15 per mille respectively. Taking the whole agricultural population into account, we find that the Hindus account for over four-fifths of every class, but that there is considerable disparity in the case of Musalmans, who contribute 13 per cent. of the total number of landlords, but only 9 per cent. of the cultivators. Though the Hindus are nearly nine times as numerous as the Musalmans, the latter can claim nearly one-third of the weaving population. Their share in the trade in textiles, hides and clothing is far larger than their numbers would warrant, and they actually outnumber the Hindus in the sale of means of transport, such as carts, *palkis*, pack bullocks, etc. Compared with their co-religionists in Bengal, they show a greater aptitude for the law, but not quite as much for education, there being roughly one Musalman to every four Hindus in both professions. The number employed in or dependent on service in the State is also greater than it would be if there was proportional representation, for one-fourth of the total number belong to the Muhammadan community.

HINDUS AND MUSALMANS.

1109. The proportion of agriculturists among the Christians of Bihar and Orissa is nearly double what it is in Bengal, owing to the fact that the great majority are converts drawn from among aboriginal cultivators. Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians represent only a small fraction of the total number, and to their relative paucity must be attributed the small part played by the Christian community in such branches of public and social life as law, medicine and the public administration: even in the service of the State only one out of 30 is a Christian.

CHRISTIANS.

1110. The Animists are more closely bound to the soil than any other community, over four-fifths being dependent on pasture and agriculture. Of the remainder nearly one-twelfth consist of coal-cutters or labourers in collieries and their families. Coal-mining, which enables even the fitful worker to earn high wages, is an employment congenial to the aboriginal, and three-tenths of the colliery population consists of Animists. The other industries pursued by them are mainly simple handicrafts: one-fifth of those returned under the head of industry are basket-weavers and mat-makers. Their trade is equally primitive, consisting of the sale of the necessities of life or of raw material: over one-fourth of the Animist traders sell fuel, such as firewood, charcoal or cow-dung cakes. Less than half per cent. subsist by unproductive callings, and only 15 persons subsist on their income.

ANIMISTS.

1111. The previous sections of this chapter have dealt with the total number of persons supported by each occupation, whether they personally work at it or not. The subsequent discussion relates only to actual workers, and the figures for dependants are excluded.

CHRISTIANS.

1112. Both in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa one-third of the Europeans are engaged in commercial pursuits, connected either with transport or trade, while over a fourth in the former, and a third in the latter, province belong to the public force: this is due mainly to European regiments in the two provinces. In both 8 per cent. are employed in various industries, including mining. Public administration accounts for only 6 per cent. of the European workers in Bengal, and for 5 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. The Anglo-Indians of Bengal have a stronger representation in Government service, the proportion in their case being 9 per cent., while in Bihar and Orissa it is the same as for Europeans. The railways obviously offer the best field of employment to the domiciled community, for in Bengal a fourth and in Bihar and Orissa two-fifths come under the head "Transport." Trade in either province is a minor occupation, and in Bihar and Orissa an unduly large number of females are beggars or prostitutes. The Armenians devote themselves mainly to commercial rather

than to industrial pursuits. Two-fifths of the Bengali Christians are cultivators, one-eighth are in domestic service and one-ninth are field labourers. The Indian Christians of Bihar and Orissa are nearly all agriculturists; over one-fifth can claim the dignity of a landlord, while three-fifths are tenants cultivating their fields.

1113. The returns for Indian tribes and castes are chiefly of value as illustrating the fact that functional and other castes have to a very large extent abandoned their traditional occupations.

to discuss the figures in detail, but merely to mention some of their more salient features. In spite of the *steady* movement, the proportion of the weaving castes that actually live by weaving is smaller even than in 1901. The one trade in which the industry still seems to maintain its vitality among the weaving castes is Orissa, where nearly two-thirds of the 'Patis' still earn their daily bread by working their looms. Of the higher castes, the Brahmins live mainly by agriculture, and not by the exercise of their priestly functions. In West and Central Bengal the number of Brahmins supported by agriculture, whether landlords and tenants, is double that supported by priesthood; in North and East Bengal a quarter, in Bihar one-seventh and in Orissa and Chota Nagpur only one-tenth maintain themselves by their traditional calling. Among the Hindus there are two landlords to every physician, and among the Kayasths and Khatris those who are writers are far outnumbered by the agriculturists. The modern Sanyas of West and Central Bengal have abandoned to a great extent their hereditary occupation, only one-fifth being wine-sellers. In these and other cases the characteristic caste calling is generally given up in favour of agriculture. There is no reverse tendency in the case of purely agricultural castes. Four-fifths or more of the Babhans, Chasas, Khandars, Koiris, Kumris in Bihar and Orissa, and of the Chasi Kayasthas and Kayasthas and Sadgops in Bengal, still subsist by agriculture. (One-half of the dalya Kayasthas of North and East Bengal are still fishermen, and one-half of the Gaudhbaniks pursue their traditional calling of traders. One-third of the Khatris maintain themselves by pressing oil, but less than one-tenth of the Telis.

1114. Some instructive information regarding the extent to which various castes follow certain occupations is furnished by the appendix to Imperial Table XVI. It is unnecessary to refer again to the castes of Jute mill employees and of the tea garden population, which have already been mentioned.

1115. Less than half of the landlords of Eastern Bengal are Musalimans, though Musalimans represent two-thirds of the population. (One-sixth of them are Brahmins and a little over one-sixth are Kayasths. The Shias owning estates slightly outnumber the Badgays, and then in order come the Rajbansis, Chasi Kayasthas, Samasindras, Telis and Tribis, and dogs; no other caste can boast of 1,000 landlords. Estate management and the subordinate posts of rent collectors, estate clerks, etc., are chiefly in the hands of the Kayasths, Brahmins and Musalimans. It is a curious fact that though there are 51,000 Musalim landlords, only 7,500 Musalimans are engaged in estate management either in a superior or subordinate position. The Musalimans, Brahmins, Kayasths and Badgays, practically monopolize the telegraph and post-office service and the legal profession. In the medical profession the Xapits or barbers are more numerous than the Hindyas, but, as is well known, the Xapits' knowledge of medicine and surgery is very limited. They form of venereal disease. Nearly half the professors, teachers and inspecting staff of schools and colleges in Eastern Bengal are Musalimans, who are more numerous even than the Brahmins and Kayasths taken together. It is interesting to note the extent to which the lower castes are taking a place in the professions. Among the Rajbansis there are 21 lawyers, 115

PROPORTION OF MALES	1901		
	INDIA	WEST BENGAL	ORISSA
WEAVING	22.5	22.5	22.5
AGRICULTURE	77.5	77.5	77.5

medical practitioners and 161 persons in educational appointments. The Namasudras claim no less than 522 medical practitioners and the Baruas 223, while other low castes as Jhobas, Kunihars, Kurmis, Malis, Malos and Patuis are also represented. Of the persons in educational posts, the Namasudras contribute 192, the Chasi Kaibarttas 215, the Shahas 214, the Barashubs 122 and the Napits 168.

Statistics of the caste of persons in Government service have also been compiled, but as they relate only to the districts under the definite Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, they have an antiquarian interest rather than a practical value. Among gazetted officers the castes most strongly represented were the Kayasths, Brahmans and Baidyas, all of which had a larger number of officers than either the Musalmans or the Europeans; the number of gazetted officers belonging to each of these latter two communities was one-sixth of the total. Three-tenths of the persons in subordinate employ were Musalmans, who were, however, slightly outnumbered by the Kayasths, and one-seventh were Brahmans. After the Brahmans, the Baidyas had the largest number of appointments and then the Sudras. Similar statistics for the police show that the Kayasths held most of the higher appointments, from that of Police Superintendent to that of head-constable, followed by the Musalmans and then by the Brahmans. The proportion of appointments held by Europeans was only one-seventh of that returned for the Kayasths. Nearly one-third of the police constables were Musalmans, who were almost twice as numerous as any other class. The second place was shared by the Brahmans and Rajputs, each with one-seventh of the total force, after whom came the Kayasths.

1116. Statistics compiled for West and Central Bengal show that two-fifths of the cotton weavers are Patuis, and nearly three-tenths are Jolahas. Sheikhs and Jogs or Jugs are, next to them, the most important of the weaving castes, but their proportion to the total is only 7 and 6 per cent. respectively. Over one-fourth of the boatmen are Musalman Sheikhs, about one-sixth are Malahs and one-tenth are Chasi Kaibarttas. Five out of every eleven fishermen are Bagdis, one out of every seven is a Malo, and one out of every ten a Jalya Kaibartta. The leather workers are, almost to a man, Chamar or Muchis. Nearly half the vendors of wine are Surs, the remainder being mainly Pas and Sheikhs. The groups of Musalmans last named and the Baisnabs account for half the beggars, the remaining half being a miscellany of different castes.

1117. In Bihar and Orissa altogether 32 castes have 100 or more representatives among those who actually work as cotton

Bihar and Orissa.

spinners and weavers and subsist by their work. Among these the Patuis predominate, accounting for over one-fourth of the total number, while the Jolahas constitute one-fifth. The other principal weaving castes are more or less localized, viz., the Pas of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the Doms in the Bundabury States, and the Bhuias and Gandas of Orissa. Fishing is chiefly followed by the Malahs and Kewats, who, between them, account for more than half of the total number of fishermen, and by the Gonds in the Bhagalpur division and the Gokhas in Orissa. Work in leather is almost confined to the Chamar. Kewats and Malahs also predominate in the boat-building population. The retailing of wine and spirits is almost a monopoly of the Pas, the Surs having only a minor share of the trade. The ranks of the beggars are recruited from 89 castes, each contributing 100 or more. Unlike Bengal, where a large proportion of the beggars are either Baisnabs or Sheikhs, no caste is specially prominent among them except the Brahmans, and many of those returned as subsisting by begging are probably religious mendicants.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1118. Some idea of the distribution of wealth among different castes may be gathered from the statistics of the castes of the income-tax assesses given in Subsidiary Table XI at the end of this chapter. In Bengal over one-eighth of those assessed to the tax are Kayasths,

CASTES OF INCOME-TAX ASSESSES.

BENGAL.

who derive their income mainly from commercial and professional pursuits. Their aggregate number is only a little less than that of the Musalimans, of whom only 5,177 (out of 24 millions) derive sufficient wealth from trade manufactures, professions and property to be assessed to income-tax. The next most numerous caste consists of the Brahmins, of whom half obtain their income from commerce and trade. They only slightly outnumber, however, those enterprising traders, the Shabars. Only one other caste has over 1,000 assessors, viz., the Telis and Telis, who also make their money by wholesale and retail trade. It is somewhat surprising that two of the chief mercantile castes indigenous to Bengal, the (Candabhaniks and Subrahmaniks, should each have under 500 assessors. The great majority of the assessors have been assessed on income obtained from commerce and trade, and among them the Shabars, Musalimans, Kayasths and Brahmins have the most representatives. Two-thirds of those assessed on the income derived from professional pursuits are Brahmins and Kayasths: the Kayasths also account for over a sixth of the owners of property.

1119. The number of assessors in Bihar and Orissa is less than two-thirds the number returned for the richer province of Bengal. The mercantile caste of Agravalas contributes one-eighth of the aggregate. The number returned for them is strikingly high considering their numerical strength, for the assessors actually represent 5 per cent. of all the Agravalas, including women and children. The only other caste with over 1,000 assessors consists of the Brahmins, who owe their position to the interest they take in commercial undertakings and to their share of professional pursuits. After the Brahmins come, in order, the Telis, Sanits, Kaypurs, Bahmans, Kayars and Kayasths, of whom the Sanits and Kayars are intimately connected with the liquor trade. As in Bengal the greater part of the assessors have come within the purview of the Income-tax Act owing to their connection with trade. One-seventh of these commercial assessors are Agravalas, while the Bahmans, Brahmins, Kayars, Sanits and Telis each contribute 7 per cent. or a little more. The Brahmins and Kayasths form three-fifths of the professional men; and the Bahmans, Bahmans and Kaypurs are the most important castes among the owners of property.

1120. The number of Hindu convicts in Bengal is almost exactly proportionate to the strength in the population, and it cannot be said that either community has any particular propensity to crime. The largest number of Hindu criminals are Kayasths and Brahmins, but the actual number of the former is only 817 out of a million and of the latter 512 out of 1½ million, representing 7 and 4 per 10,000 respectively. Relatively, the most criminal castes are not indigenous to Bengal, which is largely due to the fact that at the time of the census the Presidency and Alipore jails were full of which convicts from Bihar and Orissa were sent. This concentration of convicts from outside Bengal, *e.g.*, Pans and Chasas, of whom there are few representatives in the general population, vitiates the conclusions which might otherwise be drawn from the figures. Of the indigenous castes, the most law-abiding appear to be the Kaypurs, of whom only 2 per 100,000 were in prison when the census was held. The population is only 1 per 10,000 or less among the Jolahas, Jogis, Chasi Kayasths, Pels, Badgops, Sanits, Shabars and Shels: many of the Jolahas and Shels who were under sentence were however returned as Musalimans, Chasi Kayasths singly as Kayasths, and probably also Shabars as Sanits, so that the true proportion in their cases is obscured.

In Bihar and Orissa the gipsy caste or race of Nats stand by themselves, one out of every hundred being in jail. Next to them come the Dharis, who are habitual criminals, and the Boms, one section of whom, viz., the Magahya Boms, also have an hereditary tendency to crime; at the time of the census 4 per mille of the former and 2 per mille of the latter were undergoing sentence. The most law-abiding castes appear to be the Babans, Chasas, Hajjams, Kandus, Khairis, Korts, Kunhars and Telis, among whom the proportion falls below 1 per 10,000.

1121. A special return has been compiled of the occupations of persons in Eastern Bengal who were recorded both as actual workers and as literate in English. The largest number of persons satisfying this dual qualification is found among landlords, but they only slightly outnumber the English-speaking cultivators. The extent to which the knowledge of English is disseminated among the Hindus and Musalmans belonging to these two classes of agriculturists differs greatly, for in the landlord class five Hindus are literate to every Musalmán, whereas among the cultivators there are five literate Musalmans to four Hindus. Taking the two classes together, we find that the agricultural community claims 37 per cent. of the workers who have an English education. Professional men, such as lawyers, doctors and teachers, account for one-sixth of the total number; there is one literate Musalmán to every seven Hindus. Traders come next, with nearly 10,000 literates in English, or one-tenth of the total; among them there are nine literate Hindus to every Musalmán.

OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS LITERATE IN ENGLISH.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION.

ULAS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.	BENGAL.										BIHAR AND ORISSA.						
	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.		NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.				
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.	In cities.	In rural areas.	In cities.	In rural areas.	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.	In cities.	In rural areas.			
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	10,000	3,573	36	64	5	95	73	185	10,000	4,838	48	52	1	99	104	107	
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	7,791	2,536	33	67	...	100	122	207	8,095	3,795	47	53	...	100	123	113	
I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	7,766	2,522	32	68	...	100	122	208	8,053	3,765	47	53	...	100	123	114	
1. Pasture and agriculture	7,626	2,462	32	68	...	100	124	210	8,016	3,745	47	53	...	100	124	114	
2. Fishing and hunting	140	60	43	57	1	99	100	131	37	20	54	46	1	90	79	86	
II.—Extraction of minerals...	25	14	57	43	...	100	33	77	42	30	70	30	...	100	423	44	
3. Mines	25	14	57	43	...	100	33	77	42	30	70	30	...	100	423	44	
4. Quarries of hard rocks	19	14	84	16	...	100	138	78	34	24	71	29	...	100	960	40	
5. Salt, etc.	06	05	89	11	77	23	100	47	7	5	62	38	...	100	527	61	
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	1,452	682	47	53	14	86	74	119	1,251	679	54	46	2	98	112	83	
III.—Industry	743	362	49	51	12	88	78	109	728	399	55	45	2	98	102	82	
6. Textiles	188	98	52	48	11	89	54	96	125	66	53	47	3	97	98	89	
7. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	12	5	40	60	6	94	147	160	2	1	47	53	3	97	266	111	
8. Wood	80	37	46	54	8	92	62	133	77	41	53	47	1	99	130	88	
9. Metals	40	15	38	62	14	86	106	169	54	22	41	59	1	90	166	144	
10. Ceramics	29	11	40	60	9	91	76	129	41	24	60	40	1	99	85	71	
11. Chemical products properly so called and analogous.	104	72	69	31	3	97	74	45	113	76	57	33	2	98	76	46	
12. Industries of dress	112	46	41	59	19	81	93	125	118	78	57	42	2	98	94	45	
13. Furniture industries	2	1	56	44	15	85	56	83	1	08	58	42	3	91	236	123	
14. Building industries	49	21	43	57	27	73	84	149	36	20	56	44	5	92	120	77	
15. Construction of means of transport	8	3	62	37	6	94	94	299	43	16	39	61	16	94	95	171	
16. Production and transmission of physical forces.	1	1	43	57	94	6	51	250	07	02	27	73	14	86	38	303	
17. Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	58	21	37	63	22	78	113	190	48	20	41	59	4	96	144	144	
18. Industries concerned with refuse matter	11	6	58	44	42	58	80	92	12	7	63	37	6	95	69	68	

SECONDARY TABLE, III.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL POPULATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911

AND 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupations.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—continued.			
	III.—INDUSTRY—continued.			
	2.—METALS			
39	Foundry and agricultural implement makers	355,786	299,753	+ 18
40	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools principally of cast-iron	15,005	22,133	- 32
41	Workers in brass, copper and bell-metal	219,058	250,237	- 11
42	Workers in other metals (tin, zinc, lead, quick-silver, etc.)	83,532	70,133	+ 18
43	Workers in other metals (tin, zinc, lead, quick-silver, etc.)	23,038	12,004	+ 37
44	Chemistries	471,997	432,085	+ 8
45	Pottery and earthen pipe and bowl makers	393,342	325,888	+ 18
46	Brick and tile makers	46,352	31,811	+ 46
	IV.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.			
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	256,039	243,101	+ 5
	IV.—FOOD INDUSTRIES			
56	Flour pounders and makers and flour millers	369,741	576,656	- 35
57	Bakers and cake makers	239,735	311,915	- 23
58	Confectioners, etc.	12,604	11,045	+ 11
59	Ice cream makers, etc.	178,718	218,714	- 18
60	Fish-curers	25,208	22,875	+ 10
61	Makers of sugar, molasses and gum	9,333	6,351	+ 36
62	Brewers and distillers	36,037	39,171	- 8
63	Produce and other makers of jam and confections, etc.	2,253	2,011	+ 12
64	Twine and straw makers	2,253	2,011	+ 12
65	Twine and straw makers	2,253	2,011	+ 12
	IV.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES			
72	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers	431,317	463,312	- 6
73	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
74	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
75	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
	IV.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET			
76	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and dairies, etc.	1,098,431	1,150,021	- 4
77	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
78	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
79	Shoe, boot and saddle makers	192,781	129,317	+ 47
	IV.—INDUSTRIES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO ENTERTAINMENT AND THE ARTS AND SOIRES.			
89	Workers in precious stones and metals, jewellers, imitation	343,447	323,418	+ 6
90	Makers of laces, rosaries, beads and other necklaces, spangles, buttons and sacred threads.	56,326	32,998	+ 4
	IV.—INDUSTRIES CONCERNED WITH REFUSE MATTER			
91	Boat-owners, boatmen and town men	265,240	257,813	+ 3
92	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, etc.	662,949	516,340	+ 20
93	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, etc.	210,844	147,480	+ 43
94	Cartmen, etc.	182,278	130,495	+ 40
95	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
96	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
97	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
98	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
99	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
100	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
101	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35
102	Porters and messengers	184,336	135,253	+ 35

This subsidiary table gives comparative statistics for selected occupations in 1901 and 1911. In order to make them comparable, it has been necessary to exclude Siam, which formed part of the Central Provinces until 1905. The scheme of classification adopted at the present census is different from that followed at the last census, when some of the occupations were included in a combination of different groups. In such cases exact figures cannot be furnished for 1901 and an approximate estimate has been given, the figures concerned being marked with an asterisk.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911
 AND 1901—continued.

Occu- pa- tion	1	2	3	4	5
			Population reported in 1911.	Population reported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
IV.—TRANSPORT—contd.					
101. TRANSPORT BY RAIL.	111,515	102,000	9.3
102. TRANSPORT BY STEAMSHIP AND BOAT.	24,115	19,115	26.2
103. TRANSPORT BY TRAMWAY AND TROLLEY.	11,015	10,015	10.0
104. TRANSPORT BY CABLE CAR AND FUNICULAR.	11,015	10,015	10.0
105. TRANSPORT BY HORSE AND MULE.	11,015	10,015	10.0
106. TRANSPORT BY OTHER MEANS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
V.—TRADE					
107. WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE.	111,515	102,000	9.3
108. AGENCIES AND BROKERS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
109. BANKS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
110. INSURANCE COMPANIES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
111. POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH SERVICES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
112. MESSENGERS AND CARRIERS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
113. STORAGE AND WAREHOUSES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
114. FACTORIES AND MANUFACTURING PLANTS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
115. MINING AND QUARRYING.	11,015	10,015	10.0
116. AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, AND FORESTRY.	11,015	10,015	10.0
117. FISHERY AND MARINE INDUSTRIES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
118. OTHER INDUSTRIES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
119. PROFESSIONS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
120. SERVICES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
121. UNCLASSIFIED.	11,015	10,015	10.0
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—continued.					
122. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF FUELS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
123. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF METALS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
124. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF CHEMICALS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
125. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF TEXTILES.	11,015	10,015	10.0
126. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF FOODS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
127. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF DRUGS.	11,015	10,015	10.0
128. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF OTHER MATERIALS.	11,015	10,015	10.0

The following table shows the population of the United States in 1911, by occupation, and the percentage of variation from the population in 1901. The occupations are classified into four groups: A.—Manufacturing and Mining; B.—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances; C.—Transport; and D.—Other Occupations. The population in 1911 is shown in column 3, the population in 1901 in column 4, and the percentage of variation in column 5.

ASAC-1061-continued.

1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1899	1898	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893	1892	1891	1890	1889	1888	1887	1886	1885	1884	1883	1882	1881	1880	1879	1878	1877	1876	1875	1874	1873	1872	1871	1870	1869	1868	1867	1866	1865	1864	1863	1862	1861	1860	1859	1858	1857	1856	1855	1854	1853	1852	1851	1850	1849	1848	1847	1846	1845	1844	1843	1842	1841	1840	1839	1838	1837	1836	1835	1834	1833	1832	1831	1830	1829	1828	1827	1826	1825	1824	1823	1822	1821	1820	1819	1818	1817	1816	1815	1814	1813	1812	1811	1810	1809	1808	1807	1806	1805	1804	1803	1802	1801	1800	1799	1798	1797	1796	1795	1794	1793	1792	1791	1790	1789	1788	1787	1786	1785	1784	1783	1782	1781	1780	1779	1778	1777	1776	1775	1774	1773	1772	1771	1770	1769	1768	1767	1766	1765	1764	1763	1762	1761	1760	1759	1758	1757	1756	1755	1754	1753	1752	1751	1750	1749	1748	1747	1746	1745	1744	1743	1742	1741	1740	1739	1738	1737	1736	1735	1734	1733	1732	1731	1730	1729	1728	1727	1726	1725	1724	1723	1722	1721	1720	1719	1718	1717	1716	1715	1714	1713	1712	1711	1710	1709	1708	1707	1706	1705	1704	1703	1702	1701	1700	1699	1698	1697	1696	1695	1694	1693	1692	1691	1690	1689	1688	1687	1686	1685	1684	1683	1682	1681	1680	1679	1678	1677	1676	1675	1674	1673	1672	1671	1670	1669	1668	1667	1666	1665	1664	1663	1662	1661	1660	1659	1658	1657	1656	1655	1654	1653	1652	1651	1650	1649	1648	1647	1646	1645	1644	1643	1642	1641	1640	1639	1638	1637	1636	1635	1634	1633	1632	1631	1630	1629	1628	1627	1626	1625	1624	1623	1622	1621	1620	1619	1618	1617	1616	1615	1614	1613	1612	1611	1610	1609	1608	1607	1606	1605	1604	1603	1602	1601	1600	1599	1598	1597	1596	1595	1594	1593	1592	1591	1590	1589	1588	1587	1586	1585	1584	1583	1582	1581	1580	1579	1578	1577	1576	1575	1574	1573	1572	1571	1570	1569	1568	1567	1566	1565	1564	1563	1562	1561	1560	1559	1558	1557	1556	1555	1554	1553	1552	1551	1550	1549	1548	1547	1546	1545	1544	1543	1542	1541	1540	1539	1538	1537	1536	1535	1534	1533	1532	1531	1530	1529	1528	1527	1526	1525	1524	1523	1522	1521	1520	1519	1518	1517	1516	1515	1514	1513	1512	1511	1510	1509	1508	1507	1506	1505	1504	1503	1502	1501	1500	1499	1498	1497	1496	1495	1494	1493	1492	1491	1490	1489	1488	1487	1486	1485	1484	1483	1482	1481	1480	1479	1478	1477	1476	1475	1474	1473	1472	1471	1470	1469	1468	1467	1466	1465	1464	1463	1462	1461	1460	1459	1458	1457	1456</
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BENGAL AND SIKIM.

Caste and Occupations.	1		2		3	
	Number of persons per 1,000 of population.	Number of persons per 100 of population.	Number of persons per 1,000 of population.	Number of persons per 100 of population.	Number of persons per 1,000 of population.	Number of persons per 100 of population.
ANGLO-INDIAN—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
ARMENIAN—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
	TRADE	...	...	...	...	...
	Public administration	...	...	...	...	...
	Arts and professions	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	...	...	...	...	...
	BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...	...	...
	TRANSPORT	...	...	...	...	...
BAHARI—	BENGAL	...	...	...	...	...
	INDUSTRIES	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATION OF SELECTED CASTES—continued.

BENGAL AND SIKKIM—continued.

Number of females per 1,000 of population.	1	2	3	EUROPEAN AND ALLIED RACES—			
				Number of females per 1,000 of population.	2	3	4
Caste and Occupations.	BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	IRISH—	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	SCOTCH—	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	GANDHABANIK—	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	GOALA—	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	KAIBARTTA (CHASI) OR MAHISHYA—	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	KAIBARTTA (JALIYA)—	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	KALU—	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	GURUNG—	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
Caste and Occupations.	BENGAL	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—	Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...
				Public force	...	...	...
				Public administration	...	...	...
				Arts and professions	...	...	...
				Others	...	...	...
				Industries	...	...	...
				Transport	...	...	...
				Trade	...	...	...

BENGAL, AND SIKKIM—continued.

[illegible]

BENGAL, AND SIKKIM—continued.

Caste and Occupations.		Caste and Occupations.	
Number of females per 1,000 engaged on occupation.	Number of females per 100 males.	Number of females per 1,000 engaged on occupation.	Number of females per 100 males.
1	3	1	3
2	2	2	2
3	2	3	2
4	2	4	2
5	2	5	2
6	2	6	2
7	2	7	2
8	2	8	2
9	2	9	2
10	2	10	2
11	2	11	2
12	2	12	2
13	2	13	2
14	2	14	2
15	2	15	2
16	2	16	2
17	2	17	2
18	2	18	2
19	2	19	2
20	2	20	2
21	2	21	2
22	2	22	2
23	2	23	2
24	2	24	2
25	2	25	2
26	2	26	2
27	2	27	2
28	2	28	2
29	2	29	2
30	2	30	2
31	2	31	2
32	2	32	2
33	2	33	2
34	2	34	2
35	2	35	2
36	2	36	2
37	2	37	2
38	2	38	2
39	2	39	2
40	2	40	2
41	2	41	2
42	2	42	2
43	2	43	2
44	2	44	2
45	2	45	2
46	2	46	2
47	2	47	2
48	2	48	2
49	2	49	2
50	2	50	2
51	2	51	2
52	2	52	2
53	2	53	2
54	2	54	2
55	2	55	2
56	2	56	2
57	2	57	2
58	2	58	2
59	2	59	2
60	2	60	2
61	2	61	2
62	2	62	2
63	2	63	2
64	2	64	2
65	2	65	2
66	2	66	2
67	2	67	2
68	2	68	2
69	2	69	2
70	2	70	2
71	2	71	2
72	2	72	2
73	2	73	2
74	2	74	2
75	2	75	2
76	2	76	2
77	2	77	2
78	2	78	2
79	2	79	2
80	2	80	2
81	2	81	2
82	2	82	2
83	2	83	2
84	2	84	2
85	2	85	2
86	2	86	2
87	2	87	2
88	2	88	2
89	2	89	2
90	2	90	2
91	2	91	2
92	2	92	2
93	2	93	2
94	2	94	2
95	2	95	2
96	2	96	2
97	2	97	2
98	2	98	2
99	2	99	2
100	2	100	2

BENGAL AND SIKKIM—concluded.

Caste and Occupations.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87													

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—(Continued) OPERATIONS OF SELECTED CASTER—continued.

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—continued.

Bihar and Orissa—continued.

Number of persons engaged on work for 1,000 of population.	Number of persons engaged on work for 100 of population.	Caste and Occupations.		1	2	3
		Number of persons engaged on work for 1,000 of population.	Number of persons engaged on work for 100 of population.			

GRAHAM—cont.	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	15	17	14	12	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—continued.

Number of female workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 1,000 population.	Caste and Occupations.		Number of female workers per 100 males.
		1	2	

KURMI—cont.				
ORISSA ...	1,000	66	114	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	25	Industries
		1	11	Transport
		1	25	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU				
ORISSA ...	1,000	86	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
KURMI				
ORISSA ...	1,000	54	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
MUNDA				
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	92	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
MUSHAHAR				
ORISSA ...	1,000	82	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
NUNYA				
ORISSA ...	1,000	78	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
ORAH				
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	103	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
PAN				
ORISSA AND CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	55	135	Cultivators of all kinds
		1	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.
		1	1	Industries
		1	1	Transport
		1	1	Others ...
		13	35	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...
		103	13	Others ...

Binhar and Orissa—continued.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued*.

BILHAR AND ORISSA—concluded.

Caste and Occupations.	1		2		3	
	Number of workers per 1,000 of population.	Number of females per 100 males.	Number of workers per 1,000 of population.	Number of females per 100 males.	Number of workers per 1,000 of population.	Number of females per 100 males.
Pathan—	Bihar ...	30	1,000	32	Bihar ...	32
	Income from rent of land	32	1,000	32	Income from rent of land	32
	Cultivators of all kinds	19	1,000	32	Cultivators of all kinds	32
Rajput—	Bihar ...	10	1,000	102	Bihar ...	102
	Income from rent of land	10	1,000	102	Income from rent of land	102
	Cultivators of all kinds	10	1,000	102	Cultivators of all kinds	102
Chota Nagpur Plateau	...	33	1,000	68	...	68
	Agriculture and Military service	31	1,000	68	Agriculture and Military service	68
	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	33	1,000	68	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	68
Saiyad—	Bihar ...	29	1,000	53	Bihar ...	53
	Income from rent of land	31	1,000	53	Income from rent of land	53
	Cultivators of all kinds	31	1,000	53	Cultivators of all kinds	53
Sonthal—	Bihar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur Plateau, Orissa States and Sonthal Parganas	87	1,000	27	Bihar ...	27
	Income from rent of land	32	1,000	27	Income from rent of land	27
	Cultivators of all kinds	32	1,000	27	Cultivators of all kinds	27
Sonar—	Bihar ...	21	1,000	79	Bihar ...	79
	Income from rent of land	21	1,000	79	Income from rent of land	79
	Cultivators of all kinds	21	1,000	79	Cultivators of all kinds	79
Others...	...	30	1,000	94	...	94
	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	30	1,000	94	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	94
	Cultivators of all kinds	30	1,000	94	Cultivators of all kinds	94

Supplementary Table 1A: Outcomes by Education for Group 1 (No Network Effect)

Education Level	Outcome									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. No Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Primary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Tertiary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Postgraduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7. Doctorate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9. Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10. No Data	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11. Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91. Probability of Good Results	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92. Mean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93. Std. Dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94. Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95. Max.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96. Range	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97. Coefficient of Variation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
98. Skewness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99. Kurtosis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100. Jarque-Bera Statistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS—continued.

DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.												DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.												
ORDER AND SELECTED GROUPS	BENGAL.							BHAR AND ORISSA.					BENGAL.							BHAR AND ORISSA.				
	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Ahmist.	Others.		Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Ahmist.	Others.		Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Ahmist.	Others.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
9.—METALS	9,079	879	19	2	20	1	9,120	332	72	462	14	60	7	27	1	5	15	60	19	56	35	204		
10.—JEWELLERS	9,437	537	2	1	23	...	9,163	366	39	432	...	102	5	4	1	7	3	73	25	37	40	2		
11.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS, POPULARITY SCOTTED AND ANALOGOUS.	3,778	6,195	18	7	...	2	9,359	174	8	458	1	24	34	18	4	...	16	46	7	5	26	13		
12.—FOOD INDUSTRIES	5,861	4,010	10	37	81	1	8,801	1,054	9	132	4	135	30	38	73	54	26	121	124	14	21	121		
13.—INDUSTRIES OF DYES AND THE FOLLY.	7,637	2,331	12	12	1	7	8,215	1,647	23	114	1	189	50	48	26	1	222	153	264	50	25	43		
14.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES	3,323	6,629	36	1	...	11	7,281	2,580	125	14	...	2	3	3	...	7	...	...	1	...	...	...
15.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES	3,857	6,049	28	20	46	...	8,181	1,328	49	439	3	42	57	48	18	14	5	36	50	25	22	28		
16.—CONSTRUCTION OF MANS OF TRANS PORT.	8,261	1,679	48	4	4	4	6,942	2,174	834	60	...	15	3	15	1	...	10	...	1	5	...	...
17.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE, ETC.	6,179	2,506	1,167	4	...	144	4,074	5,522	337	...	67	1	...	43	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	1
18.—INDUSTRIES OF LUXURY, etc.	8,379	1,544	56	10	3	8	8,985	946	21	36	12	108	17	116	11	1	144	52	47	15	3	158		
19.—INDUSTRIES CONCERNED WITH RUST MATERIAL.	9,451	516	11	3	16	3	9,352	390	20	237	1	22	1	4	1	1	12	13	5	3	4	4		
20.—TRANSPORT BY WATER	4,072	5,739	112	19	55	3	7,751	2,311	17	18	3	61	74	268	24	23	51	13	31	3	...	11		
21.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD	6,342	3,094	19	32	512	1	8,002	1,366	73	557	2	139	58	68	56	321	20	54	80	58	44	35		
22.—DITTO RAIL	6,789	2,501	579	17	57	57	7,477	1,917	485	93	28	52	16	718	11	13	589	19	43	148	3	159		
23.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND THE PHONE SERVICES.	7,447	2,053	407	66	11	16	7,121	2,033	468	374	4	11	3	100	9	1	33	3	6	21	2	4		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OPERATIONS IN EUROPE AND OTHERS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 1914.—continued.

ORDER AND SUBSTANTIATION OF COSTS	BY MONTHS										BY QUARTERS										BY YEAR									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
24—REPAIRS, ESTABLISHMENT OF COLLECTING STATION	8,956	948	36	12	1	17	9,114	633	32	98	116	56	5	36	7	397	50	12	9	3	534									
25—REPAIRS AND CORRECTIONS IN AND ABOUT IT	7,395	2,095	237	4	20	247	7,223	661	21	1,307	16	16	4	81	1	704	6	4	2	11	25									
26—TRADE IN TEXTILES	7,141	2,411	25	48	16	159	7,392	2,281	33	196	128	68	19	37	37	1,240	24	64	20	5	295									
27—TRADE IN RUBBER, PLASTIC, AND FLAX, ETC.	7,632	2,341	19	1	3	4	6,650	3,036	99	211	4	31	4	13	-	21	8	30	13	3	10									
28—TRADE IN WOOD	6,483	2,940	17	49	506	5	9,151	448	13	383	5	14	6	6	9	31	15	11	4	2	5	13								
29—DITTO METALS	5,644	1,066	54	3	23	10	9,367	603	4	14	6	5	1	5	-	8	1	1	-	-	2									
30—DITTO IN OTHERS	8,885	1,106	-	-	2	2	9,850	143	1	6	12	1	1	-	-	2	5	1	-	-	-									
31—DITTO CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	7,328	2,463	129	5	21	54	8,985	448	67	449	11	6	2	16	1	55	11	5	10	6	29									
32—HOTELS, CLUBS, RESTAURANTS, ETC.	7,151	2,543	168	49	52	37	6,731	1,079	32	123	5	10	3	39	6	3	72	24	27	10	4	29								
33—OTHER TRADE IN HOUSEHOLD	8,025	1,889	7	63	6	5	8,888	940	6	143	13	633	108	75	344	11	447	265	241	21	50	844								
34—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES	3,835	5,976	66	44	-	75	7,208	2,775	13	1	3	4	6	12	5	114	3	10	1	-	3									
35—TRADE IN FURNITURE	7,932	1,931	21	103	4	9	9,050	937	-	26	17	16	3	7	17	-	23	4	4	-	19									
36—DITTO BUILDING MATERIALS	7,775	2,503	12	3	2	-	6,232	1,597	67	84	5	5	1	1	-	-	1	2	2	-	-									
37—DITTO MEANS OF TRANSPORT	3,163	6,679	55	83	11	9	4,307	5,642	5	17	29	2	5	7	6	10	1	12	-	-	16									
38—DITTO FUEL	7,074	2,262	13	29	620	2	6,396	396	75	1,133	-	16	4	5	6	40	7	29	12	30	46									
39—DITTO ARTICLES OF LUXURY, ETC.	5,398	4,531	25	16	1	27	6,909	2,913	14	104	36	23	17	17	7	-	151	10	35	3	122									
40—DITTO REFUSE MATTER	1,589	6,411	-	-	-	-	9,200	400	400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-									

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS—concluded

	DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.										DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.											
	BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.					BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.						
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christfan.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musa.man.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
41.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	6,779	2,844	166	126	6	79	7,375	1,856	26	712	31	36	13	143	57	1	566	21	45	8	23	192
42.—ARMY	2,613	2,311	4,679	1	387	9	3,019	819	6,162	...	...	1	1	322	...	...	221	...	...	31	...	...
43.—NAVY	8,667	...	1,333	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44.—POLICE	6,454	3,370	64	69	41	2	8,415	1,134	53	397	1	54	24	87	49	10	25	47	55	36	26	19
45.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	7,591	2 056	264	34	25	30	7,426	2,034	292	228	20	49	11	272	18	4	260	16	37	73	6	96
14. Service of the State	7,344	2,116	282	24	2	32	6,834	2,407	346	289	24	41	10	243	11	...	220	11	32	64	6	83
46.—RELIGION	8,328	1,513	138	15	...	6	9,336	317	281	59	7	148	23	394	22	...	136	60	19	215	4	106
47.—LAW	8,874	1,022	74	5	...	25	7,826	2,099	47	1	27	32	3	43	2	...	120	6	14	4	...	47
48.—MEDICINE	8,131	1,580	141	118	5	25	8,618	1,181	129	48	24	63	11	177	78	1	257	15	17	26	1	92
49.—INSTRUCTION	7,404	2,098	392	44	3	59	7,620	1,840	396	120	24	34	9	292	17	1	365	13	27	81	3	93
50.—LITTEHS, ARTS AND SCIENCES	7,212	2,382	363	20	1	22	7,338	2,405	204	48	5	36	10	295	8	...	147	13	37	43	1	20
51.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME.	7,555	1,498	829	28	23	67	5,859	2,665	1,382	15	79	19	3	333	6	2	222	2	7	51	...	54
52.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	6,764	2,884	183	104	52	13	7,469	1,410	197	922	2	170	63	742	222	37	457	171	278	532	246	131
53.—INSUFFICIENTLY DISCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.	3,614	6,106	53	97	121	9	6,970	754	175	2,095	6	233	340	553	529	224	768	207	193	615	726	405
54.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS.	4,055	4,976	844	57	64	4	7,434	2,144	235	179	8	3	3	92	3	1	3	2	5	8	...	5
55.—BROADS, VAUGHANTS AND PROSTITUTES	4,911	5,035	8	25	18	3	6,594	2,738	48	610	10	101	90	28	44	11	86	38	136	33	41	120

SYNOPSIS TABLE X.—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON THE 10TH MARCH 1911 ON RAILWAYS, AND IN THE TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND POSTAL DEPARTMENTS IN RUSSIA, FINLAND AND GERMANY.

[illegible]

CHAPTER XII.—OCCUPATIONS.

[illegible]

GARDEN POPULATION.

1	Total.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Durham.	Maubhara.	Haridwar.	Total.	Delicooling.	Jalpaiguri.	Chitragong.		

5,910	4,002	888	174	621	103	437	143	39,694	2	12	56	2,957	2,945	48	88	1,289	419	1,699	81	275	163	108	105	753	510	151	121	2,242	996	20	641	180	360	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
164,879	40,927	266	174	621	103	437	143	39,694	2	12	56	2,957	2,945	48	88	1,289	419	1,699	81	275	163	108	105	753	510	151	121	2,242	996	20	641	180	360	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
56,702	25,151	3	174	621	103	437	143	39,694	2	12	56	2,957	2,945	48	88	1,289	419	1,699	81	275	163	108	105	753	510	151	121	2,242	996	20	641	180	360	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
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91,634	18,026	16,713	4,102	1,313	816	1,313	12	64,798	125,102	4	338	150	3,013	2,945	48	88	1,289	419	1,699	81	275	163	108	105	753	510	151	121	2,242	996	20	641	180	360	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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Inheritance and partition of property among aboriginal races,

2

2. The rule of primogeniture is unknown. On the death of A, therefore his four sons (B, C, D and E) succeed to all his property. They take equal shares of the real property, any unmarried son receiving, however, an equal number of cattle or an additional amount of other personal property with which to buy a wife. If B has died before A, his three sons, E, C and D, take the share which would have gone to B if he had been alive. In the same way, if D and E had died before A, the individual F would get as much as the groups B, C or E. Succession among the F's is, however, further complicated by the practice of polygamy. If A had married two wives, and B and C had been his sons by the first, while D and E were his sons by the second wife, B and C would get two shares of the property, and D and E only one share, *i.e.*, B's share would be one-third of the whole, while E's share would be only one-sixth. Though there is nothing to prevent it, it is unusual for a man to have more than two wives. If, however, A had had three wives, his sons by the first wife would get two shares of the property, and those by the other two wives would get one share each, respectively of their numbers. Suppose now that, in course of time, after A's property has been divided among his sons, B has died and been succeeded by his three sons, E, C and H. If after this F dies without any heirs, his share of B's property passes to his brothers C and H, or to their descendants *per stirpes*. If, however, F and G had been sons of one wife, and H by another, G alone would succeed to E's property. If E had had no altering brothers, or if E's branch had died out, the half-brother H would succeed to E's property. If E had had neither altering nor half-brothers, his property would pass to his paternal uncles C, D and E, or, if C was dead, to the collateral I and K (one share) and the uncles D and E (one share each). In all cases, a posthumous son is treated in the same way as any other son, provided there is no doubt as to his parentage.

3. Daughters have no right to succeed unless there are no direct male heirs. If a daughter is an only child, she is entitled to all her father's property, until she marries or dies. She usually lives with one of her paternal uncles, who maintains her and contributes her food on her behalf. This does not, however, give him any exclusive rights in her person.

property unless her funeral expenses could not be met out of her personal property and be alone has had to defray them. All the co-heirs, however, have the right to share in these expenses, and only a categorical refusal to contribute to them can deprive a co-heir of his right to succeed. Thus, referring to the table already given, if L was the unmarried daughter of D, she would succeed to his property. If she lived with E, he would cultivate her land until she died, and it would then be divided equally between B, C and E, unless one of them had forfeited his rights in the manner described above. The same principle applies to marriage expenses. If B and C refused to share these expenses, E would be entitled to the whole of the bride-price paid for L. Her property would, however, be divided. Where there are direct male heirs, daughters are only entitled to maintenance, which may, however, assume the form of real property if her brothers prefer this course. She may live with any one of the brothers, or with a paternal uncle, and the same rules as those stated above hold good as regards succession to this land on her death or marriage. The amount of land given to a daughter in such cases is not fixed, but varies with the property under division. In all cases where a woman holds land- ed property in her own right, she has no power to alienate it permanently. She may, however, mortgage it for a term of years (known locally as *tika*) and, if she dies or marries within the term of the mortgage, the mortgagee retains possession until its expiry, when the land passes to her brothers, uncles or other male relations as the case may be.

4. The widow of a childless man is entitled to all his property until she remarries or dies. She cannot alienate the land permanently, but can mortgage it in the same way as a daughter. If there are two widows, the elder gets two shares, and the younger gets one share, of the property. This also holds good if one has children and not the other, though the common practice in such cases is for the sons of one wife to take all the land and support the other wife.

5. A widow with minor sons or daughters is in exactly the same position as a childless widow. Both may continue to live in their husband's house and make their own arrangements for the cultivation of the land. A widow with grown-up sons usually takes a share of her husband's land for herself and lives with one of her sons. If she dies without remarrying, the succession to her share is governed by the same considerations as those mentioned in paragraph 4. If the widow has only grown-up daughters, her rights continue after they have been married.

6. A widow's remarriage extinguishes her rights in her first husband's property, but the rights of her minor sons and daughters continue. If, as is common, she marries her late husband's younger brother, the latter succeeds to the first husband's land, provided the other brothers agree. If they have any objection, he only succeeds to the share he would have got in the ordinary course. If there are minor sons and daughters of the first husband, no partition can take place. The second husband becomes their guardian and looks after the property until they grow up. Children by the second husband have no rights in the first husband's land, nor have a widow's rights in her husband's property by unchastity leading to outcasting, but the rights of her children are not affected.

7. As already stated, a woman passes to her husband's family, and a son-in-law has therefore no rights in his father-in-law's property. He cannot be adopted because he belongs to another *kili*, but he may be taken into the house of his father-in-law, to act as a sort of guardian of the family and property. He cannot, however, succeed to his father-in-law's property except with the consent of all the relatives who would have succeeded in the ordinary course.

8. To revert to the pedigree given in paragraph 1, suppose that, after the partition of A's property, his sons B and C live jointly, while D and E live separately from them and from each other. If B dies without any direct heirs, all his personal property goes to C, but his landed property is divided between C, D and E, C being perhaps given an additional amount in consideration of the fact that he may have helped the deceased to improve the portion of the joint holding under partition.

9. Finally, if there are no direct heirs or agnates, the succession passes to the members of the same *kili* residing in the same village. The exogamous sept known as *kilis*. All the members of a *kili* are supposed

to be descended from a common ancestor by a fiction similar to that which united the Roman gens, and it is curious that the Ho custom in this respect is the same as the earlier Roman law under which the *gentiles* came next in the order of intestate succession to *sui heredes* and *agnati*. It must be admitted that the existing practice among the Hos is not in accordance with this custom, nor, for the matter, is the rule in the Kolhan record-offices regarding the settlement of deserted *jots* and those of deceased tenants. The latter (Rule 18) gives the preference to resident tenants of the same race, and the *mundas* are only too glad to escape responsibility for the rent by settling the land with any recorded resident who will take it. I have never known of a case in which members of the same *kili* living in the same village have disputed the settlement of a vacant holding with some other resident *raiyat*, whether a Ho or another *kili* or an outsider, but I have been assured everywhere that such members have the right to succeed on the failure of blood-relations, and the custom confirms on one side the truth of Maine's observations that "the family in India has a perpetual tendency to expand into the village community."

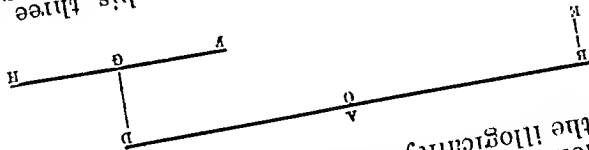
10. It seems almost unnecessary to add that a father has no power over the distribution of his property after his death. He cannot, for instance, nominate a particular son to succeed to all his property. It is known that the division or uneven distribution of property by means of a will is an incident that did not appear until a comparatively late stage in the development of testamentary succession, and it cannot therefore be expected to manifest itself in a community in which testamentary succession itself has not yet been evolved. I may mention, however, that I have recently come across a case in which the married daughter of a Ho who had become a Christian claimed to succeed to his property under a registered will bequeathing it to her to the exclusion of his brothers, who were still Animists. The case was compromised, and the principal point did not therefore have to be decided, but it is one that will probably come up again before long. *Prima facie*, I am inclined to think that, as a Ho is permanently outcasted on becoming a Christian and loses his rights in the remainder of the family property, he is entitled to deal with his property in accordance with the Christian practice.

11. Turning now to partitions, it may be remarked that in India the laws of succession are regarded as connected primarily with the rupture of the family by partition rather than by death. The general rules governing partitions *inter vivos* are usually the same as those governing succession, and this is the case among the Hos. The property is divided among the sons in accordance with the foregoing rules, the parents retaining a share for themselves. On the father's death, the widow keeps this share and it is not divided until both parents have died. If they have been living with one particular son, the latter has no exclusive right to this *khorphoshi* land unless he has, on the refusal of the other brothers to do so, paid all the funeral expenses of his parents. Disputes as to land retained by parents for maintenance are not uncommon. In one case, a son had looked after his mother and her land for several years, and, on her death, had borne so much of the funeral expenses as could not be met out of her personal estate. Another son had not, however, been given any opportunity of participating in these expenses, and a *panchayat* decided that he was entitled to half the land on refunding half the amount expended by his brother. It may be added that sons cannot demand a partition during their father's lifetime. It is, however, usual to give a son some land on his marriage, but this is taken into consideration when the land is divided after the father's death. A father may partition before all his sons have grown up. The minor son or sons remain with him in that case, and he retains their share or shares. 12. The customs regulating adoption are closely connected with those regarding succession and partition. Among the Hos, two forms of adoption have to be distinguished. One affects succession and is hedged around by several restrictions, the other does not affect succession and is comparatively untrammelled. The first is known as *adibundul*, and gives the adopted son the same rights as a natural son. It cannot be resorted to unless there are no direct heirs, i.e., sons or grandsons, daughters being no bar. The second is known as *usullawa*, and occurs when an orphan is taken into a man's house. It is not necessary that the adopter should have no sons of his own, because the *usullawa hon* (*hon* in Ho means child) has no rights in his adopted father's property. The latter may give him a small piece of land if he likes, but ordinarily he only receives

16. The family share all they have in common till the death of the father when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son succeeds to the paternal estate.

SANTALS.

A's property had been divided between his three sons B, C and D, who were in separate possession of their own shares. C, having no direct heirs, had, with the consent of B, E and D, adopted (*adhinidat*) G in the customary manner. G got no shares of B, E and D. Later, G himself died, leaving no direct heirs, had, with the consent of B, E and D, adopted (*adhinidat*) G in the customary manner. G got no shares of B, E and D. Later, G himself died, leaving no direct heirs, had, with the consent of B, E and D, adopted (*adhinidat*) G in the customary manner. G got no shares of B, E and D.



15. In conclusion, the following case may be noticed as an interesting illustration of the illogicality of primitive customs:—

15. In conclusion, the following of primitive customs:—
gets both his own and his adopted father's property.
in his natural father's property unless he is the only son, in which case he
course necessary in the former case.
more than one *Asulhara hon*. Aged bachelors, widowers and widows can
Asulhara hon, he cannot adopt another in the same way, but he may have
a girl may be adopted as an *Asulhara hon*. Once a man has adopted a
young to look after itself. Only males can be adopted.
The *Asulhara hon* may be of any age; the *Asulhara hon* is necessarily too
may be a member of the same *Asulhara hon*. Anyone may be an *Asulhara hon*,
particular relative having a right of preference. Existing blood-relations, be
14. The *Asulhara hon* must be a relative on the male side, no
feeling rather than a custom.
Asulhara hon is given no one's permission is necessary, this being a
his body with new clothes dyed yellow, and turning their
assigned their oil and turning their oil and turning their oil and turning their oil

APPENDIX

(4) If a man leaves only daughters, the property remains in the possession of the widow, supervised by the grandfather or the uncles. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow has the right to stay in the house of her deceased husband, if she not prefers to live with one of her married daughters.

(5) If a man leaves no sons and the widow takes a son-in-law, or *posh putra*, in her house, he will inherit the whole movable property and the *raihas* and *korkar* lands, but not the *bhuinhari*-lands, which will go to the next male heir of the family, or, if there are no male heirs, to the members of the *khunt* who will dispose of it.*

19. Another account of the customs among the Mundas is as follows:—The family property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets half a *kath* or one *kath* land more than the others. If, when the property is divided, some of the sons are married and others are unmarried, some bullocks and paddy, or the equivalent, will be put aside for the marriage expenses before making the partition. Daughters have no right to any share. If a man dies without any sons, the widow remains in possession of the whole property of her husband until her death, whether she has a daughter or is childless. After her death, the whole property passes to the natural heirs, viz., the brothers of her husband by the same father, or their sons. She can have her fields tilled by hired servants or by her relatives, and the latter will arrange marriage for the girls.

20. There are special rules for those who marry under the *gharia-wain* (or *ghardamad*) system. If the son-in-law stays in the house of his father-in-law and works for his father-in-law or mother-in-law for three years, he does not pay anything for his marriage. If after his marriage he remains with his father-in-law or mother-in-law and takes care of them till their death, he inherits the whole property. If after the marriage he wishes to go to his father's house, he gets from his father-in-law or mother-in-law one pair of bullocks, one *mora* of paddy, i.e., about 12 maunds, and some land to live on. If a widow marries she gives up all her right to her former husband's property.

21. A childless man can adopt a child with the consent of his relatives. The child will be considered the lawful heir of the person who adopts him. He has a right to all the movable property of his adopted father after his death, and, in case the deceased had relatives, he will get a greater share of the land than the others, the excess amount being determined by the *panchayat*.†

KHONDS (KANDHS).

22. Amongst the Khonds the family, as a rule, remains undivided during the father's life-time, and sometimes also till the death of the mother, who cooks the meals and serves them out to all the members of the family. If, owing to a disagreement or from some other cause, it is considered necessary for them to live apart, the married sons build houses for themselves where they cook and eat separately with their wives and children, while the unmarried sons and daughters continue to live with the parents. This does not necessarily involve the division of the property. Though some members of the family may be living apart, they still cultivate their land together.

23. After the father's death, the elders of the village assemble and partition the land and cattle, in equal shares, between all the sons. The eldest son gets an extra field added to his share, and each unmarried son gets an extra head of cattle for the purchase of a bride. A few fields are set apart for the maintenance of the mother and daughters; some are also reserved for the maintenance of the father if the division takes place during his lifetime. Their land and the land of the minor sons who are living with them are cultivated for them by one of the adult sons or by a hired servant. Sometimes, the adult sons arrange to distribute the dependent members of the family among themselves, e.g., one of them shelters the mother, another takes one of the sisters or a minor brother, etc. When the minors grow up and are married, they begin cultivating their shares themselves, but the fields reserved for the mother and daughters are taken for good and all by the son or sons who have given them shelter, and who are responsible for the funeral expenses of the mother and the marriage of the daughters. A similar division of the property and distribution of the dependent members of the

* Contributed by the Revd. Dr A. Nottrott of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

† Contributed by the Revd E. Van Hecke, s. J., of Khunti.

family is often made by the father before his death if disputes arise, or if he thinks they are likely to arise after his death. In such a case he may take a whole share of the property for his maintenance and the maintenance of the mother and daughters. This is divided amongst the sons after the death of the parents and the marriage of the daughters. Married daughters get nothing whatever when a partition takes place.

24. If a man dies without male issue, his property is inherited in equal shares by his brothers, and, if there are no brothers, by his paternal uncles. Women have no rights in the soil. Daughters therefore are not allowed to hold land, but are supported by their nearest male relation. Young widows usually return to their father's homes, but if a widow elects to live with her husband's people, she may cultivate his land with the consent of his brothers, who see that she does not waste the property. She must bring up the children and get them married. If she has sons, the property is divided between them after her death; if she has no sons, the division is made between her brothers-in-law. If a young brother wishes to marry a widow, he may do so, as he has the first claim on her. He takes possession of all his deceased brother's property and is responsible for the maintenance and marriage of the children and the funeral expenses of the widow. The sons divide the property after the death of their mother and step-father, but if there are no sons, the division takes place after the marriage of the daughters and the death of the widow. Sons of two wives have equal shares in the property, whether the second marriage has taken place during the life-time of the first wife or after her death. A second marriage is never permitted during the life-time of the first wife unless she is barren. She selects the second bride, and it sometimes happens that she has children after the second marriage has taken place. Sons-in-law have no claim to any portion of the property. Land is jealously guarded against a member of an alien tribe, and aliens cannot acquire any rights in the soil without the consent of the other members of the family. If a man invites his son-in-law to live with him and cultivate his land, the latter can continue to hold the land after his death only with the consent of the brothers and uncles, to whom the property has passed by right of inheritance. The prohibition extends for four generations, after which the great-great-grandson is treated as a member of the sept.*

ORAOONS.

25. Before approaching the question of inheritance and partition, mention should be made of certain restrictions which, among Oraons, affect the disposal of property, and, it seems, the very notion of possession.

(i) As a rule, males alone can possess. Women, being by nature destined to 'go and blow another man's furnace,' neither inherit nor receive shares on partition. They can, however, in certain cases, undertake the personal administration of property, enjoy the exclusive usufruct thereof, and even, under specified circumstances, dispose of it finally. Thus, a widow who has no son may adopt either a son or a "prospective son-in-law," i.e., a man who will serve in the house and ultimately marry one of the daughters, and the adoptee will have a right to succeed to the property of the widow's husband at her death.

(ii) Oraon land-owners do not make wills. They may, during their lifetime, sell and even give away property, at least within reasonable limits; they may, by adopting a child, cause their fortune to go out of their family; but they are not at liberty to make any disposition of their property, or any part of it, which will take effect at their death. Custom regulates who shall be their heirs and what portion shall accrue to each heir.

(iii) Under the joint family system, which prevails among the Oraons, the father is sole owner. His sons, married or unmarried, possess nothing personally. The Oraon principle is that sons, so long as their father is alive, must not separate from him, even as regards habitation. Sons, sons' wives and grandsons live under his roof; to enable them to do so, cattle, grain, provisions, etc., will, if necessary, be moved to adjoining out-houses. All are under the parental rule and form but one household (*onta erpa*) in every possible sense, all toiling at the same fields, all eating from the old man's one cooking pot, all depositing their earnings in the same family jar. The fact of one of the inmates going away does not cause him to become a

* Contributed by Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer, Khondmals.

separate owner. He preserves his right not only to an eventual share of the 'ancestral fields, but also (if he sends his earnings home) to a share of the family savings that go on accumulating during his absence. When a partition takes place, no one is entitled to a preferential share by reason of his industry or any extra earnings he may have had or may have saved during the joint family regime.

(iv) Questions of inheritance, and partitions, unless quite simple and clear, are submitted to, and decided by the village *panchayat*. If this rule were violated, the village assembly would refuse to entertain complaints or appeals from the decisions of the family council (also called *panchayat*).

26. The property of an Oraon cultivator generally consists of a few annas of *dou* (low) land with some high land attached, one or two houses, cattle, ploughs, tools, household movables and the money he has saved from the sale of his crops. In the Barwe, it may be explained, one anna of land is the area which can be sown over with 4 *uriyas* of seed, an *uriya* (or *uddu*) being a roundish basket which contains about 30 *pukka* seers of paddy. A "share" is made up of these different parts, viz., a parcel of *dou* land and high land, some money from the family purse, a modicum of cattle and agricultural implements.

27. *Inheritance*.—To turn now to the subject of inheritance, we shall assume that the dead man had ceased to work in community of interest with his father or brothers, and was, at the time of his demise, a separate owner. If he had not separated, the solutions of hypothetical cases given below will be subject to certain conditions which will be stated in the section dealing with Partition (paragraph 31 *et seq.*). All the possible combinations of circumstances may conveniently be reduced to three typical cases. The solution of other cases, viz., from which one feature of a typical case is absent or in which the features of two typical cases are mixed, will generally be obvious.

28. *Case No. 1.—The deceased leaves a widow with grown-up children (not daughters only)*.—The sons first of all set apart their mother's share, i.e., about half an anna of land with attached high land, a pair of bullocks and plough, some twenty or thirty rupees, and whatever paddy is required for her subsistence till the new crop is reaped. This jointure she is free to manage as she pleases, e.g., she may have the land cultivated by her sons or by strangers on the *saiha* (half produce) system of rent; she may enjoy it for life, though she cannot alienate it. As a rule, she simply adds it to the share of the son with whom she goes to end her days, and who will afterwards be her sole heir. If she is prepared to live alone or with one of her daughters, her share will, at her death, revert to the sons and be divided among them.* If, at the time of her marriage, she had received any money as dowry, and if this dowry or its equivalent is still with her (having been converted into non-consumable property or, possibly, kept in a jar), the widow resumes it without prejudice to her share of her husband's property. At her death both dowry and share will go *in integro* to the son with whom she went to live.

29. The widow's share having been allotted, the brothers parcel out the remaining patrimony (land, money, cattle, and household movables) according to a scale dependent on their respective ages, as described below. In applying this scale to the apportionment of land, regard must be had to the fertility of the soil allotted to each as much as to its net area, and therefore the youngest of the brothers is first provided with at least half an anna of good low land. The remainder is next divided in such a way that each of the other brothers gets, as far as is consistent with the total area and the variable quality of the soil, a share double that assigned to the brother next to above him in age. For instance, if three annas of land is to be parcelled out between three brothers, the youngest will receive half an anna of good soil, the middle one will get, say, one or two half annas of good and indifferent land, and the eldest will receive one anna of good and half an anna of indifferent land. This unequal allotment is meant to correspond roughly to the unequal number of years spent in toiling on the paternal fields. Should one of the elder brothers have met, when a child, with some accident permanently incapacitating him from work, he would receive a share no larger than the brother immediately next to him.

30. If all the brothers are not born of the same mother, they each get a share† calculated as above, with this difference, that the sons by the second

* The whole of this paragraph applies to a step-mother as well as to a mother.

† The brothers may, of course, make no separation of interests, if they prefer to keep the property joint. In the latter case, every one's share, would remain under the management of the eldest brother. Cf. the section on Partition [paragraph 31 (b)].

‡ This is not the case if the brothers have, at the time of their father's second marriage, demanded a partition.

wife get less than the sons by the first wife, *e.g.*, if 5 annas of land are to be divided between four brothers, two by a first and two by a second wife, the combined shares of the first two will perhaps amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas, whereas those of the other two will be the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas. Illegitimate brothers, and sons of the father's second wife by a first husband, receive no share whatever. Also, if one of the brothers, by misconduct or marriage with a non-Oraon girl, has lost his tribal rights and not recovered them, he has no claim to inheritance. Articles which it would be difficult to divide, or of which the value is not enough to make it worth while to sell them, are often given up by the heirs to their adult sisters. For instance, if 15 maunds of paddy, a cow and two goats have to be divided, the elder sister would receive, say, 8 maunds and the cow, and the younger 7 maunds and the two goats: the cow and the goats are merely gifts, not shares.

31. *Case No. II.—The deceased leaves a childless widow, or a widow with grown-up daughters.*—The widow may have been the deceased's first or second wife: in both cases, provided that she does not remarry or return to her parental home, she is entitled to the administration and exclusive usufruct of her husband's property until her death.* Her administration is only subject to a sort of mild supervision on the part of her husband's relatives, and she may not quit the village. Should she marry again, all movable and immovable property may be resumed by the natural heirs from the day that she quits the house: on leaving her husband's relatives, she is merely allowed the clothes she has on.† If she has grown-up unmarried daughters, they may not follow her; otherwise, they forfeit all claims on their grandfather and uncles as regards their marriage.

Once the widow has quitted the house, the inheritance reverts to the dead man's father: in default of the latter, the dead man's brothers divide it among themselves on the same scale as regulates succession from father to sons. In case of the pre-decease of any of the brothers, his sons receive his part of the heritage and subdivide it (at once or eventually) among themselves. Should the deceased have left neither brothers nor nephews, his paternal uncles succeed.

None of the daughters can prefer a claim to inheritance, but should they be still unmarried, their mother, in case she enjoys the usufruct, or for their father's relatives, if she does not, are bound to maintain them until suitable husbands have been found for them. No dowry is demandable.

32. There exists only one expedient by which a man who is unfortunate enough to have only daughters and no sons may, during his life-time, arrange to leave them his property.‡ This consists of the adoption of a prospective son-in-law, called *erpaion khaddi* (Hindi, *ghardamad*, or *ghardijwa*), who wins his wife by service as Jacob did Leah. There are three kinds of prospective sons-in-law. Those of the first kind (found exclusively in Barwe) are practically servants. They receive pay in kind of 8 maunds of paddy a year, their food and clothing, plus a yearly bonus varying from 2 to 12 maunds of paddy, and when the daughter is finally given to them as a wife, they have to leave the house. Those of the second kind (rare in Lohardaga and Ranchi) may after marriage either stay in the house or set up a separate establishment for themselves. In addition to their pay, board and clothing, the yearly bonus and the wife, they receive, on departure, a pair of bullocks and plough, their tools and various household articles. The third kind of prospective son-in-law, the only one of which we speak in connection with inheritance, is rare; among every hundred families having only daughters perhaps ten such sons-in-law may be found. He gets neither pay nor bonus, but receives the same treatment as a son, and if there are servants in the house, they obey him as their future master. Personal pride will, as a rule, prevent an Oraon youth, unless he is an orphan and destitute, from becoming a *ghardamad* of any kind and "indebted for his living to his wife." When, for such reasons as widowhood, divorce, age, etc., it is probable that a man will die without male issue, he may, on the ground that he wants hands for the cultivation of his fields, take in his house one or more young men, and adopt them as prospective sons-in-law, conferring upon them all the rights of inheritance due to a son or sons. The only conditions are that they must

* We assume that the deceased had no son by his first wife.

† This is the practice in the Barwe. It is said that elsewhere in Ranchi brothers-in-law show themselves somewhat more generous.

‡ A widow who retains the usufruct of her husband's property has power to make arrangements to the same effect *i.e.*, she may adopt a prospective son-in-law or a son who will be entitled at her death to succeed to her husband's property.

marry his daughters and work for him until his death. He may, if he prefers, confer the right of sonship upon any young man who agrees to the latter condition: the son adopted in this way will inherit all the property subject only to the charge of providing for the widow and daughters, if any. Adoption, pure and simple, is the only possible scheme when the adopted boy is a relative or when the old man is childless.

It might conceivably happen that the man may have male issue after adopting an heir. The question of inheritance must then be settled by amicable compromise, the natural heir and the adopted heir dividing the property much as an elder and younger brothers would, i.e., on an inverted scale of ages.

33. *Case No. III.—The deceased leaves a widow with small children.*—If the widow does not remarry, she retains (as in Case No. II) the administration and usufruct of her husband's property subject to the charges already described, with the power of adopting sons-in-law or sons. She keeps all her children in her own house. If she has sons, she is bound, when they come of age, to hand over to them their shares of the paternal fields and of any money they have saved, keeping for herself only half an anna of land, etc., as in Case No. I.

If the widow remarries, there are two possible contingencies. First, if her dead husband's children are all daughters, the property reverts to the dead man's relatives, subject to the ordinary charges. Secondly, if her children by her first husband are only boys or boys and girls, the property is administered, during the minority of the children, by their paternal grandfather or one of their paternal uncles. But, whatever is the sex of the children, and, even if they are all daughters, the trustee is entitled to take them all over to his house if they can render themselves useful there by tending cattle, driving the plough or helping in household work. For those under nine or ten years of age, the trustee makes a fixed allowance to the mother. When they have reached that age, if they do not come over to his house, not only will the allowance be stopped, but the boys will forfeit their patrimony altogether, and no further grants will be made for the maintenance of the girls.

34. *Partition.*—In the preceding sections an account has been given of the breaking up of a joint family holding into several distinct holdings immediately after the owner's death. Partition may also take place some time after the owner's death or during his lifetime. In both cases, the parcelling out of land and money may be particular or general. For instance:—

(a) A widower's adult sons are entitled, in the event of their father taking a second wife, to demand a general partition. This step is, as a rule, taken before the birth* of a child by the second marriage; otherwise, the applicants would have to reserve at least one share for him, if a male (see Inheritance, Case No. I). And, as bachelors are never allowed to separate from their father, the demand for partition must be made to the father or the village assembly by the married sons.

(b) From a similar interested motive, brothers who, for any period subsequent to their father's death, have continued to hold the property jointly, may demand partition, if the eldest (who, in all matters not justifying a family council, is the manager of their joint land and joint purse) turns out to be incapable, careless or of doubtful integrity.

(c) Whether the family patriarch is dead or not, the frequent recurrence of broils between the brother's wives is a common cause of partitions.

(d) Any member of a joint family may, from the date of his marriage, apply for his share to his father or (if the father is dead) to the family council: an appeal to the village *panchayat* is open to him in case of refusal. His request will often be granted, if based on reasonable grounds, as is the case when the applicant is desirous and, on all accounts, able to conduct his own affairs, or when he or his wife has some standing quarrel with the rest of the family, or when he reasonably suspects that his interests will not be safe in the hands of others. Orphan nephews often obtain separation from their uncles on the latter account.

35. Partition, whatever its nature and extent, has to be applied for, and, in order to be obtained, must be justifiable on prudential, if not on other, grounds. When insisted upon against reason, or extorted by

* Unless children have no share of the property—*So'ch' kash' le' hain?* What can be the share of a man's wife? *Nayto hain danda d.—*A want thread for the suture! i.e., to reserve a share for a child still in the womb would be as silly as making clothes for an unborn child.

irregular methods, the applicant's share may be reduced to one-fourth, or even one-half, of the amount otherwise due to him. The normal quota of land and money constituting a partition share mainly depends on the place each particular member of a joint family occupies in the genealogical tree. This quota has been sufficiently described above.

(a) *Inheritance Cases Nos. I and II.*—When, before the death of the owner or of his first and second wife, a partition, general or particular, takes place, the share due to each, or any, separating member of the family is somewhat diminished by the necessity of making provision for the maintenance of the remaining parent or parents. This provision is, under no circumstances, larger than that mentioned in Case No. I of inheritance. If, at the time of general partition, there are female orphans in the family which is to be broken up, they are taken care of *gratis* by the grandfather or one of the uncles.

(b) *Posthumous shares.*—If at the time of his decease, a man's share has not yet become his effective property (his father still being the owner), or, if though possessed by him, it has not yet been dissociated from his brother's holdings, a preliminary partition is, of course, indispensable before the said share can be inherited by the deceased's descendants and become liable to the further partition which has been described in the section dealing with Inheritance.

(c) In what is stated below we are exclusively concerned with the rules that govern preliminary partitions of this kind. All the points not touched upon here must be settled as in the section on Inheritance.

Case I.—If the widow has grown-up children (not daughters only), the sons will judge for themselves whether they want to separate from their uncles. If they do, a preliminary partition must take place. If there are unmarried daughters, they will be cared for by their mother and brothers.

Case II.—If the widow is childless or has daughters only, it being further supposed that she does not remarry, her right to administer, and enjoy the usufruct of, her husband's property does not come into operation at once. She may not demand that her husband's share be separated for her, until such time as a general partition is brought about by other causes. Meanwhile, she and her unmarried daughters are, as a consequence, obliged not to leave the house where the joint family resides.

Case III.—If the widow has small children of the male sex, she may demand a posthumous partition, everything subsequently proceeding as in case No. III of Inheritance.*

* Contributed by the Revd. Father A. Grignard, S. J., of Tongo.



**RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA AND SIKKIM, 1911.**

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CALCUTTA, THE 14TH JULY 1913.

RESOLUTION—No. 3435.

READ—

The Report on the Census of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim, 1911, by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal.

THE fifth census of Bengal was taken on the 10th March 1911, and showed the population of the Province to be 57,206,430 as compared with 78,493,410 returned at the previous census of 1901. But in the interim the area of the Province had been reduced from 196,408 square miles to 148,592 by the administrative changes of 1905 and the transfer of Sikkim to the direct control of the Government of India in 1906. The taking of the census was followed by another redistribution of territories, which still further reduced the area and population.

2. The census operations were conducted by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley in Bengal and by Mr. J. McSwiney in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the procedure followed in these two provinces has been described in detail in two separate volumes. The Provincial and Imperial tables have, however, been compiled on a different principle, those for Bengal and Sikkim forming one volume and those for Bihar and Orissa another.

3. The present report, which deals with the results of the census not only in the Presidency of Bengal, but also in the Province of Bihar and Orissa and the State of Sikkim, has been read with interest by the Governor in Council, who desires to place on record the following observations regarding the main features of the operations in Bengal.

4. The administrative changes of 1905 and 1912 threw a heavy additional burden on the census officers. To afford a basis for comparison with previous years, the published statistics for each preceding census had to be recast twice, viz., once, before the census, for the two Provinces then in existence, and again, after the census, for the new Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam. This retarded the issue of the Report and added to the cost of the operations.

The total cost of the census for Bengal is estimated at Rs. 2,67,322, which represents an incidence of Rs. 5-12-4 per mille of the population, a rate but slightly in excess of that for 1901 in spite of the intermediate rise in wages and the extra work resulting from the administrative changes.

As in previous years, the bulk of the work was performed by an army of unpaid helpers, the number of whom reached nearly 350,000 in Bengal. To all of these great praise is due for the efficient performance of their honorary duties; their task was difficult and not wholly free from danger. The organisation was excellent, and many astonishing facts are recorded of the speed with which returns were brought in from remote corners of the wilder districts.

5. The Presidency of Bengal, as now constituted, embraces an area of 84,092 square miles and contains a population of 46,305,642. Somewhat smaller than the British Isles, it has almost a million more inhabitants. The density of the population ranges between 1,850 to the square mile in the district of Howrah and 30 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; the average is 551. The only other district with a population of over 1,000 to the square mile is Dacca. In the 24-Parganas, in spite of its huge mill population, the average is only 502, for the district contains large tracts of the Sundarbans, a very sparsely populated area.

The actual increase in the population since 1901 has been nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 8 per cent. There has been a gradual but steady rise in the

percentage of increase at each successive census since 1872. Different localities show widely different rates of increase, but during the last 20 years it is in the most populous areas that the pace has been quickest on the whole.

The influence of efficient drainage works upon the growth of the population is well illustrated by the area round Magra Hât, a tract of nearly 300 square miles in the district of the 24-Parganas. Thirty years ago this tract was described as one where fever was constantly present in every village, its inhabitants "imured to a semi-amphibious life by a long course of preparation resulting in the survival of the fittest." Now all this has changed, and the population, which is entirely agricultural, already shows an increase of 29 per cent. since 1901, although the drainage scheme has not even yet been fully worked out.

6. *Cities, Towns and Villages.*—Since the last census the urban population has increased by 13 per cent., a rate considerably in excess of the average for the whole population. It cannot, however, be said that the depopulation of the rural tracts is yet a serious problem, for 936 persons out of every 1,000 still live in the country. Two-fifths of the urban population centre in Calcutta and Howrah, and there has been a striking growth of the riparian population along the Hooghly, in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah. These centres of the manufacturing industry show some remarkable figures. Bhatpara, for example, has increased by 500 per cent. since 1881, and now contains a population of over 50,000. Titagarh has trebled its population since 1901, and Bhadreswar, on the other side of the river, has increased by 61 per cent. Since 1901, the number of factories in the 24-Parganas district alone has risen from 74 to 121, and the number of operatives from a little over 94,000 to nearly 170,000. The jute mills in Bengal now employ over 200,000 hands, about double the number recorded at the previous census.

The total population of Calcutta and its suburbs has reached the huge figure of 1,013,307, which places it second only to London in the British Empire, and gives it rank among the 12 largest cities of the world. This population is made up of an agglomeration of races and castes from all parts of India and from many foreign lands. Three hundred and ninety-seven separate races, castes and nationalities were returned at the census, and more than half the residents were born outside Calcutta. Over a quarter of a million of Calcutta's inhabitants derive their living from industrial occupations and close on 200,000 from trade.

7. *Migration.*—The balance of migration is strongly in favour of Bengal, for it receives nearly 2 millions of immigrants, but sends out only half a million. Bihar and Orissa contribute the greatest number of immigrants, 1½ million, and the United Provinces come next with over 400,000.

8. *Religion.*—In Bengal as now constituted 97·6 per cent. of the population consists of Musalmans and Hindus, the former outnumbering the latter by 3½ millions and forming over 52 per cent. of the whole. The figures of relative growth show that during the last decade the increase among Muhammadans has been nearly thrice as great as among Hindus.

Of other religions, Animists number nearly three-fourths of a million, Buddhists a quarter of a million, and Christians 130,000. Jains, Sikhs, Jews, Parsis and others are very few in number.

9. *Age, Sex and Civil Condition.*—The rate of infant mortality is appalling. One child out of every five dies within a year of birth. Calcutta, in spite of its good sanitation and good water-supply, heads the list with a death-rate among infants of 31 per cent. Early marriage, utter ignorance of the simplest rules of hygiene, insanitary surroundings, and, among the parents of the labouring classes, poverty, which compels the mother to work almost up to the day of her confinement, are among the causes which reduce the chances of a child surviving the early stages of its life.

On the other hand the longevity of Hindu widows is remarkable: all lead simple lives, and many, bereaved at an early age, escape the dangers of child-birth.

The universality of marriage in Bengal continues, despite the rise in the market value of both brides and bridegrooms owing to the increased cost of living and the widening of the field of selection by improvement



as to prescribe not that language which a person most often used but that which he ordinarily spoke in his own home.

The change has resulted in greater accuracy in the returns, and from a linguistic point of view Bengal appears more homogeneous now than ever before. Bengali is the language of 92 per cent. of the population, and Hindi and Urdu account for another 4 per cent., while nearly 45 out of the 46 millions speak languages belonging to the Indo-European family.

The Hindi and Urdu speakers centre mostly round the mills of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, which draw their labour from Bihar and the United Provinces.

12. *Infirmities*.—As in 1901, four infirmities are recorded, viz., insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and leprosy. The last decade has witnessed an increase in all the infirmities except leprosy. In Bengal there are 43 insane persons to every 100,000 of the population, insanity being most prevalent to the east of the Bhagirathi. No district except Darjeeling and Nadia has less than 25 insane persons per 100,000, and the proportion rises as high as 157 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Chapter dealing with Insanity contains a highly interesting account of the beliefs among both educated and uneducated classes about the causes and cures of insanity.

Deaf-mutism, with its associates, cretinism and goitre, is most prevalent in North Bengal, and especially in Sikkim. The proportion of sufferers to general population has remained stationary since the last census.

Blindness is less prevalent than it was, except in the Presidency Division, where the proportion remains stationary.

The number of lepers has also decreased.

13. *Caste*.—The Chapter on Caste is the longest and most interesting in this volume. At the last census, statistics of all castes and tribes were compiled. At this, it was laid down that statistics should be prepared only for the more important castes, and for such others as Local Governments might for special reasons wish to include. The Government of Bengal had figures collected for all castes and tribes which in 1901 numbered 50,000 or more in the Province, for all that numbered 25,000 or more in a single district, and for certain others of special local importance or ethnological interest. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam compiled figures for 450 groups with a strength varying from 1 to 22 millions.

Mr. O'Malley's observations bear witness to the extraordinary social unrest that prevails to-day among the lower castes. No part of the census aroused so much excitement as this. A belief got abroad that the object of the census was to fix the relative status of each caste and to settle claims to social superiority; and this belief was largely fostered by the fact that at the last census castes were classed in order of social precedence. Petition after petition poured in from members of different castes praying to be designated by new names, or to be placed higher on the list. Somewhat different methods were adopted in the two Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam for dealing with these delicate problems. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, for example, the numerous groups of Muhammadans who desired to be called Sheikhs were all entered as such, irrespective of what the enumerators considered or knew them really to be. The result has been an extraordinary (and misleading) increase in the numbers of Sheikhs in North and East Bengal; in fact, 95 per cent. of the whole Muhammadan population of the province have now been recorded as Sheikhs. In Bengal, on the other hand, such latitude was not allowed, and members of a group were entered only under those names by which the group was generally known. It was wisely decided that at this census there should be no classification by status, and thus the difficulty of deciding to which of the four main divisions of Hindus each individual belonged was overcome. But the case of those castes who wished to arrogate to themselves an entirely new name was different, and the new name was entered by the census authorities if it was recognised by the Hindu community at large and was not used by any other caste. Thus the Chandals have been entered as Namasudras and the Chasi Kaibarttas as Māhishyas. The case of the Namasudras is

curious and instructive. A generation ago they were content to call themselves Chandals. Advancing in wealth, they adopted the title of Namasudra, and at the census of 1891 they were entered as "Namasudra or Chandal." In 1901 they were entered as "Namasudra (Chandal)." In 1911 Chandal was dropped, but their further prayer to be called Namasudra Brahmans was disallowed.

Similarly, the Rajbansis claim to be entered as Kshattriyas and the Shahas as Vaisyas.

A comparatively modern symptom of this anxiety for the improvement of social status is the growth of the caste Samiti or Sabha. Most of these bodies have come into existence since the last census and especially since the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Their main object is to improve the social position of the caste, and their organization varies from combinations of the loosest kind to limited liability companies.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the statistics show that the "Bhadralok" castes are progressive. The Brahmans have increased by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the Baidyas by 9 per cent, and the Kayasthas by 13 per cent.

This Chapter on Caste is remarkable for its careful review of many matters of great ethnological interest, such as "initiation into caste" and "caste government." Some of these have a very important bearing on the administration of the country at the present day. Mr. O'Malley remarks that on the whole the accessibility of the law courts is tending to weaken the system of caste self-government. There is also a tendency for the panchayat system to be supplanted by the practice of referring disputes to the local zamindar.

At the same time, Co-operative Societies, a comparatively new growth, are providing a new village organization which discharges many of the functions of the caste panchayats. Being formed on a basis of unlimited liability, these Societies find it necessary to inquire closely into the position of new members, and, as a result, the tendency has been for these Societies to exercise a very salutary influence towards curtailing marriage expenses and reducing litigation, two of the largest items of expenditure in village life. Numerous examples are reported of the way in which Co-operative Societies intervene with good effect in the village social life.

Though there is, properly speaking, no caste system among Musalmans, yet in the organization of panchayats they have assimilated Hindu ideas. A remarkable example of this is the general panchayat of Dacca, an organization which is recognised by all Muhammadans except the Ashraf class, and exists for the settlement of disputes between members of the community. Disputes are decided in the first place by a panchayat; from them there is an appeal to an appellate "bench," and from that again to a "full bench" consisting of the highest office bearers of the Association.

14. *Occupations.*—The classification of occupations has at this census been regulated by a new scheme drawn up by the Census Commissioner on the basis of that prepared by M. Bertillon which has already been adopted by many other countries. Instead of 8 main classes, 24 orders, 79 sub-orders and 520 groups, a classification has been adopted consisting of only 4 main classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders and 169 groups. Mr. O'Malley observes that even this classification is more elaborate than Indian conditions seem to require, but that its defects are few and unimportant.

Nearly three-fourths of the people are supported by agriculture. The head "Industries" embraces nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom about one-fourth depend on textile industries. The figures connected with the manufacture of jute show the astonishing increase of 140 per cent. since 1901. This industry provides for 328,000 persons. Transport supports nearly a million persons and public administration nearly half a million. Professions and the liberal arts account for nearly a million. The legal profession has increased by 30 per cent. since 1901, there being now nearly 10,000 lawyers in Bengal.

Extremely interesting results were obtained from an industrial census held concurrently with the general census. For mills, mines, etc., employing over 20 persons, a special schedule was prescribed and this was filled in by

the owners or managers themselves. The total number of such concerns was found to be 1,166, employing over 600,000 persons, one-third of whom find employment in jute mills, and nearly another third on tea plantations. The great industrial centres are the districts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, and the 24-Parganas, where two-thirds of the industrial undertakings of the province are concentrated. Of the various industries, Indians own practically all the brass foundries, oil mills, rice mills, timber yards, brick works, etc., while Europeans enjoy an absolute monopoly of the jute mills and predominate in the tea gardens and machinery and engineering works. A noticeable feature in this connection is the large and steadily growing predominance of extra-provincial labour in these industrial centres. The Bengali is in a minority in nearly all, and most markedly in the jute mills.

The distribution of occupations between Hindus and Muhammadans forms an interesting commentary on the intellectual position of the followers of the two religions. The percentage of Musalmans in the total population is 52 and that of Hindus 45. But 37 per cent. of the latter and only 15 cent. of the former follow non-agricultural pursuits. The landlords, again, consist mainly of Hindus, the proportion being 7 Hindus to 3 Musalmans. These figures show that the great majority of the Musalmans have not yet risen beyond the stage of the cultivator who tills his own holding.

15. In conclusion the Governor in Council desires to place on record his appreciation of the labours of the District Officers, and of the host of officials and non-officials through whose devoted services the census of 1911 was carried to a successful conclusion, and to whom are due the accuracy, the care and the punctuality which have characterised the census throughout. His Excellency in Council wishes especially to acknowledge the services of Mr. O'Malley in conducting the census operations with such energy and ability and in compiling a report of conspicuous merit under conditions of unusual difficulty. The names of the officers commended by him and of those who have been separately reported for their good work will be recorded in the Appointment Department.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. F. SAMMAN,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.



higher incidence of mortality in the remaining districts. The excess of the Hindu death-rate was greatest in Puri, which is visited every year by a large number of Hindus, many of whom die of cholera and other diseases and help to swell the death-roll of the district. In Bengal the Muhammadans had a higher rate of mortality in the majority of districts of Central Bengal and East Bengal and in all the districts of North Bengal. In most of the districts of West Bengal, however, the death-rate was higher among the Hindus both in 1910 and in the rest of the decade.

600. In order to draw any reliable inferences regarding longevity, as evidenced by a large or small proportion of old persons, it is desirable to eliminate persons at the other extreme of life, the relative excess or deficiency of whom necessarily affects the proportion of the aged as well as of adults. Where, for instance, the proportion of children to the total population is large, that of adults must necessarily be smaller and, *a fortiori*, the proportion of old persons smaller still. In order therefore to see how far a high or low proportion of the aged is due to greater or less longevity, the proportion of persons aged 60 and over should be calculated, not on the total population which includes children, but on the number of adults aged 15—40. The ratio so obtained may, after making allowance for the inaccuracy of the age returns, be taken as a fair indication of relative longevity. We must also, however, make allowance for the effects of migration, migrants being mainly persons in the prime of life. The statement in the margin gives comparative figures by sex for each of the main religions and for each natural division. As females have a greater mean

NATURAL DIVISIONS.	PROPORTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER PER 100 AGED 15—40.							
	ALL RELIGIONS, 1911.		HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		ANIMIST.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	11	13	11	14·5	11	11	10·2	11·3
Bengal ...	11	12	11	14	10	10	11	11
West Bengal ...	11	13	11	14	11	13	11	14
Central Bengal ...	10	13	10	13	10	12	11	10
North Bengal ...	10	10	10	12	10	10	12	8
East Bengal ...	11	11	12	13	11	9	12	9
Bihar and Orissa	11	15	11	15	13	16	10	12
North Bihar ...	13	17	13	17	11	16	12	12
South Bihar ...	13	17	12	16	18	19	12	10
Orissa ...	11	13	11	13	12	16	9	10
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	9	12	9	12	10	12	10	12

age and a lower death-rate than males, it might naturally be expected that they would be more long-lived, and that the proportion of the old per 100 adults aged 15—40 would consequently be higher among them than among males. Subsidiary Tables IV-A, V and V-A show that this is really the case—generally in Bengal and almost universally in Bihar and Orissa, though the proportion of aged males in the latter province is artificially raised by the emigration of its adult males. It might be suggested as a possible hypothesis that exaggera-

tion of age is probably more common among females, but that is not a sufficient explanation of the fact that, compared with the other sex, females have a marked excess of old persons.

As regards religions, an apparent exception to this general rule is afforded by the Animists of Central Bengal. North Bengal and East Bengal, among whom old women are relatively less numerous than old men; but in these divisions the Animists are mostly immigrant labourers from Chota Nagpur, who naturally leave their old women at home. As regards localities, the greater longevity of females is common to all divisions except East and North Bengal, where their average duration of life is the same as that of the males. This is mainly the result of religion, for, as will be shown later, the longevity of females is greater among Hindus than among Musalmans, and the latter are in a majority in these two divisions. It is noticeable that it is among the Musalmans and Animists that the females yield place to the males, and not among the Hindus, who represent only 31 and 37 per cent. respectively of the population.

601. In Bengal the average span of life of Musalman and Hindu males is the same except in East Bengal, which is least affected by immigration from outside. Elsewhere,

BY RELIGION.

there is a large influx of adult Hindu males from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, who reduce the proportion of old persons. The returns of religion for 1,350,000 immigrants enumerated in Calcutta and the metropolitan districts show that there are three Hindus to every Muhammadan. Bearing this factor in mind, it may be granted that on the whole the Hindu males have longer lives, though the difference is small. That this is not a new feature will be seen from the principal table. The Muhammadans of Bihar and Orissa, and a people of North Bihar, seem to have a longer span of life than their co-religionists in Bengal. The higher for Hindu males, they have that the Hindu women chance of life are better than those enjoyed by the women of the other religions, but not by a large margin. The proportion of

		1				11			
		1881				1891			
		1881	1891	1901	1911	1881	1891	1901	1911
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.		12	15	112	12	154	165	137	133
Bengal		12	15	11	11	17	16	12	13
Bihar and Orissa		12	16	14	16	13	17	16	18

The proportion of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who are over 40 years of age, is 12 per cent. in 1881, 15 per cent. in 1891, 112 per cent. in 1901, and 12 per cent. in 1911. The proportion of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who are over 40 years of age, is 12 per cent. in 1881, 15 per cent. in 1891, 112 per cent. in 1901, and 12 per cent. in 1911. The proportion of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who are over 40 years of age, is 12 per cent. in 1881, 15 per cent. in 1891, 112 per cent. in 1901, and 12 per cent. in 1911.

		1881		1891		1901		1911	
Bengal		41	44	42	41	41	41	41	41
Bihar and Orissa		41	44	44	44	44	44	44	44

The proportion of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who are over 40 years of age, is 41 per cent. in 1881, 44 per cent. in 1891, 42 per cent. in 1901, and 41 per cent. in 1911. The proportion of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who are over 40 years of age, is 41 per cent. in 1881, 44 per cent. in 1891, 42 per cent. in 1901, and 41 per cent. in 1911.

Hindu widow of eighty, ninety or a hundred years of age." It is a commonplace of writers to lay stress on the hardships of the life of the Hindu widow—the author just quoted, in fact, says that in the Hindu widow "nature seems to have exemplified the symbol of misery associated with longevity"—but the fact remains that her lot, hard as it may often be, ensures an unusually long span of life.

605. An interesting fact, first pointed out by M. Sundbarg before the International Statistical Institute at Christiania in 1899, may be mentioned here, viz., that in almost all countries the proportion of persons aged 15—50 to the total population is uniformly about half. Emigration tends to reduce the proportion slightly and immigration to increase it, unless the immigrants are married. It is a logical inference that in a progressive community the number in the age group 0—15 is far greater than the number of persons aged

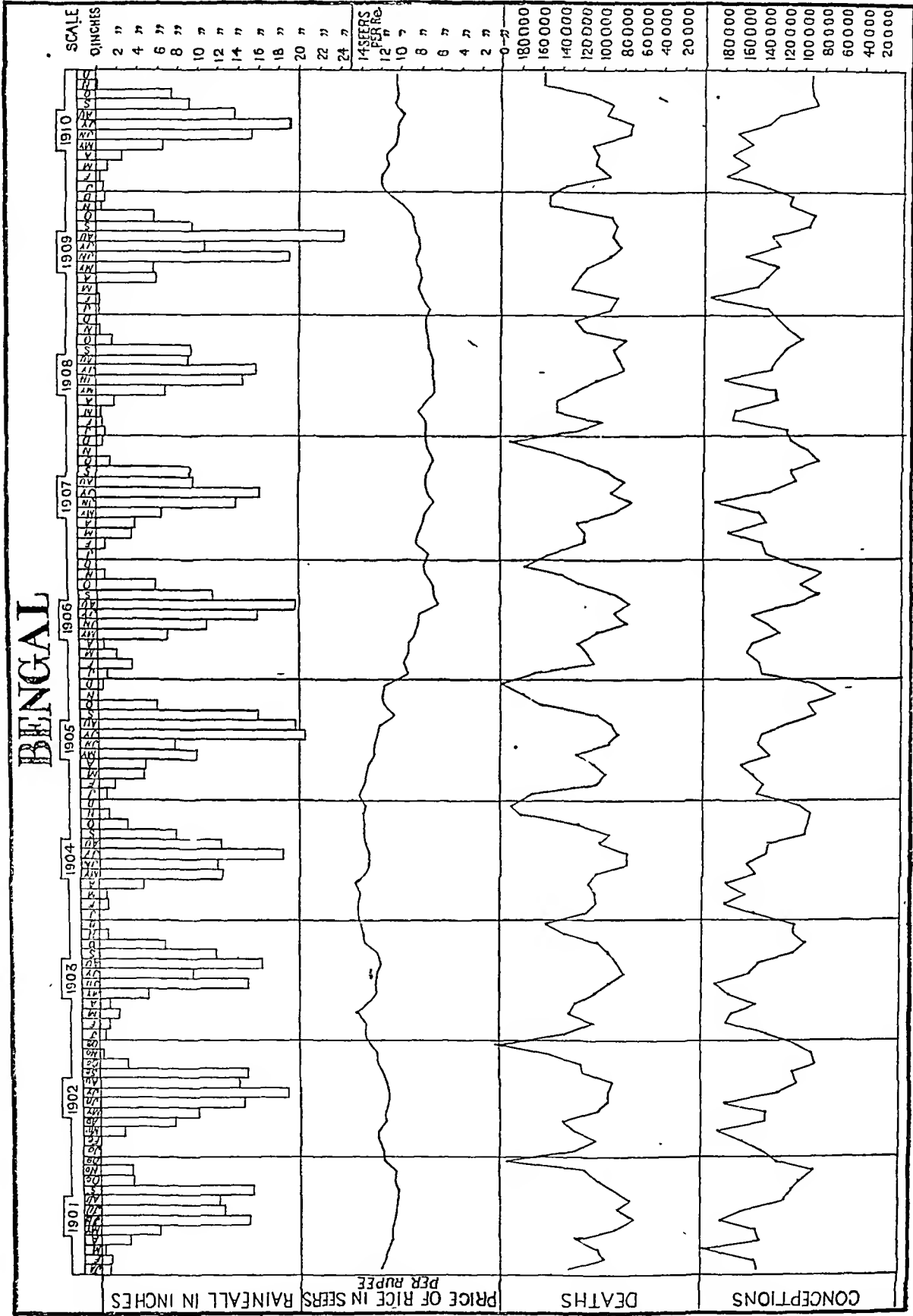
50 and over, while in a stationary population the proportions are more equal. After allowing for the fact that the age statistics of this country are not very accurate, it will be seen that the figures for the two provinces (given in the marginal table) corroborate, to a certain extent, M. Sundbarg's theory and the inference drawn there-

PROVINCE	POPULATION IN 1911				Ratio of 0-15 to 50-64
	0-14	15-49	50-64	65 and over	
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	401	493	103	27	4.7
<i>Bengal</i>	<i>401</i>	<i>497</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5.0</i>
Male 20,000	101	111	111	11	7.0
Female 20,000	100	108	100	10	4.5
Male 10,000	100	100	100	10	5.0
Female 10,000	100	100	100	10	5.0
<i>Bihear and Orissa</i>	<i>402</i>	<i>488</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5.1</i>
Male 20,000	100	100	100	10	7.0
Female 20,000	100	100	100	10	4.5
Male 10,000	100	100	100	10	5.0
Female 10,000	100	100	100	10	5.0

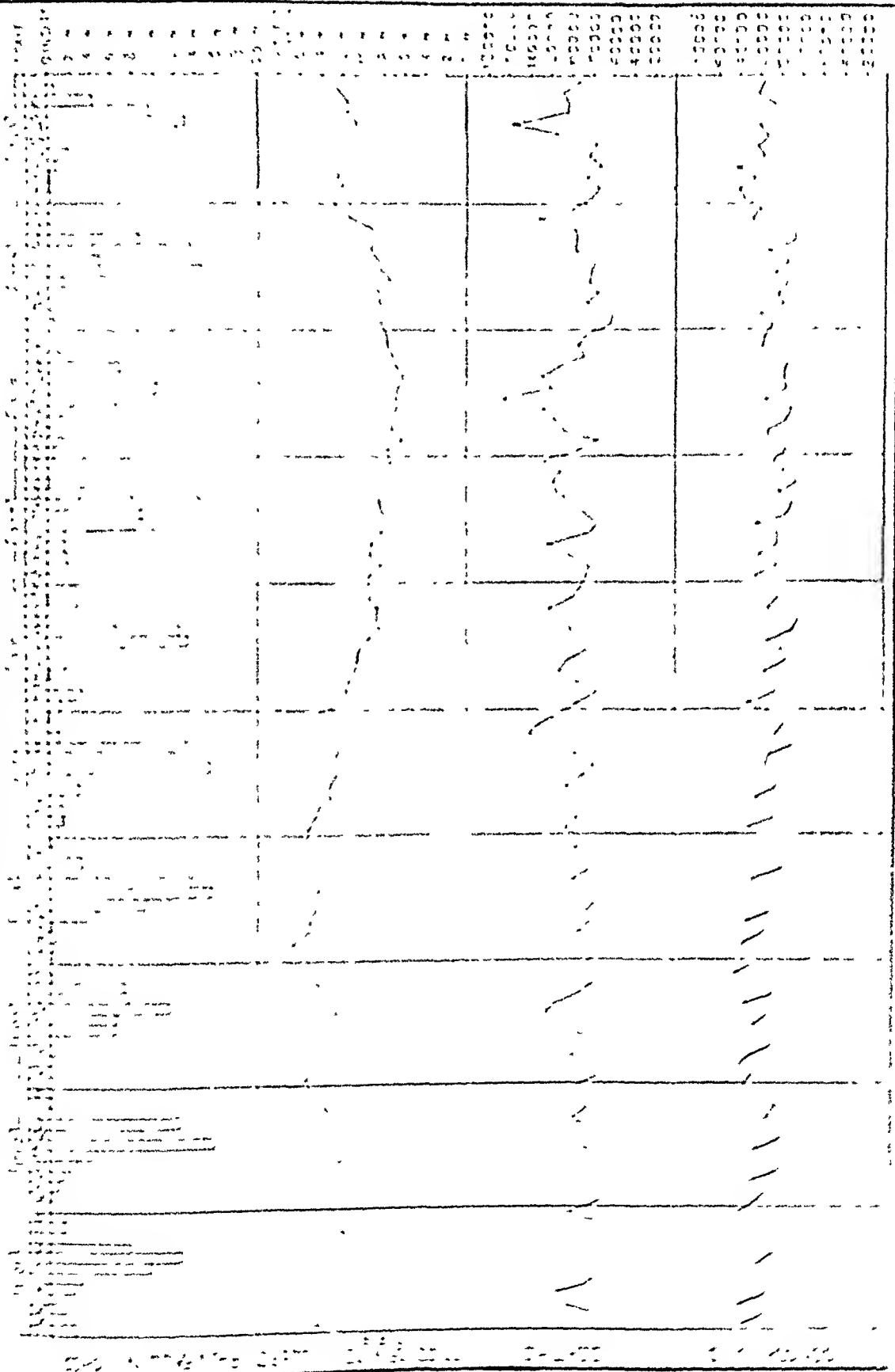
from. Another fact noticed by M. Sundbarg, viz., that the rates of mortality in the age groups 0—15 and 50 and over are much the same, and the inference that variations in the age distribution do not affect the general rate of mortality, do not appear to hold good in this country.

606. The full-page diagrams given in this chapter illustrate some interesting interrelations between the seasons and vital occurrences. These diagrams, it may be explained, show the range of prices, the quantity and monthly distribution of rainfall (which directly affect the outturn of the crops), and the rise and the fall of the death-rate and birth-rate in both provinces in the 10 years 1901-1910. The rainfall is shown at the top of the diagrams, the vertical columns representing the quantity in each month from January to December. The curve next to this shows the prices of food in seers per rupee; as prices rise, the curve falls. The third curve shows the number of deaths for the same months as the rainfall and food-prices curves. The bottom curve shows the births occurring in the ninth month later, i.e., with the rainfall, food-price and deaths of January are plotted the births of the following October and so on, so that the curve relates to conceptions and not to actual births.

In Bengal mortality is greatest in December and falls rapidly until February, which marks the culminating point of the people's recovery from the fever season (September to December). The death-rate rises slightly in March and April, owing probably to epidemics of cholera, and then steadily decreases till it reaches the minimum in June or July, when the rains break. After July the mortality rises slowly as the monsoon progresses, but rapidly when the monsoon recedes and the malaria season sets in. Briefly, February, June and July may be regarded as the healthiest, and the early part of the cold weather as the unhealthiest, period of the year. It is in the healthy months that the reproductive forces are most likely to come into play. That this is really the case will be seen from the conception curve, the course of which is the inverse of death curve, i.e., when the mortality curve rises, the conception curve falls, and *vice versa*. There are two seasons for conceptions—one in February and March and the other in June and July, months which precede and follow the hot weather. The number of conceptions steadily decreases from July to November when the minimum is reached. After November it rapidly rises till it reaches its maximum in



BIHAR & ORISSA



In Orissa the number of conceptions is highest in March and August, *i.e.*, somewhat later than in Bengal, and is at its minimum in May and December. The death-curve, which does not follow the birth-curve so closely as in the other natural divisions, is at its zenith in December, as in Bengal, and then, after a slight fall in February and a rise again in March, goes on falling up to July, after which it begins to rise as in Bengal. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the birth and death-rates are at a minimum in February. They then rise steadily, and after a slight fall in June or July reach the maximum in August, after which they begin going down until February. In Chota Nagpur, as in East Bengal, the death-rate is always below the birth-rate, which it follows very closely. The reproductive principle shows the greatest strength in November, when it is least active in Bengal.

From the above account it will be seen why the graphs for Bihar and Orissa as a whole, which are only a combination of the dissimilar graphs for heterogeneous natural divisions, are not only ill-defined, but also show numerous small fluctuations, which are otherwise inexplicable.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 100,000 OF EACH SEX BY ANNUAL PERIODS.

AGE.	MALE.			FEMALE.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Average.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Average.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total ...	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0 ...	3,057	3,778	3,152	3,379	3,424	3,305
1 ...	1,448	1,870	1,525	1,617	1,446	1,504
2 ...	2,491	3,193	2,595	2,791	3,173	2,770
3 ...	2,767	3,401	2,881	3,131	3,405	3,197
4 ...	2,591	3,073	2,676	2,843	3,074	2,736
5 ...	2,437	3,284	3,494	3,371	3,333	3,373
6 ...	2,581	3,017	2,660	2,574	2,531	2,602
7 ...	2,701	3,122	2,725	2,901	2,974	2,914
8 ...	2,161	2,725	2,219	2,737	2,609	2,801
9 ...	2,161	2,525	2,087	2,693	2,523	2,080
10 ...	2,252	3,010	3,052	2,973	3,024	2,080
11 ...	1,239	1,824	1,428	1,412	1,464	1,422
12 ...	2,772	4,122	3,836	2,901	2,728	2,870
13 ...	1,108	1,274	1,155	1,037	1,072	1,043
14 ...	1,878	1,911	1,871	1,613	1,798	1,647
15 ...	2,104	1,825	2,055	1,870	1,758	1,842
16 ...	2,084	2,022	2,062	2,114	2,110	2,135
17 ...	946	946	946	1,068	925	1,071
18 ...	2,315	2,350	2,485	2,405	2,405	2,544
19 ...	891	891	891	972	1,026	974
20 ...	2,479	2,235	3,327	3,412	4,074	3,882
21 ...	429	724	816	1,022	829	1,055
22 ...	2,431	2,148	2,360	2,270	2,516	2,298
23 ...	412	713	874	808	714	701
24 ...	1,332	1,107	1,201	1,235	1,251	1,287
25 ...	2,038	2,073	4,800	4,514	4,840	4,601
26 ...	1,231	1,108	1,214	1,068	1,174	1,077
27 ...	231	921	920	924	867	931
28 ...	1,954	1,275	1,925	2,014	1,226	1,992
29 ...	213	571	522	270	241	678
30 ...	2,777	4,135	5,339	5,213	5,074	5,175
31 ...	277	475	389	470	275	459
32 ...	2,072	1,972	2,050	1,958	1,920	1,769
33 ...	440	432	450	432	432	401
34 ...	2,250	2,04	2,233	2,04	490	401
35 ...	2,412	2,447	3,273	3,609	2,645	3,016
36 ...	1,272	1,316	1,280	1,255	1,121	1,231
37 ...	437	425	435	425	340	410
38 ...	910	1,022	930	877	871	863
39 ...	347	375	312	341	262	367
40 ...	4,731	3,077	4,492	4,495	4,521	4,500
41 ...	217	315	259	328	216	321
42 ...	279	823	607	742	234	741
43 ...	141	185	185	270	131	228
44 ...	241	215	265	231	256	236
45 ...	2,327	2,037	2,315	2,201	1,921	2,163
46 ...	294	314	298	372	234	342
47 ...	194	194	108	274	170	247
48 ...	422	537	498	517	473	509
49 ...	154	150	157	270	156	188
50 ...	3,076	2,235	3,014	3,529	3,530	3,398
51 ...	146	146	146	179	127	161
52 ...	375	414	397	479	422	428
53 ...	112	121	118	122	70	112
54 ...	154	141	151	201	163	194
55 ...	951	913	947	1,017	924	1,000
56 ...	219	214	243	278	235	254
57 ...	119	121	118	134	88	126
58 ...	187	171	184	250	225	246
59 ...	82	80	82	99	92	98
60 ...	1,910	2,061	1,937	2,749	2,436	2,707
61 ...	76	111	82	113	123	115
62 ...	177	237	192	217	260	251
63 ...	41	74	48	62	51	60
64 ...	57	55	62	73	63	75
65 ...	321	434	390	513	474	539
66 ...	69	74	71	51	57	52
67 ...	46	53	47	56	50	55
68 ...	71	61	69	84	73	82
69 ...	22	35	24	32	21	30
70 ...	552	571	555	809	1,82	822
71 ...	29	31	29	21	39	24
72 ...	66	97	72	69	78	71
73 ...	17	12	16	13	12	13
74 ...	13	17	14	17	23	12
75 ...	143	154	146	174	176	178
76 ...	13	11	13	10	17	19
77 ...	17	16	12	10	21	12
78 ...	18	16	18	30	27	29
79 ...	7	14	8	8	11	0
80 ...	241	238	247	356	392	362
81 ...	14	10	13	13	17	14
82 ...	23	21	23	16	29	18
83 ...	8	8	8	8	8	8
84 ...	8	4	7	4	8	5
85 ...	32	45	34	41	39	41
86 ...	7	4	6	6	4	6
87 ...	3	4	3	6	5	6
88 ...	10	4	9	5	8	5
89 ...	44	9	38	4	5	4
90 ...	91	71	87	64	86	63
91 ...	2	6	3	...	3	1
92 ...	2	10	3	...	3	1
93 ...	1	1	1	1	2	1
94 ...	2	1	2	...	4	1
95 ...	11	11	11	10	12	10
96 ...	4	6	5	3	1	3
97 ...	...	...	...	...	3	3
98 ...	3	4	...	...	...	3
99 ...	3	1	...	...	...	3
100 ...	18	...	...	...	...	25

The figures in column 4 and 7 show of these religions in the area for which

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION.

AGE.	1911.		1901.		1901.		1881.		
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	0-1 ...	316	326	285	291	317	333	232	233
	1-2 ...	137	149	138	150	141	152	235	250
	2-3 ...	242	310	207	328	203	323	202	322
	3-4 ...	312	331	314	331	333	373	331	384
	4-5 ...	206	308	293	306	307	318	320	320
	5-10 ...	16,61	1,538	1,621	1,490	1,656	1,474	1,554	1,444
	10-15 ...	1,200	994	1,247	1,015	1,219	974	1,139	901
	15-20 ...	840	800	856	818	837	837	766	766
	20-25 ...	760	903	762	884	702	827	711	842
	25-30 ...	900	933	808	905	840	804	882	934
	30-35 ...	806	777	796	778	808	810	850	866
	35-40 ...	587	559	625	551	645	666	620	551
	40-45 ...	573	547	594	584	627	609	632	633
45-50 ...	370	328	372	330	365	318	353	316	
50-55 ...	367	344	392	406	394	410	409	441	
55-60 ...	170	169	168	164	167	168	163	165	
60 and over ...	437	535	440	607	466	605	478	638	
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	5	
MEAN AGE ...	24.4	24.5	24.3	24.5	24.0	24.8	24.2	25.2	
WEST BENGAL.	0-5 ...	1,160	1,223	1,180	1,237	1,253	1,313	1,293	1,276
	5-10 ...	1,385	1,544	1,307	1,536	1,424	1,806	1,368	1,800
	10-15 ...	1,201	1,004	1,221	920	1,181	884	1,112	850
	15-20 ...	951	1,058	920	891	891	807	805	802
	20-40 ...	2,245	3,206	3,143	3,130	3,173	3,290	3,256	3,429
	40-60 ...	1,604	1,600	1,675	1,682	1,649	1,078	1,593	1,899
	60 and over ...	454	591	448	619	439	622	456	658
	Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	6
	MEAN AGE ...	25.4	25.9	24.8	25.8	24.7	26.1	24.8	26.6
	CENTRAL BENGAL.	0-5 ...	1,165	1,385	1,207	1,397	1,381	1,341	1,323	1,413
5-10 ...		1,295	1,363	1,324	1,340	1,820	1,246	1,434	1,347
10-15 ...		1,133	956	1,169	937	1,123	871	1,074	866
15-20 ...		897	991	864	909	838	891	700	791
20-40 ...		3,511	3,220	3,314	3,145	3,200	3,194	3,256	3,204
40-60 ...		1,604	1,526	1,649	1,656	1,647	1,088	1,629	1,670
60 and over ...		433	639	479	606	485	656	619	703
Unspecified ...		...	...	...	...	...	...	6	8
MEAN AGE ...		25.5	25.1	25.1	25.5	24.9	25.7	25.1	26.2
NORTH BENGAL.		0-5 ...	1,390	1,616	1,360	1,565	1,448	1,640	1,396	1,527
	5-10 ...	1,602	1,704	1,634	1,663	1,574	1,516	1,619	1,632
	10-15 ...	1,080	894	1,127	906	1,050	853	1,100	861
	15-20 ...	793	956	779	933	766	895	715	814
	20-40 ...	3,209	3,171	3,215	3,104	3,182	3,211	3,103	3,176
	40-60 ...	1,401	1,220	1,470	1,281	1,515	1,352	1,566	1,470
	60 and over ...	400	428	415	450	446	528	494	614
	Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	6
	MEAN AGE ...	24.2	25.6	23.8	23.1	24.1	23.8	24.3	24.7
	EAST BENGAL.	0-5 ...	1,473	1,609	1,455	1,584	1,541	1,879	1,541	1,630
5-10 ...		1,635	1,686	1,603	1,643	1,502	1,584	1,574	1,517
10-15 ...		1,258	1,044	1,203	1,081	1,235	1,002	1,168	942
15-20 ...		869	1,020	850	1,003	827	958	769	866
20-40 ...		2,981	3,013	2,951	2,071	2,008	2,031	2,059	3,016
40-60 ...		1,358	1,180	1,383	1,235	1,412	1,284	1,473	1,409
60 and over ...		438	430	456	483	485	544	612	616
Unspecified ...		...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
MEAN AGE ...		23.6	23.3	23.3	22.8	22.5	23.4	23.8	24.2
NORTH BIHAR.		0-5 ...	1,286	1,310	1,274	1,309	1,298	1,374	1,375	1,449
	5-10 ...	1,519	1,488	1,563	1,453	1,516	1,468	1,573	1,457
	10-15 ...	1,211	945	1,261	987	1,214	857	1,144	892
	15-20 ...	786	692	824	749	764	680	716	645
	20-40 ...	3,053	3,292	3,008	3,221	2,961	3,196	3,084	3,270
	40-60 ...	1,556	1,599	1,589	1,619	1,654	1,642	1,644	1,644
	60 and over ...	489	665	481	662	493	663	460	638
	Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
	MEAN AGE ...	25.0	26.2	24.4	25.7	24.4	25.7	24.4	25.5
	SOUTH BIHAR.	0-5 ...	1,282	1,330	1,259	1,293	1,301	1,363	1,445	1,505
5-10 ...		1,515	1,411	1,373	1,251	1,525	1,388	1,473	1,330
10-15 ...		1,187	947	1,218	975	1,262	1,000	1,127	887
15-20 ...		742	675	835	759	769	688	696	624
20-40 ...		3,150	3,342	3,157	3,324	2,952	3,160	3,034	3,216
40-60 ...		1,628	1,629	1,647	1,696	1,673	1,699	1,684	1,704
60 and over ...		496	666	511	702	518	704	585	728
Unspecified ...		...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6
MEAN AGE ...		25.3	26.3	25.0	26.5	24.7	26.1	24.9	26.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION—*concluded*.

AGE.				1911.		1901.		1891.		1881			
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
1				2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
ORISSA.	0-5	...	...	1,232	1,214	1,306	1,305	1,246	1,288	1,447	1,462
	5-10	...	...	1,434	1,323	1,319	1,247	1,435	1,348	1,551	1,416
	10-15	...	...	1,317	1,123	1,273	1,093	1,370	1,164	1,148	978
	15-20	...	...	876	664	932	941	1,020	947	805	719
	20-40	...	...	3,116	3,198	3,046	3,033	2,663	2,884	3,123	3,065
	40-60	...	...	1,551	1,673	1,665	1,747	1,614	1,689	1,461	1,630
	60 and over	...	...	450	615	437	644	449	700	437	724
Unspecified				...	...	...	...	...	...	8	6
MEAN AGE				24.9	26.1	24.4	25.9	24.1	25.8	23.7	25.7
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	0-5	...	...	1,470	1,534	1,416	1,524	1,494	1,605	1,566	1,718
	5-10	...	...	1,684	1,616	1,660	1,630	1,770	1,686	1,771	1,654
	10-15	...	...	1,282	1,083	1,362	1,144	1,373	1,126	1,216	951
	15-20	...	...	844	834	894	887	823	814	764	758
	20-40	...	...	3,029	3,096	2,892	2,989	2,763	2,941	2,946	3,090
	40-60	...	...	1,350	1,361	1,399	1,358	1,395	1,324	1,361	1,322
	60 and over	...	...	381	476	357	470	382	504	390	502
Unspecified				...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
MEAN AGE				23.1	23.6	22.6	23.1	22.4	23.1	22.6	23.0

AGE.		BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.		AGE.		BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
		1911.		1911.				1911.		1911.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
0-1	...	303	326	333	327	30-35	...	792	719	826	844
1-2	...	143	162	130	131	35-40	...	666	516	644	609
2-3	...	297	341	263	275	40-45	...	571	512	576	587
3-4	...	309	359	316	343	45-50	...	370	302	369	358
4-5	...	291	316	299	299	50-55	...	355	363	383	407
5-10	...	1,635	1,573	1,593	1,496	55-60	...	187	154	174	185
10-15	...	1,183	981	1,241	1,009	60 and over	...	430	480	445	600
15-20	...	867	1,011	606	751						
20-25	...	785	948	726	851						
25-30	...	934	938	876	926						
MEAN AGE						...	24.4	23.7	24.4	25.4	